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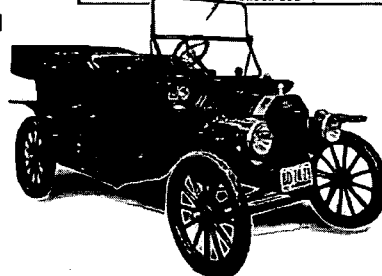
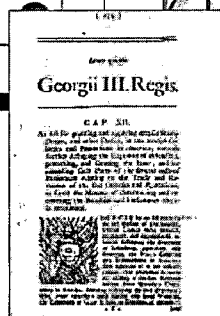
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and two review essays. The articles range in subject matter from U.S. food policy in the twentieth century and African Americans in Southern courts in the nineteenth century to the impact of American “talkies” on Australian culture. The review essays survey the recent literature on masculinity and on family history from a Latin American perspective. Along with our usual extensive book review section, readers will note a new, or revived, section of “Featured Reviews.” See more about this below.

Articles

It might be said that in politics, progress is what can be measured, and much public policy is certainly a matter of meeting numerical benchmarks—growth targets, casualty figures, test scores, prescription drug prices, inflation rates, and the like. In “The Foreign Policy of the Calorie,” **Nick Cullather** argues that scientists who invented the calorie in the late nineteenth century intended to bring food into this international discourse of measurable units. The calorie was indeed a unit for comparing national diets and measuring social efficiency. It was a standardizing measurement tool, allowing scientists and policy makers to look at all food as the same, reducing the variety of foodstuffs across the world to their energy-producing capacity. In these terms, the most efficient food was cheap and dense in calories. And the food that best fit that definition was wheat. The calorie proponents, particularly Herbert Hoover, believed that states had an obligation to ensure an internal balance of calories; if they failed, international wheat transfers could not only fill the gap but also shore up political stability. In this article, which is truly transnational in scope, Cullather offers an analysis of the central role of food policy in international affairs throughout the first part of the twentieth century.

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, former slaves in the South regularly submitted claims through formal legal channels. In general, historians have placed African Americans’ initiatives in the courts against the backdrop of the era’s dramatic legal changes, without considering why they so readily resorted to legal means in the first place. In “Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South,” **Laura F. Edwards** explores this question by linking freedpeople’s use of the legal system to the legal

culture of the antebellum South, focusing specifically on the aspect of the law dealing with matters of public or communal concern. These matters related not to the protection of individual rights, but to the maintenance of public peace. And the highly localized nature of the process meant that such matters involved people—slaves, free blacks, and other subordinates—who lacked the right to participate in other legal matters and in other aspects of the legal system. Consequently, not only were many southerners familiar with the legal process, but they also viewed the legal system primarily as a means for keeping the peace, not for the protection of individual rights. These expectations are crucial for understanding why former slaves made use of the legal system after the Civil War even though they could not claim the individual rights that historians now identify as its foundation. Edwards's article serves as a further lesson in how subordinate people could turn institutions to their own purposes and in the importance of understanding the value system that determines the primary purpose of these institutions as well.

In “‘The Filthy American Twang’: Elocution, the Advent of American ‘Talkies,’ and Australian Cultural Identity,” **Joy Damousi** explores how the negative response to American talkies in some Australian quarters fixed on the accent, pronunciation, and expression of American voices. She argues for the need to historicize this response by considering the importance of accent and correct pronunciation to notions of individual and national identity in the period before the 1920s. She highlights the important place of elocution in defining Australian culture, and in Australians' sense of themselves, from the 1870s to the interwar period. Her article makes a distinctive contribution in claiming a place for elocution in the cultural history of sound and speech and as part of the auditory experience in cultural life. It also suggests ways in which ideas about character and the self were closely connected with the voice. The importance invested in correct elocution was part of a belief in the role of voice in defining class standing for both men and women. In appreciating these values, we can understand the intensity of the response to American talkies and the impact of the American sound for moviegoers across the globe. Damousi's article is an example of the emerging field of the history of the senses.

Review Essays

Robert A. Nye's review essay, “Western Masculinities in War and Peace,” surveys the recent literature on Western military masculinities since the late eighteenth century, as reflected in the gender ideals and practices of the citizen-soldier. In general, this history reveals a clear pattern: men could qualify as citizens by participating in national war, while women's exclusion from fighting largely confined them to domestic roles. Nye points out, however, that new work has complicated the gendering of war and peace, battlefield and home, as respectively male and female. Recent historians stress the continuity and permeability of these domains while still acknowledging the tensions that remain within and between them. Modern societies have imagined and successfully nourished a warrior masculinity in male civilians, but they have also tolerated feminine qualities in fighting men that linked them materially and psy-

chologically to the home front. The decline of conscription armies since World War II and the entrance of women into military life, he concludes, promise important changes in the historic ideal of the citizen soldier.

In "Whither Family History? A Road Map from Latin America," **Nara Milanich** reviews the three-volume work *The History of the Family* (edited by David Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli) and uses it as a springboard for a broad assessment of the field of family history. While the project shows what European family historians have accomplished, she notes, it offers few clues about where the field is going. She further suggests that family history in general suffers from a dearth of interpretive paradigms and consequently has become a ghettoized field disengaged from the broader terrain of historical inquiry. Milanich points to colonial and postcolonial societies, heretofore marginal to family history, as offering new directions for scholarship. Drawing on the historiography of Latin America, a region characterized by some of the most persistent and yawning divisions based on color, caste, and class in the world, she concludes that a new agenda for family historians might be found in examining the role of family, kinship, and household in the production and reproduction of social hierarchies.



With this issue we reintroduce "Featured Reviews," a section of the *AHR* that last appeared in 1996. Our intention is to highlight books that, in the estimation of the editors, ought to be called to the attention of a wide range of readers. It is no secret that the book review section is the most widely consulted feature of the journal. It provides an essential service to the profession. But it is also the case that readers often restrict their attention to books in their particular field. As a journal that strives to speak to historians across the discipline, we believe that the *AHR* should make more of an effort to encourage historians to notice books that, while not in their particular field, still have something important to say to them, in terms of either substance or methodology. This is the purpose of the featured reviews. The books reviewed in this section have been selected by the editors, in consultation with others, especially members of the Board of Editors. They are books that strive to speak to a range of historians, or that offer findings or interpretations with large implications, or that represent a major synthetic achievement of undisputed scholarly worth, or perhaps that represent significant yet neglected scholarly fields. Given considerations of space, we will not be able to treat all deserving books in this fashion. And, in all candor, we will undoubtedly choose books that in hindsight are less significant than we thought. To be sure, not everyone will agree with our choices. But readers should be assured that we will make a good faith effort to select worthy, important books. As always, we would welcome readers' comments on our choices and advice for future selections.



Food is
Ammunition-
Don't waste it.

Nº5

UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION

The Foreign Policy of the Calorie

NICK CULLATHER

A too naïve theory used to prevail for explaining regeneration through food. The human system was thought of as an engine, and you kept it stoked with foods to produce energy.

Irma S. Rombauer and Marion Rombauer Becker, *Joy of Cooking* (1975)

IN *SUPER SIZE ME*, his documentary on the fast-food industry, Morgan Spurlock asks ninth-graders in Brooklyn, West Virginia, to define a calorie. A few shake their heads, but most gamely guess that it has something to do with fat. “It’s something you should count,” one advises. “It’s on the side of the cereal box,” explains another. The adults interviewed fare little better. “Calories are not good,” one man knows for sure. Even the specialist who finally has an answer studies the ceiling for a minute before recalling that a calorie is a measure of the energy content of food, an amount sufficient to raise the temperature of one kilogram of water one degree. One might try the same experiment with other numerical yardsticks used to gauge individual or social well-being—GNP, T-cell counts, or crime rates—and find a similar cultural lost-wax process: the soft material of objective measurement falls away, leaving a subjective impression on the things measured. The ninth-graders had fully absorbed the governmentality of the calorie; they understood that it patterns food with particular obligations, aesthetic and hygienic norms, and techniques of management. Knowing too much about an indicator’s original purpose, or what it actually records, might only diminish its authority.¹

In the first half of the twentieth century, the arithmetic of standards of living, revenues, education, and population gained significance in assessments of the relative status of states and empires. As doctrines of development first began to inform the practice of international relations, numerical indicators prepared the way, jumping linguistic boundaries and displacing local knowledge and native informants. The empiricism of states and international institutions, Timothy Mitchell contends, acquired a “character of calculability” that mediated between material realities and the abstractions of science and politics. Neither constructed nor imagined but fabricated

I wish to thank David Engerman, Sarah Knott, Marc Frey, Melvyn P. Leffler, Brian Balogh, Matthew Connelly, David Ellwood, Robert Schneider, and the *AHR* reviewers for their valuable comments and encouragement. The ideas in this essay benefited from discussions at the Zentrum für Nordamerika-Forschung, Universität Frankfurt am Main, and the University of Virginia’s Miller Center of Public Affairs.

¹ *Super Size Me*, 2005, distributed by Samuel Goldwyn Films, Los Angeles. The “calorie” used by nutritionists is actually the kilocalorie, or large calorie, equivalent to 1,000 of the gram calories used in other scientific contexts.

from a mix of cultural and material ingredients, numerical indicators were tangible enough to mold facts. They were the conceptual components of a new realism in international affairs.²

Historians and theorists of foreign relations often associate number with explanatory rigor. Although E. H. Carr, Hans J. Morgenthau, Charles Beard, and other founders cautioned against scientism, realist and revisionist historiographies grew to recognize quantifiable material factors as the constituents of international reality, exercising, according to Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "an exogenous influence on state behavior no matter what states seek, believe, or construct." More recently, scholars have employed measurability to distinguish between established analytic methods and cultural or "constructivist" approaches bidding for scholarly credibility. The history of the calorie suggests a few of the problems with this distinction. As Spurlock's ninth-graders revealed, supposedly "hard" data came laden with presuppositions that were cultural but not superficial. In the early part of the twentieth century, "food" lost its subjective, cultural character and evolved into a material instrument of statecraft. To do so, it had to be quantifiable, but its numerical index also had to be furnished with a suitable context of goals, analogies, and claims.³

Although few statistical measures seem more innocuous, the calorie has never been a neutral, objective measure of the contents of a dinner plate. From the first, its purpose was to render food, and the eating habits of populations, politically legible. In this sense it was one of the lesser tools facilitating a widening of the state's supervision of the welfare and conduct of whole populations that has been referred to in different contexts as state building, modernism, or regulating the social. It was also instrumental in a transformation in the ethics of hunger identified by James Vernon in an earlier issue of this journal: to be defined as a social problem, hunger had first to be precisely quantified. The calorie was also a technology for classifying food within the inventory of resources (the "standing reserve") at the disposal of the

² David Ludden, "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge," in Carol A. Breckinridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993), 262; Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 82. Historians have recently begun to investigate measurement as an aspect of modernization. See Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago, 1998); Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood* (Cambridge, 1996); J. Adam Tooze, *Statistics and the German State, 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 2001). For demography, see Matthew Connelly, "A Power beyond Measure: How Population Growth Has Changed the Way People Think about the World" (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Population, Environmental Change, and Security Project, Working Paper, 2002); for standards of living, see Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 75–129; on national incomes accounting, see Scott O'Bryan, "Economic Knowledge and the Science of National Income in Twentieth-Century Japan," *Japan Studies Review* 6 (Fall 2002): 1–19.

³ Edward H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919–1939* (London, 1949), 3; Hans J. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Chicago, 1946). Diplomatic historians are hardly alone in splitting the field in this way. Eric Hobsbawm has commended "a sound sense of statistics" as an antidote to the solecisms of identity history, while Dipesh Chakrabarty distinguishes subaltern studies from historicism's "secular calculative" practices. Hobsbawm, *On History* (New York, 1997), 198–199, 271–272; Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 14. See also Robert Buzzanco, "Where's the Beef?" *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 630; Robert Jervis, "Realism in the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 974; Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24, no. 2 (1999): 18.

state. As such, it had a part in an evolving developmental discourse that registered the requirements and aspirations of nations largely in numerical terms.⁴

Europeans first measured food in calories, but Americans constructed the calorie by giving it practical value, standardizing it and embedding it in systems of distribution and administration. It was in the United States that the calorie left its most visible imprint on foreign policy. It popularized and factualized a set of assumptions that allowed Americans to see food as an instrument of power, and to envisage a "world food problem" amenable to political and scientific intervention. In 1974, J. George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, maintained that the discovery of the calorie had led directly to an "informal alliance" of "scientists, farmers, government agencies, educators, and processors" working to eliminate famine worldwide. A closer examination of the calorie's early years, however, shows that the path from knowledge to organization was not quite so straightforward. Scientific food measurement authorized and guided a succession of different schemes of food management. The U.S. government first employed the calorie during the Progressive Era, as a gauge of social and industrial efficiency. It was adopted by military planners to marshal scarce resources during World War I, and was disseminated along with relief supplies to stricken areas of Europe. In the interwar years, numeration opened the way for competing imperial, autarkic, and internationalist food regimes, each applying quantitative logic toward different ends. The current world pattern of humanitarianism, exchange, and subsidized dumping began to emerge only after the Anglo-American allies recaptured the calorie among the spoils of World War II.⁵

Today, the problem of "world hunger" is characterized by a style of calculability that assigns reciprocal routines and obligations to national governments and the international community. Topping the list of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals is the commitment to "halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people who suffer from hunger." The UN World Food Programme (WFP) marks progress on its website with an "interactive hunger map" on which the outlines of the caloric deficit align with national frontiers; hungry nations are marked in bright red, while cooler shades of blue and green indicate progressive degrees of satiety. The image sharpens the juxtaposition of surplus and dearth, visually conveying a reproach familiar to youngsters of a certain generation: "Clean your plate; there are starving children in China." This understanding of the reciprocity of abundance and shortage rests on a claim that "food" has a uniform meaning in green nations and red nations and a standard value that can be tabulated as easily as currency or petroleum. The calorie represents the sum of these assumptions.⁶

⁴ See C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (London, 2004), 271–273; Stephen Skowronek, *Building the New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York, 1982); George Steinmetz, *Regulating the Social: The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); see also the symposium "Seeing Like a State," *AHR* 106, no. 1 (February 2001): 107–129; James Vernon, "The Ethics of Hunger and the Assembly of Society: The Techno-Politics of the School Meal in Modern Britain," *AHR* 110, no. 3 (June 2005): 693–725; Martin Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York, 1977), 14–35; Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 159–161.

⁵ J. George Harrar, "Nutrition and Numbers in the Third World," *BioScience* 24, no. 9 (September 1974): 514.

⁶ United Nations, Millennium Declaration, September 18, 2000, A/res/55/2, <http://www.un.org/>

THE WORK OF RENDERING FOOD into hard figures began just after breakfast on Monday, March 23, 1896, when Wilbur O. Atwater sealed a graduate student into an airtight chamber in the basement of Judd Hall on the Wesleyan University campus. The apparatus was described by the press as resembling a meat locker, a room “about as large as an ordinary convict’s cell” lined with copper and zinc, its interior visible through a triple-paned glass aperture. Its occupant, A. W. Smith, took measured quantities of bread, baked beans, Hamburg steak, milk, and mashed potatoes through an airlock during rest periods, which alternated with intervals of weight-lifting and mental exertion, “studying German treatises on physics and the like.” Meanwhile, thermometers, hygrometers, and electrically powered condensers, pumps, and fans precisely measured the movement of heat, air, and matter into and out of the chamber. Smith was inside a calorimeter, a device previously used to measure the combustive efficiency of explosives and engines. It recorded his food intake and labor output in units of thermal energy.⁷

The national penny press found a Chekhovian parable in the “Wesleyan glass cage,” printing “sensational” and “wholly imaginary” reports on the voluntary captivity of Smith, alternately described as “the man in the box” and “the prisoner of science.” On the second day of the experiment, Atwater had to turn away a young New York woman who appeared at the lab asking to be allowed to take Smith’s place in the chamber, but despite distractions, the calorimeter’s first run was an enormous success, generating pages of data and a \$10,000 congressional appropriation. The Department of Agriculture (USDA) built a copy of Atwater’s device in Washington, D.C., and Francis Benedict, another of Atwater’s students, persuaded the Carnegie Institute to construct a larger and more elaborate version at Harvard University.⁸

Subsequent experiments attracted equally keen interest. Atwater invited champion cyclist Nat Butler into the calorimeter to establish “how far a man ought to ride a bicycle on one egg.” Wesleyan’s football captain volunteered to take his French final inside to help determine the quantum of heat generated by an hour of cogitation. But it was the statistical results issuing from Middletown after 1899—tables that assigned calorie counts to specific foods and tasks—that stirred up national controversy and made Atwater a household name. Clergymen applauded his discovery that the body created in the divine image produced energy more efficiently

millennium/declaration/ares552e.pdf (accessed February 20, 2007); World Food Programme, Interactive Hunger Map, http://www.wfp.org/country_brief/hunger_map/map/hungermap_popup/map_popup.html (accessed February 20, 2007); the World Bank also tracks the improvement of standards of living in the rising arc of caloric intake. Merlinda D. Ingco et al., *Global Food Supply Prospects* (Washington, D.C., 1996); the website for Bono’s charity, DATA, updates the cliché by highlighting the “fact” that the cost of AIDS drugs for all of Africa is equivalent to what Europeans spend on ice cream; http://www.data.org/archives/USandUK_AIDS_spendingnov20.pdf (accessed February 20, 2007).

⁷ “The Wesleyan Calorimeter,” *New York Times*, April 5, 1896, 5; “Occupants of the Wesleyan Glass Cage Changed,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 24, 1896, 10; “The Human Body,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1896, 22; “Conservation of Energy in the Human Body,” *Scientific American*, August 5, 1899, 85; “Almost a Hero,” *Boston Daily Globe*, March 22, 1896, 1.

⁸ “Human Body and Food,” *New York Times*, March 23, 1899, 3; “Human Body as an Engine,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 1896, 28; “The Man in the Copper Box,” *Century Illustrated Magazine*, June 1897, 314; “The Food Test at Middletown,” *New York Times*, March 25, 1896, 1; “The People’s Food—A Great National Inquiry,” *Review of Reviews* 13 (June 1896): 679–690; W. O. Atwater, “How Food Is Used in the Body: Experiments with Men in a Respiration Apparatus,” *Century Illustrated Magazine*, June 1897, 246.

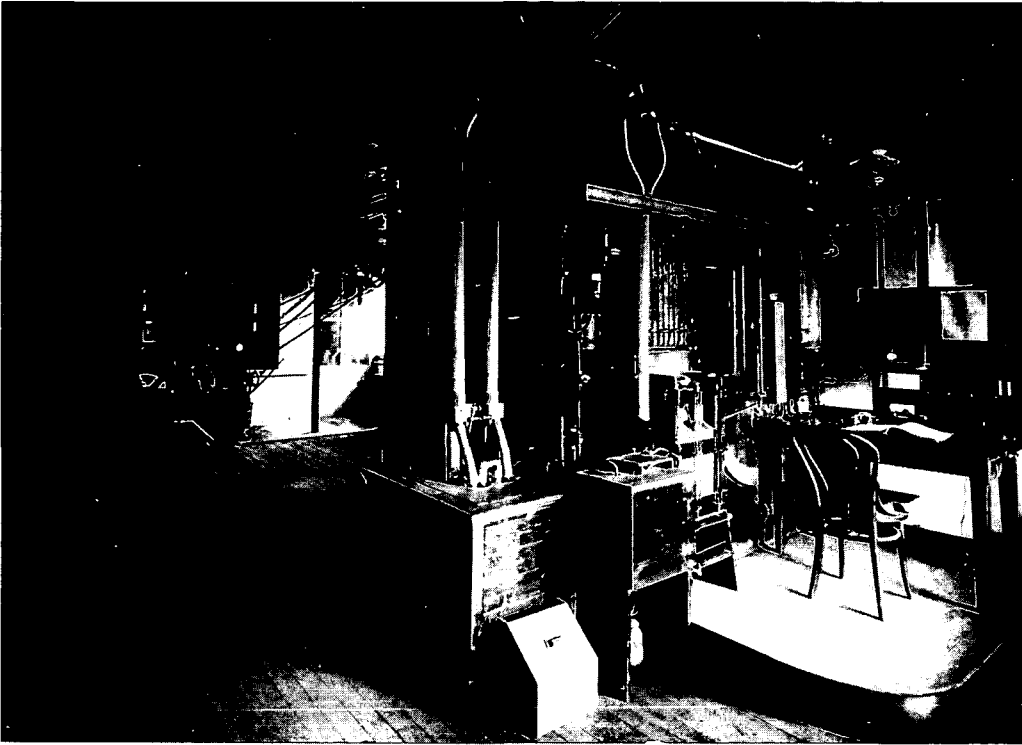


FIGURE 1: "An instrument as delicate and sensitive as the nerves of the human body." Atwater's experiments with men sealed inside the respiration calorimeter captivated the national press. Wesleyan University Archives, Special Collections.

than a locomotive. The Women's Christian Temperance Union organized an anti-Atwater campaign when he confirmed—by sustaining a test subject for six days on a diet "largely composed of alcohol"—that liquor was a food. But most sensational of all was Atwater's pronouncement that mathematical laws governed the ordinary act of eating.⁹

As federal officials recognized, the calorimeter had ramifications for the management of factories, prisons, and schools, as well as the provisioning of armies. It could reduce the cost of rations, and test their suitability for the tropics and for varying conditions of work. Atwater expected an even greater benefit. For the first time, scientists would be able to make precise comparisons between the diets of different social classes and nations. Excusing himself from negotiations with Japan in November 1908, Secretary of State Elihu Root traveled to Boston for the "express purpose" of seeing the Carnegie calorimeter, proclaiming it an "invaluable invention." Journalists anticipated that its greatest impact would be on the "Asiatic races," whose improvement could begin once their diet was brought up to an American

⁹ "Cyclist to Aid Cause of Science," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1904, A4; "Nine Days in a Sealed Box," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 21, 1899, 1; "New Test in Examinations," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 13, 1905, 3; "The Human Machine," *Washington Post*, December 29, 1904, 6; "Alcohol as Brain Food," *Omaha World Herald*, February 13, 1900, 3; "Will Fight Alcohol as Food," *New York Times*, June 30, 1900, 3; "Declares War: Connecticut W.C.T.U. Is against Atwater," *Boston Daily Globe*, February 5, 1900, 3.

standard. Economic and social progress in Asia would have to await nutritional progress, the *Review of Reviews* observed, since “what can we expect either of physical or moral vigor from communities who live on the physical plane of millions in the Orient?” With a numerical gauge, Americans could begin to imagine the influence to be gained by manipulating the diets of distant peoples. The calorie, Atwater declared, would determine the “food supply of the future.”¹⁰

As Atwater’s invention came into use as an international measure of food value in the early twentieth century, a number of important claims and metaphors gained acceptance with it, constituting a scientifically authorized, “realistic” view of the international food regime. These included a conviction that food was uniform and comparable between nations and time periods; that the state had an obligation to ensure a “balance” between the supply of food and the dietary needs of the nation; that wheat was uniquely important as an international conveyor of bulk food value; and that the interests of world peace might ultimately require a global food balance rationalized through some form of international regulation. At the time, these ideas did not constitute a policy but only a direction for policy, a notion of which way progress was headed and where the United States could lead.

Official enthusiasm for Atwater’s experiments indicated the degree to which the need for an index of food consumption had already been recognized. Before the invention of a quantitative measure, it was difficult to speak of food in competitive, evolutionary terms, or to foresee the direction that improvements might take. While mechanical efficiency could be measured by mechanical means, no scale had yet been devised to assess human fuel. Notions of efficiency applied only loosely to agriculture—which relied on uncontrolled inputs, such as sunshine and rainfall—and even less to cooking or eating. The “science” of nutrition was largely the domain of vegetarians and iconoclasts, such as Horace Fletcher and John Harvey Kellogg, who judged diet by moral and aesthetic criteria rather than the objective, numerical standards of an industrial age. The son of a Methodist minister, Atwater began his nutritional research at Yale in this vein, but graduate work in Berlin and Leipzig introduced him to the chemical and physiological studies of Carl von Voit and Ludwig Max Rubner in Germany and Armand Gautier in Paris. The handful of biochemists conducting dietary observations in Europe in the 1880s formed a scientific avant-garde, working with little official support in the face of skepticism from leading biologists and physicians, but Atwater, on returning to the United States, found industrialists, universities, and state and federal governments eager to fund nutritional research.¹¹

¹⁰ “Machine to Test Food,” *Washington Post*, January 10, 1910, E1; C. F. Langworthy and R. D. Milner, *Investigations on the Nutrition of Man* (Washington, D.C., 1904); Mildred R. Ziegler, “The History of the Calorie in Nutrition,” *Scientific Monthly* 15, no. 6 (December 1922): 520–526; Russell H. Chittenden, *Physiological Economy in Nutrition* (New York, 1913); “Plan Energy Test,” *Washington Post*, December 30, 1908, 1; “Measures Human Energy,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1908, 3; “Mystery of Body Read Like a Book,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 21, 1908, 1; W. O. Atwater, “What the Coming Man Will Eat,” *Forum*, June 1892, 498; “The People’s Food,” *Review of Reviews*, June 1896, 687–689.

¹¹ On the application of Taylorist models to agriculture, see Deborah Fitzgerald, *Every Farm a Factory: The Industrial Ideal in American Agriculture* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), 48; James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). Dana Simmons notes that dietary studies in France before World War I were largely “restricted to eccentric scientists and ‘professional fasters.’” Although Voit and Rubner were clearly at the forefront, leading German physiologists

Atwater framed his investigations as a tool of “scientific management,” allied with Frederick Winslow Taylor’s efforts to resolve industrial unrest through the methodical study of time and motion. In strike actions and congressional debates, representatives of labor argued for leisure, meat, and bread as matters of justice, but scientific reformers presented them instead as issues of efficiency and cost. Proceeding from a Taylorist conception of a mechanomorphic body, Atwater led an effort by manufacturers, municipalities, and the federal government to set scientific “standards of living” that could be used to contain wage levels while maintaining a healthy, contented workforce. Between 1885, when he designed the first survey of factory workers in Massachusetts, and 1910, nutritionists conducted more than five hundred investigations of the eating habits of inhabitants of slums, boarding schools, Indian reservations, Chinese railroad camps, and Georgia plantations, but researchers were unsatisfied with their findings. Predictably, unions and individual subjects resisted efforts to locate their wage floor. More disturbing, the growing pile of surveys documented an almost unclassifiable diversity of food customs, yielding data that only complicated the reformist argument for enforcing norms. Atwater, in collaboration with Rubner and Gautier, began investigating a system for rendering food and labor into thermal units.¹²

The necessity of a standard gauge was evident at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Among the least visited but most impressive exhibits was the Agricultural Building, a glass-domed arcade housing nineteen acres of distinctive foods—French cheeses, Indian curries, Javanese coffees, Greek oils, and an eleven-foot statue of Germania carved from a solid block of chocolate. “In walking through the corridors of this Agricultural Building, the earth and its nations seem drawn up for martial review,” commented one juror. “The history of the older nations, the customs of the new, the social status of all, are revealed.” But the terms of comparison were unclear. Although care was taken to impose a taxonomic order, the effect on the viewer was of a culinary Babel. Mechanical displays excited “wonder and admiration” for being “more typical of the genius of America,” a reporter noted, but the Agricultural Building was more apt to evoke “a strain of idealistic poetry.” The raw variety of comestibles impelled exhibitors to identify underlying principles supporting claims to advancement. The United States backed its displays with statistical charts showing

ogists remained dubious. Dana Jean Simmons, “Minimal Frenchmen: Science and Standards of Living, 1840–1960” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004), 171–172; Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* (New York, 1990), 127–128; “About Experiments,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 30, 1896, 8.

¹² On the evolution of the “standard of living” concept, see Alan Berolzheimer, “A Nation of Consumers: Mass Consumption, Middle Class Standards of Living, and American Identity” (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1996); Lawrence Glickman, “Inventing the ‘American Standard of Living’: Gender, Race, and Working Class Identity, 1880–1925,” *Labor History* 34, no. 2 (1993): 221–235; de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 75–129. Naomi Aronson’s work on the construction of nutrition science reveals its connections to debates on wages and labor; see Aronson, “Comment on Bryan Turner’s ‘The Government of the Body,’” *British Journal of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (March 1984): 62–65; Aronson, “Nutrition as a Social Problem: A Case Study of Entrepreneurial Strategy in Science,” *Social Problems* 29, no. 5 (June 1982): 474–487; and Aronson, “Social Definitions of Entitlement: Food Needs, 1885–1920,” *Media, Culture, and Society* 4, no. 1 (1982): 51–61. On Atwater’s career, see Harvey Levenstein, “The New England Kitchen and the Origins of Modern American Eating Habits,” *American Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (Autumn 1980): 369–386; John Coveney, *Food, Morals, and Meaning: The Pleasure and Anxiety of Eating* (London, 2000), 72–78.

the volume of grain production, while France mounted diagrams tracking the price of bread from 1830 to 1891, and Ceylon illustrated its share of Asian and European tea markets. At Chicago, “the line of triangulation into the future,” Henry Adams observed, was measured in units of “power, tonnage, and speed,” but in the Agricultural Building the heterogeneity of flavor, color, and custom simply yielded to an equally ambiguous surfeit of numbers.¹³

This metrical handicap excluded food from the turn toward statistical reasoning that was altering social debate in the United States. Americans increasingly digested information in numerical form. In 1898, the U.S. Bureau of Statistics reformatted its publications to increase their influence and circulation; instead of annual compilations, it issued weekly bulletins containing the latest figures. The Census Bureau followed suit, issuing serialized dispatches highlighting correlations culled from its decennial reports. Official figures only augmented a growing stream of private data. The public learned the risks of accident, typhoid, and homicide from monthly actuarial digests issued by insurance companies. After 1905, gamblers judged horses by the statistical portents in the *Daily Racing Form*, and baseball fans sized up hitters by the tables in *The Sporting News*. Newspapers published an avalanche of statistics evaluating business acumen by quarterly earnings, literature by copies sold, and drama by the number of weeks on Broadway. Historians have described the metric revolution nurtured by the great European *bureaux statistiques* in the nineteenth century, but to contemporary observers in the twentieth, this shift toward mass consumption of statistics appeared to be a new and not altogether positive development.¹⁴

Numerical expression fostered an altered worldview both more definite about solutions to complex problems and more attuned to indicators of rising and falling fortunes, especially among nations. Moral and legal argument had lost authority, Princeton historian Winthrop More Daniels remarked in 1902: “today the man of average intelligence . . . has in his mental make-up a numerical frame-work, more or less exact, in which unconsciously the main facts of political and economic geography comfortably pigeonhole themselves.” Instead of holding a fixed place in a hierarchy of inherently dissimilar races and nations, Americans could track their country’s movement along a sliding scale of humanity on any number of axes of advancement. Carroll D. Wright, a Labor Department statistician, noted that “it is nothing rare for a public man to ask an official statistician to give him offhand the average wages paid in the United States or the wages paid in half a dozen designated countries, or to state in a few lines the criminal conditions or . . . the cost of producing various articles in different countries.” Official discourse consisted in such compar-

¹³ “Statue of Germania Dedicated,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1893, 2; Mary E. Green, *Food Products of the World* (Chicago, 1895), 3–4; “America’s Vast Resources,” *New York Times*, December 3, 1893, 13; “French Agricultural Display,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 17, 1893, 9; “Tea Is Their Text,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 18, 1893, 12; Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1961), 342.

¹⁴ “New System Devised to Prevent Figures from Telling Lies,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 28, 1898, 10. *The Spectator* was a New York insurance industry review issued monthly from 1868 to 1918, after which it became a weekly. On the history of statistical reasoning, see Alain Desrosières, *The Politics of Large Numbers: A History of Statistical Reasoning* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820–1900* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); and especially Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge, 1990).

isons, which defined problems and indicated the urgency of commercial and military threats. Many observers considered such quantitative reasoning a modern and distinctly American trait. "If the English are a nation of shopkeepers, Americans are a nation of expert accountants," critic and playwright Eugene Richard White observed. "We go about reforming and purifying the world with a committee report at elbow and a statistical compilation in each hand."¹⁵

The calorimeter thus translated the vernacular customs of food into the numerical language of empire. Atwater revolutionized nutritional science, as historian Hillel Schwartz observes, by theorizing food "without reference to taste, ethnic tradition, or social context," but he changed his field in other ways, too. Under his direction, the discipline of nutrition left its descriptive, reformist roots and became a quantitative, technocratic specialization. Where diet experts had formerly directed advice at individual patients, they now studied whole populations at the behest of the state. Their terms of analysis adapted to the new calculative logic; the critique of working-class diets receded, and the notion of an "American diet" to be compared with other national diets assumed prominence. The calorie lent food a conceptual coherence and established boundaries and hierarchies that defined it as a social object. Atwater's schedules ranked grain, meat, and dairy goods as important national resources, while fruits, leafy vegetables, and fish registered such slight nutritional value that they could scarcely be classified as food. Tea, coffee, and spices, on which whole imperial systems had once flourished, had no value at all.¹⁶

The calorie represented food as uniform, composed of interchangeable parts, and comparable across time and between nations and races. In 1911, C. F. Langworthy, who succeeded Atwater as the head of nutrition investigations at USDA, compiled surveys undertaken by missionaries and ethnographers into a ranked list of the peoples of "each country and each epoch" on a scale of daily caloric consumption, with the "native laborer" of the Congo at the bottom (2,812 calories) and the American athlete at the top (4,510 calories). Challenging dietary theories of racial difference, Langworthy stressed that the human diet was far less diverse than had formerly been thought. Broken down into chemicals, the potatoes and cheese that fed the Irish laborer were identical, except in quantity, to the rice and ghee that nourished an Indian coolie. The central component in every diet was nitrogen, the element that lent "energy value" to meat, milk, and wheat. The thermodynamic theory of nutrition superseded whole systems of colonial knowledge of "useful plants," native diets, and the "seasoning" of Europeans in the tropics. Langworthy could also reassure Americans that their nitrogen-rich diet constituted the "finest food supply of any country in the world."¹⁷

Treating societies as closed systems, nutritionists suggested that a "physiological economy" of food governed institutions and nations, and that "scientific eating"

¹⁵ Winthrop More Daniels, "Divination by Statistics," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1902, 101; Carroll D. Wright, "The Limitations and Difficulties of Statistics," *Yale Review* 3 (May 1894): 121; Eugene Richard White, "The Plague of Statistics," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1901, 842–843.

¹⁶ Hillel Schwartz, *Never Satisfied: A Cultural History of Diets, Fantasies, and Fat* (New York, 1986), 87; Aronson, "Social Definitions of Entitlement," 53.

¹⁷ C. F. Langworthy and R. D. Milner, "The Respiration Calorimeter and the Results of Experiments with It," in *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1910* (Washington, 1911), 307–318; Langworthy, *Food, Customs, and Diet in American Homes* (Washington, D.C., 1911); "World's Finest Food Supply," *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 1911, 19.

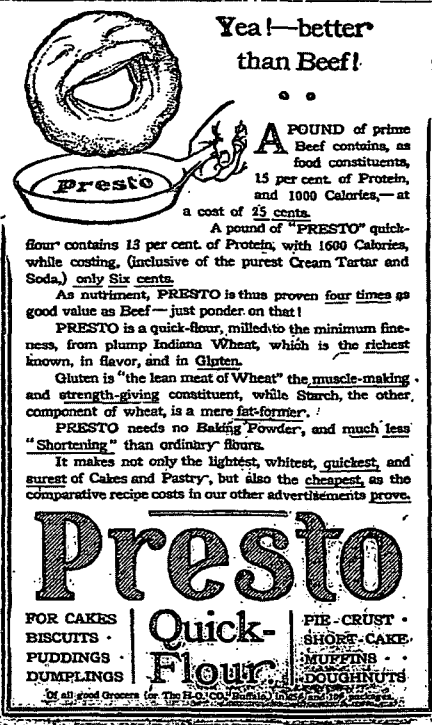
Pure Beer Is Next to Milk As Energy Builder

A glass of milk yields 184 calories; a similar glass of pure beer, 137.

Calories form the measuring rod by which science computes energy.

A glass of Schlitz in Brown Bottles is sufficient fuel to furnish abundant energy to the human machine,

And Doesn't Make You Bilious



Yea!—better
than Beef!

A POUND of prime Beef contains, as food constituents, 15 per cent. of Protein, and 1000 Calories,—at a cost of 25 cents.

A pound of "PRESTO" quick-flour contains 13 per cent. of Protein, with 1600 Calories, while costing, (inclusive of the purest Cream Tartar and Soda,) only Six cents.

As nutriment, PRESTO is thus proven four times as good value as Beef — just ponder on that!

PRESTO is a quick-flour, milled to the minimum fineness, from plump Indiana Wheat, which is the richest known, in flavor, and in Gluten.

Gluten is "the lean meat of Wheat" the muscle-making and strength-giving constituent, while Starch, the other component of wheat, is a mere fat-former.

PRESTO needs no Baking Powder, and much less "Shortening" than ordinary flours.

It makes not only the lightest, whitest, quickest, and surest of Cakes and Pastry, but also the cheapest, as the comparative recipe costs in our other advertisements prove.

Presto

FOR CAKES | Quick- | PIE-CRUST
BISCUITS | Flour | SHORT-CAKE
PUDDINGS | | MUFFINS
DUMPLINGS | | DOUGHNUTS

Get all good groceries for The FLOUR COMPANY, NEW YORK

FIGURE 2: Advertisers exploited the calorie's ability to present scientific comparisons between dissimilar foods. Nutritionists also used it to compare national diets. *Washington Post*, July 25, 1903, 2; *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1915, ii2.

based on caloric "bookkeeping" would increase national efficiency. Langworthy and Atwater identified "balance" as characteristic of a progressive diet, and enumerated several ways that personal and market behavior could be modified to square the food ledger: individuals should balance physical exertion and caloric consumption; meals should balance luxury proteins against necessary carbohydrates; and economic policies should match supplies, on the basis of calories, to the specific requirements of populations. As a measure of *optimization*, the calorie represented a significant advance over the kinds of statistics used since the eighteenth century. Officials had studied tables of tax receipts, birth rates, harvests, mortality, and crime to discover natural laws and constants in human behavior that would serve as foundations for policy, but the calorie revealed a wide discrepancy between "natural" behavior and the ideal balance that might be achieved through social regulation. As Atwater and

Langworthy never tired of pointing out, people of all classes and educations ate the wrong things in the wrong amounts, and neither the appetite nor the market could accurately assess needs. So while nineteenth-century statistics guided and limited the state, the calorie prefigured the use of gross national products, poverty rates, intelligence quotients, and the panoply of indices that in the twentieth century authorized government to tell people what was best for them.¹⁸

Calories presented a thin simplification of nutrition better suited to gauging large populations than to guiding personal eating habits, as physicians repeatedly pointed out. In 1917, the American Medical Association warned against the “unwise domination” of the calorie in the popular mind, but its use persisted through the enthusiasm of advertisers, who emblazoned calorie counts on cereal boxes and instructed consumers that “calories measure food energy the same as dollars measure money.” The federal government also eagerly seized upon the calorie to fill an urgent need for statistical information on food. After war broke out in Europe, speculative runs on commodities and food panics in major U.S. cities revealed the inadequacy of both the market mechanism and official knowledge. The agriculture department needed to balance Europe’s requirements against the danger of domestic scarcity, but, the secretary admitted to congressional investigators, “where the food supply is located, who owns it, what may be the difficulties of securing it, whether the local market conditions are due to shortage, whether there can be artificial manipulation or control, no one can state with certainty.” Combined with censuses, caloric tables could be used to estimate rations for cities, armies, or even nations. Military rather than hygienic necessity made the calorie an international standard measure of food.¹⁹

Under pressure of war, the successful marshaling of food consumption and production became a state responsibility. American observers paid anxious attention to the warring powers’ use of blockades to starve their adversaries to defeat. Correspondents assessed the offerings of restaurants and meat markets and the caloric content of soldiers’ rations. The *New York Times* suggested that Germany, with its ports sealed, represented a closed chamber within which national energy and food production would have to balance. When a group of American engineers organized a massive food drive for occupied Belgium, they turned to the new “science of dietetics,” which, having been rescued from “the hands of vegetarians and other extremists, seem[ed] at last to have arrived upon solid ground.” The commission calculated purchases and rations on the basis of calories, which it considered “almost the only thing to be considered” in managing famine relief. As U.S. supplies became

¹⁸ W. O. Atwater, *Methods and Results of Investigations on the Chemistry and Economy of Food* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 9, 214–218; C. F. Langworthy and R. D. Milner, *Investigations on the Nutrition of Man* (Washington, D.C., 1904). In 1937, Labourite editor Douglas Jay memorably summed up this arrogation of knowledge: “In the case of nutrition and health, just as in the case of education, the gentleman in Whitehall really does know better what is good for people than the people know themselves”; Richard Toye, “‘The Gentleman in Whitehall’ Reconsidered: The Evolution of Douglas Jay’s Views on Economic Planning and Consumer Choice, 1937–47,” *Labour History Review* 67, no. 2 (August 2002): 188–204.

¹⁹ “Beware the Calorie,” *Literary Digest*, December 8, 1917, 27; “Food Control,” *New Republic*, March 10, 1917, 155.

critical on both sides of the Western Front, Europeans learned to calculate food by American numbers.²⁰

In the United States, mobilization for war began in 1917 when President Woodrow Wilson created a national food authority under the leadership of Herbert Hoover, a mining engineer and chief organizer of the Belgium relief. From his headquarters in the Willard Hotel, Hoover launched a drive to conserve sugar, fats, and grain for export to the front. Administrators took immediate steps to expand the cultivation of wheat, "by far" the most essential commodity because of its portability, abundance, and destabilizing potential. Dry, compact, and calorie-dense, wheat could "stand shipment" better than other staples. Despite a poor 1917 crop, "our stock of wheat offered the largest supply of calories available from any single raw food material," officials noted. More importantly, riots in American cities and Hoover's own experience in Belgium confirmed that shortages of bread led to unrest. The "industrial classes" valued wheat as an affordable luxury, and consequently "bread affects the morale of a people more quickly than any other food." European governments had long recognized this requirement for domestic order, but Hoover stressed its symbolic and practical ramifications for U.S. strategy. In the midst of war, he told his staff, "the wheat loaf has ascended in the imagination of men, women, and children as the emblem of national survival and national tranquility."²¹

In Hoover's view, the net outflow of 20 million bushels would leave a morale deficit in the United States that could be filled only by social discipline. Over the heads of striking farmers and protesting bakers, Hoover appealed to his "police force—the American woman" to enforce wheatless Wednesdays and flourless "victory meals." As an instructional tool, the calorie was indispensable for setting rations, identifying substitutes, and defining the patriotic self-control expected of citizens. "You should know and also use the word calorie as frequently, or more frequently, than you use the words foot, yard, quart, [or] gallon," instructed one guidebook, "Instead of saying one slice of bread, or a piece of pie, you will say 100 calories of bread, 350 calories of pie." Consuming surplus calories amounted to "overeating," which sapped personal and national efficiency. Manhattan restaurants helpfully listed calorie counts next to each item along with the recommended totals for each "walk of life."²²

The conscription of individual appetites disturbed conventional distinctions between public duty and personal conduct. Leading churchman Lyman Abbot disparaged calorie counting as "spiritual hypochondria," while another critic wistfully recalled days when "the highest science known to eating was to be able to balance green peas on a knife." Hoover deployed "higher mathematics . . . to order your lives and grub." An unnamed Philadelphia poet lampooned the specter Hoovering over every

²⁰ "How Germany's Food Problem Was Met," *New York Times*, April 16, 1916, 6; "Germany's Food Problem," *Literary Digest*, February 24, 1917, 454; Sarah T. Barrows, "A Triumph of Scientific House-keeping," *Journal of Home Economics* 8, no. 9 (September 1916): 495–498; "How European War Departments Solve the Food Problems of Armies in the Field," *Current Opinion*, October 1914, 257; Robinson Smith, *Food Values and the Rationing of a Country* (London, 1917), 5.

²¹ United States Food Administration, *Food and the War* (Boston, 1918), 129–130; Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover: Years of Adventure, 1874–1920* (New York, 1961), 279.

²² George H. Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, 1917–1918* (New York, 1996), 206, 232; Lulu Hunt Peters, *Diet and Health with a Key to the Calories* (Chicago, 1918), 24; Harry A. Williams, "On the Way to Berlin," *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1918, 10.



FIGURE 3: "We dominated central and southeastern Europe," an ARA official boasted. Polish children await handouts in 1919. Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa.

American hearth: "An' all us other children when our scanty meal is done, / We gather round the fire and has the mostest fun / A-listnin' to the proteins that Herbie tells about / An' the Calories that git you ef you don't watch out!"²³

Historians have described the enduring effect that war rationing had on perceptions of diet and body image, and social theorists have associated the emergence of modern sovereignty with a move from "wholesale" methods of policing to "retail" forms in which individuals internalize state demands as rules of personal behavior. Hoover summed up the point in the slogan "Centralize ideas but decentralize execution." He stressed an intimate connection between the "test" of bodily discipline and the trials that would face the nation during the war emergency and after. Personal dietary sacrifice indicated the United States' arrival at a "stage of development" at which it was prepared to "protect its own institutions and those of Europe." Russia had never attained that stage, he argued, "and the result has been a massacre." He urged Americans to seek "victory over ourselves; victory over the enemy of freedom."²⁴

Hoover defined food as both a core vulnerability in the international order and an instrument of U.S. influence. Experts from the United States Food Administra-

²³ Lyman Abbott, "The Pernicious Habit of Self-Examination," *Outlook*, May 30, 1917, 185; Williams, "On the Way to Berlin"; "Herbie Hoover," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 29, 1917, 10.

²⁴ Jean Brumberg, *Fasting Girls: The Emergence of Anorexia Nervosa as a Modern Disease* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1995), 214–224; Richard Norton Smith, *An Uncommon Man: The Triumph of Herbert Hoover* (New York, 1984), 88; "500 Hotels to Stop Serving Wheat," *New York Times*, March 30, 1918, 9; Nash, *The Life of Herbert Hoover*, 232.

tion created a ledger of global food resources and caloric requirements, and shortly before the armistice, Hoover informed Wilson that the United States would have to undertake relief efforts in forty-five nations "if we are to preserve these countries from Bolshevism and rank anarchy." Britain and France continued the blockade after the armistice, but U.S. officials, with Hoover in the lead, pressured them to lift it. The new American Relief Administration (ARA) then poured food through every German port. It took control of telegraph, treasuries, and transport. "In this crisis, we dominated central and southeastern Europe," an ARA official observed. "Our problem was to feed and rehabilitate countries inhabited by eighty-five million people." Allied and enemy governments received aid on equal terms, and the ARA even dealt with Bela Kun's Soviet regime in Hungary while conspiring to overthrow it. Distinctions between allies and enemies offered only temporary security, Hoover insisted; ultimately, resources and distribution would make the difference between war and peace, order and revolution.²⁵

In defining security, Hoover rejected traditional balance-of-power concerns as well as Wilson's emphasis on international law and world opinion. Among the earliest and most forceful proponents of a novel strategic concept that linked security to social welfare, he located the germ of future wars in reaction and revolution incubated by scarcity. Material abundance bred stability, he argued, but "famine breeds anarchy. Anarchy is infectious, the infections of such a cess-pool will jeopardize France and Britain, [and] will yet spread to the United States." Hunger and unemployment "will not be cured at all by law or by legalistic processes," he warned, nor by nationalism or Bolshevism, although desperate populations would take up radical creeds. To forestall war, he believed, the United States would have to provide, in example and theory, an alternative route to progress, a progress measured in standards of living.²⁶

Hoover disdained the "indescribable malignity" of Paris, often feeling alone in his conviction that safety could not be ensured by treaties, plebiscites, or border adjustments, but influential delegates, including leading socialists and members of inter-Allied mobilization councils, shared his hope for a peace based on managed social and economic amelioration. British economist John Maynard Keynes and French planners Jean Monnet and Albert Thomas each advocated technocratic direction of production and consumption as an alternative to the instability inherent in the prewar laissez-faire model. Charles S. Maier has catalogued the diverse European constituencies that sought salvation from reparations and industrial conflict in Taylorist and Fordist methods. But Hoover seemed more interested in defining exceptionalism than in fostering commonality. He sought to position scientific management as a uniquely American ideological response to Leninism.²⁷

Believing that the appeal of radical doctrines lay in their ability to explain crisis

²⁵ Herbert Hoover, *An American Epic*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1960), 2: 248; Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover*, 398; T. T. C. Gregory, "Stemming the Red Tide," *World's Work*, May 1921, 95-97; Gregory, "Overthrowing a Red Regime," *World's Work*, June 1921, 153-164.

²⁶ Quoted in Frank Ninkovich, *Modernity and Power: The History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, 1990), 76.

²⁷ Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2 (1970): 27-61; Martin Fine, "Albert Thomas: A Reformer's Vision of Modernization, 1914-32," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no. 3 (July 1977): 545-564; Jean Monnet, *Memoirs* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), 95-98.

(a) In relation to income:			Total Number of Calories		
Weekly Income in Crowns	Per Cent. Spent on Food	Number in Family	Per Person Per Day (Non-Producer)	Average Man Per Day (Producer)	Per Cent. of Normal (3300)
85	90	7	1,960	2,333	70
148	80	6	2,097	2,495	75
230	75	5	2,387	2,842	86
320	60	5	2,480	2,952	89
420	55	5	2,489	2,858	86
540	48	5	2,517	2,996	90

NOTE.—Since the average man (producer) requires 3,300 calories per day, each person (non-producer) will require 3,300 x 0.84 or 2,862 calories per day.

(b) In relation to occupation.				
Occupation	Weekly Income in Crowns	Number in Family	Per Person Per Day	Per Cent. of Per Average Normal Man (3300)
Laborers.....	70	7	1,950	.59
Coachmen.....	70	7	2,100	.63
Servants.....	70	7	2,240	.67
Small Pensioners.....	85	5	2,216	.67
Factory Employees.....	160	7	2,290	.69
Private Clerks.....	200	6	2,105	.63
Grade Teachers.....	210	5	2,390	.69
Lesser Govt. Officials.....	250	6	2,360	.71
Artisans.....	260	6	2,400	.72
Small Tradesmen.....	310	6	2,460	.74
Teachers.....	330	4	2,510	.77
Physicians.....	480	5	2,935	.89
High Govt. Officials.....	450	5	3,010	.91
Miners.....	280	7	2,670	.80

FIGURE 4: You are what you eat. Following the Atwater method, the ARA assigned rations in Vienna by job categories. Hoover Papers, Pre-Commerce, ARA Printed Miscellaneous, 1919–1921, Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa.

and progress through iron laws of history and economics, Hoover set out to define an “American substitute” for “these disintegrating theories of Europe.” His *American Individualism* (1922) laid out a stage theory of history, modeled on Marx but culminating in an era of “high pitch” mass consumption. Transitions between phases were marked not by crisis, but by innovations in cooperation that would “enable us to synchronize socially and economically this gigantic machine which we have built out of applied science.” Techniques of social optimization—such as advertising, standardization, market research, and dietetics—would harmonize wages, production, consumption, labor, and health. More importantly, they sublimated ideological demands for peace, land, and bread within a neutral, quantitative language of entitlement. Optimization opened pathways to progress that bypassed developmental dead-ends predicted by Marx and Malthus. Poverty represented not the crisis of capitalism but the open frontier of the market without limits. In the modern age, security would rest on an ability to dominate the strategic terrain of global con-



AREA SUPPLIED THROUGH FOOD DRAFT PLAN OF AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

FIGURE 5: The calorie as currency. \$10 and \$50 "food drafts" could be redeemed for a standard package of flour, fat, and dried milk at food banks in these zones of Eastern Europe. Hoover Papers, Pre-Commerce, ARA Printed Miscellaneous, 1919–1921, Hoover Library, West Branch, Iowa.

sumption. "There are continents of human welfare," he affirmed, "of which we have penetrated only the coastal plain."²⁸

IN 1920, CHASE OSBORN, Michigan's progressive governor, modestly proposed that the postwar system of international trade employ the calorie as a universal currency. A secure, expanding commerce, he explained, rested more solidly on units of sustenance than on the "imaginary" value of metal. "Nothing has value beyond its use in giving and sustaining life . . . The quest of the calorie instead of the quest of wealth in gold would be the seeking of a permanent and not a changeable good." In the years following the armistice, claims to legitimacy increasingly came to be expressed in the

²⁸ Herbert Hoover, "The Paramount Business of Every American Today," *System*, July 1920, 24; Hoover, *American Individualism* (Garden City, N.Y., 1922); Smith, *An Uncommon Man*, 93, 94; Herbert Hoover, "The Nation and Science," *Science* 65, no. 1672 (January 14, 1927): 26–29.

idiom of development. As weakened metropolitan powers struggled to justify stewardship over restive colonies, and citizens, politicized by wartime sacrifices, demanded recognition of an entitlement to welfare, leaders sought political solutions in the economic and scientific spheres. But without a unified conception of civilization or “the West,” development was necessarily a fractured discourse, with colonial, international, and national variants vying to fix norms of social achievement. Quantitative measurement, as Osborn’s creative proposal suggested, offered innovative possibilities for expressing claims to developmental authority. Although Americans encouraged the diffusion of standard measures as a basis for open-door trade and international scientific partnership, they were also used—as the calorie was—to support agendas of autarkic and colonial development antagonistic to U.S. interests.²⁹

Even as statistics became internationally standardized, their political uses grew more varied. Imperial regimes, independence movements, modernizing states, and new international agencies each validated their distinct hierarchies and ambitions in a numerical medium. The chief innovations of interwar diplomacy consisted in techniques of fixing calculable relations between powers: setting ratios of warships, quotas on immigration and trade, currency rates, and reparations payments. Despite the withdrawal into isolationism, the United States was closely identified with the movement to set quantitative norms. At the center of global finance and manufacturing, notes Emily Rosenberg, the United States emerged as a “leader in developing scientific and objective methods of organization and accounting.” Nutritional science kept pace, devising an array of new and more precise metrics. By 1925, the British magazine *The Spectator* could observe that “the great American work of dietetics . . . has won all along the line, despite vigorous resistance in this country . . . [T]he idea of balance is becoming ever more insistent.”³⁰

European observers in the interwar years regarded enthusiasm for measurement and scientific regulation as both characteristically American and a grim portent of modernity’s future course. To Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, the American penchant for reducing heterogeneity to numerical classifications represented a “Taylorism of the mind,” a sacrifice of intellectual freedom to the dictates of efficiency. Used this way, science reached for sheltered and familiar terrain rather than the unknown. French novelist Georges Duhamel recognized that he had arrived at the “world of the future” when his American host urged him to order oatmeal rather than potatoes because “it will give you two hundred more calories.” To Duhamel, the incident illustrated a distinctively American application of science as a palliative, and he reproached his hapless messmate for evading civilization’s duty to confront uncertainty and disorder. “The word ‘calorie’ contains nothing to frighten me,” he admonished. “I have lived in laboratories, but I think that laboratories and private

²⁹ “Now for Calorie Dollars Instead of Gold Dollars,” *Current Opinion*, January 1920, 132. The idea was not farfetched. Food was already in use as a medium of foreign exchange between the United States and Poland. “Food Now Foreign Exchange Medium,” *New York Times*, April 23, 1919, 23.

³⁰ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900–1930* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 192; “The New Dietetics,” *The Spectator*, August 22, 1925, 296.

life are two separate things . . . Your faith in science doesn't bring you tranquility: it merely gives your uneasiness a different twist."³¹

Still, quantitative nutrition obtruded into European life through the agency of governments and advertisers, although not always with the approval of the subjects of their interventions. Italian statisticians investigated the kitchens of peasants and fisherfolk. German factory managers posted calorie charts in workers' canteens. When Lord Shaw, presiding over a British commission of inquiry on the minimum wage, proposed a sliding scale based on calorie allowances, labor unions drew the line. Ernest Bevin, representing the National Transport Workers' Federation, protested that "it placed the worker as a distinct class on the basis of the animal, the basis of food alone, and that I would never discuss." But as Americans promoted "scientific" measures of opinion, consumer behavior, and efficiency abroad, they regarded the neutrality and clarity of their statistics as a gift to mankind. "Our latest symbol is not the big stick," the *New York Times* diplomatic correspondent wrote in 1929, "but the irrefutable and passionless yardstick."³²

Ironically, the calorie's significance for nutritional science diminished while it gained official recognition as a measure of national vitality. Wartime rationing had fostered an international network of food experts and laboratories and pushed research in new directions. The isolation of minute compounds tied to specific diseases revolutionized the field in the 1920s. But while the "discovery of vitamins" discredited the notion of a single, definitive measure of food value, the calorie's application as a criterion of social hygiene proliferated globally, linked now to notions of competition and trusteeship. Elmer V. McCollum's laboratory at Johns Hopkins set international standards for measuring vitamins, minerals, and amino acids. These innovations rehabilitated the once-devalued oranges, cabbages, and cod, while reaffirming the importance of milk and wheat, now identified as "protective" foods vital to the growth of children. Balance remained the ideal, but in place of the calorie's double-entry bookkeeping, it now meant a distribution across a spreadsheet of five or more columns, an audit capable of identifying deficiencies by type as well as degree. By linking measurable substances to conditions such as pellagra, rickets, and beriberi, the "newer science of nutrition" achieved the clinical efficacy Atwater unsuccessfully sought.³³

Crucially, it also revised the calorie's universalist premise, reintroducing a connection between diet and race. Where calories had ranked consumption on a unilinear scale of under- and over-nutrition, vitamins allowed classification of specific diets into categories of "malnutrition." A student of McCollum's, Lieutenant Colo-

³¹ Johan Huizinga, *America: A Dutch Historian's Vision from Afar and Near*, trans. Herbert H. Rowen (New York, 1972), 114; see also André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age* (New York, 1927), 181–182; Hilaire Belloc, *The Contrast* (New York, 1924), 53; C. H. Bretherton, *Midas; or, The United States and the Future* (New York, 1926), 59; Georges Duhamel, *America the Menace*, trans. Charles M. Thompson (Boston, 1931), 13–14.

³² "Calories," *The Nation*, February 28, 1920, 736–738; Anne O'Hare McCormick, "Hoover Molds a Foreign Policy," *New York Times Magazine*, June 16, 1929, 1.

³³ Two Americans share credit with F. Gowland Hopkins of Cambridge University for the identification of the first five vitamins. Lafayette B. Mendel of Yale and Elmer V. McCollum both served in Hoover's National Food Administration. Harry G. Day, "Nutrition and E. V. McCollum," *Science* 205, no. 4404 (July 27, 1979): 359; Naomi Aronson, "The Discovery of Resistance: Historical Accounts and Scientific Careers," *Isis* 77, no. 4 (December 1986): 630–646.

nel Robert McCarrison of the Indian Health Service, represented racial variations graphically in the form of trajectories, with the Indian races joined at birth in a common humanity but then arcing through time and consumption toward separate, nutritionally determined potentialities. In 1928, Victor G. Heiser, director of the Rockefeller Foundation's International Health Board, told the readers of *Foreign Affairs* that innovations in food measurement confirmed that physical differences identified as eugenic might in fact be nutritional, suggesting that "the races that first avail themselves of the new values of nutrition may decrease the handicaps of disease, lengthen their lives, and so become the leaders of the future." Nor was this purely an American apprehension. Allyre Chassevant, a nutritionist in the French military health service, warned that "the first nation which manages" the improvement of its popular diet "will create an incalculable national energy."³⁴

No less than any other discipline, nutrition was subject to the moral ambivalence that afflicted modern science. Research that fostered international awareness of malnutrition and affirmed a universal entitlement to a healthy diet could simultaneously initiate a nutritional arms race or validate theories of racial dominion. Although the interwar years saw an intensified interest in food planning and the growth of an international network of nutritional institutes and specialists, the outlines of a unitary "food regime" did not appear until 1937. Instead, dietary research was conscripted into three conflicting agendas that can be labeled international, autarkic, and imperial development. Although each applied measurement as an administrative tool, they subordinated the caloric ideal of a fully optimized consumption to state or institutional goals, leaving Hoover's "continent" of human welfare unexplored.

Despite the defeat of Wilson's internationalist ideal by the U.S. Senate, officers of the new League of Nations aspired to create an organization that could address the root sources of international conflict by adjusting systems of labor, productivity, migration, and consumption. The first secretariat—led by Sir Eric Drummond, Jean Monnet, and, during the brief period before the Senate struck down the League treaty, an American, Raymond B. Fosdick—sought to "humanize" the Versailles system by displacing balance-of-power politics with "a systematic approach to international problems where everybody has everything to gain and nothing to lose." License for this "new technique" of international activism was contained in League articles 23 and 24, which authorized international commissions for disease prevention, opium control, transit, and weights and measures.³⁵

Beginning in 1925, the League Health Organization and the International Labor Office (ILO), headed by Albert Thomas, initiated a series of national nutritional surveys based on the Atwater method. By 1935, the League had set a global dietary standard of 2,500 calories per day for a laboring adult. Like the eight-hour day advocated by the ILO, this represented an unenforced, unlegislated ideal, but it none-

³⁴ Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, *Evidence of the Officers Serving under the Government of India*, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1927), 1, pt. 2: 101; Victor G. Heiser, "Food and Race," *Foreign Affairs* 6, no. 3 (April 1928): 431. The president of the American Medical Association agreed, predicting that strategic nutrition science would endow favored nations with "a higher level of cultural development. To a measurable degree, man is now master of his own destiny." "Food and Human Evolution," *New York Times*, June 13, 1935, 22; Simmons, "Minimal Frenchmen," 167.

³⁵ Monnet, *Memoirs*, 98; Raymond B. Fosdick, *Letters on the League of Nations: From the Files of Raymond B. Fosdick* (Princeton, N.J., 1966), 9, 22.

theless set a benchmark for school lunch programs, famine relief, and wage comparisons around the world. Thomas advocated universal norms as a method of international institution building. The process of debating and fixing social standards threw "into relief the common ideal toward which we are all advancing" and established a common vocabulary for supranational governance.³⁶

In Geneva, as Monnet later observed, the vision of an "organized peace" founded on integrated planning soon faded into familiar habits of diplomacy, but private philanthropies quickly seized upon the new style of international activism. The Carnegie Endowment and the Twentieth Century Fund promoted the diffusion of an American standard of living as a basis for amity. Fosdick, on leaving the League secretariat to take charge of the Rockefeller Foundation, noted that because of its measurability, food presented a unique vehicle for demonstrating the advantages of rationalization. "Through modern statistics we are able, in our generation, to get a complete picture of supply and demand in relation to the world's food," he explained. "What we need now is synthetic thinking, constructive brains, and a plan, laid down in world terms."³⁷

One such plan came from James Lossing Buck, an American missionary who conducted the first caloric surveys in China. Reporting in 1930, he noted that dietetic and farming patterns in China were the reverse of those in the United States' own troubled system of agriculture; the "pressure of population" compelled peasants to practice an intensive agriculture that produced a larger ratio of calories per acre, chiefly in the form of grain. In the United States, a meat-based diet supported expansive farming patterns that used technology to compensate for inefficient land use. As land grew scarce, Buck predicted, Americans would grow and consume food more like the Chinese, and as China modernized, American technology would allow cultivators to eke more from their tiny plots.³⁸

The theme of a natural partnership between American engineers and Chinese peasants reached a broad audience through Pearl Buck's 1931 bestseller *The Good Earth*. Buck's husband's tabulations outlined in broad terms an agenda for joint action: preserving China's food balance would ultimately require "some method of population control," but a short-range solution could be found in "more intensive methods of raising crops." The Rockefeller Foundation funded schemes to distribute farm machinery and improved seeds in central China until 1937, when the Japanese invasion interrupted the work. The foundation then transferred the research effort to Mexico, where it developed techniques that would return to Asia as the "green revolution" in the 1960s. A massive program of rural modernization and nation building, the green revolution is customarily explained as a response to the post-World War II population boom, but the project began before any demographic shift

³⁶ League Health Organization, *Report on the Physiological Bases of Nutrition* (Geneva, 1935); Fine, "Albert Thomas," 556; ILO, *Monthly Summary* 7 (July 1929): 40.

³⁷ "Wanted: An Aristotle, Raymond Fosdick's Plea for the Spirit of Organization," *Current Opinion*, August 1, 1924, 212–213; the full text of the speech is in Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Old Savage in the New Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y., 1931), 177–180.

³⁸ John Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (Chicago, 1930); Buck, "Agriculture and the Future of China," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 152 (November 1930): 109–115.

was evident. As Fosdick insisted, it sprang from the quantitative logic of the food inventory.³⁹

A second food regime emerged alongside interwar trends toward national autarky. The narrowing pattern of international exchange, evident by the mid-1920s, deeply worried U.S. leaders. Protective tariffs imposed in Europe, Japan, and the colonies, and the formation of currency blocs in response to the Depression, cordoned the world into closed spheres, a nightmare for American free traders. But economic regimentation on such a scale could not have been imposed without the use of the calorie, which facilitated market manipulations, propaganda, and planning. In Italy, for example, the Istituto Centrale di Statistica (ISTAT) regularly issued caloric tables illustrating the steady improvement of the national diet under fascism. Measures to subsidize and supplement rations enjoyed support from labor unions as well as scientific and military officials who urged an orthogenetic program for enhancing racial quality and fitness for military service.⁴⁰

While ancient Rome had ensured *panem et circenses* through a system of imperial tribute, Mussolini made food self-sufficiency the foundation of the New Rome. His Battle for Grain in 1925 aimed to achieve freedom from the “slavery” of imported bread by marshaling consumption and expanding wheat production. As governments in Europe, North America, and Argentina encouraged wheat cultivation on marginal lands, international grain prices plummeted, motivating further economic insulation. Following the invasion of Ethiopia, ISTAT investigated minimum metabolic requirements as a tool for predicting Italy’s ability to survive a prolonged embargo. Increasingly, as Carol Helstosky has shown, national food controls designed to reform and enhance popular diets were employed instead to enforce military austerity.⁴¹

Japan’s dietary reform movement applied the calculative logic of nutritional science to reconcile the imperatives of autarky and preparations for war. In 1921, the newly established Imperial State Institute for Nutrition began research with a calorimeter manufactured in Boston. Comparing Atwater’s factors with results from Tokyo policemen, tram motormen, barbers, and primary school teachers, chief investigator Hideo Takahira confirmed that Japanese subjects required calories and protein in the same amounts as their American counterparts, a revelation that overturned a system of military victualing based on distinctive local cuisines. In the 1920s, the imperial army and navy systematically reformed rations, adding “Western” recipes and “ingredients of poor quality” to raise caloric content while cutting costs. Changes such as the addition of more beef and pork and the incorporation of wheat in the form of noodles, breads, and fried batter (tempura) were designed to invigorate the troops and place them on a nutritional par with their prospective American

³⁹ Pearl S. Buck, *The Good Earth* (New York, 1931); Michael H. Hunt, “Pearl Buck—Popular Expert on China, 1931–1949,” *Modern China* 3 (January 1977) 1: 33–64; Blake Allmendinger, “Little House on the Rice Paddy,” *American Literary History* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 360–377; Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*, 424; Frank Ninkovich, “The Rockefeller Foundation, China, and Cultural Change,” *Journal of American History* 70, no. 4 (March 1984): 811–812; “China to Train Farm Aides,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1940, 4. See, for instance, Norman Borlaug’s 1970 Nobel Prize citation, Rockefeller Foundation Papers, RG 6.7, series 4, subseries 6, box 88, Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York. John H. Perkins, *Geopolitics and the Green Revolution* (New York, 1997).

⁴⁰ Carl Ipsen, *Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy* (New York, 1996), 186–187.

⁴¹ Carol Helstosky, *Garlic and Oil: Politics and Food in Italy* (Oxford, 2004), 74–81, 91–121.

and British adversaries. The government then popularized the new “national” cuisine among civilians through recipe books, magazines, and exhibitions. Dietary reform was part of a “food plan” that, in combination with a “population plan” involving resettlement to Manchuria, aimed to maintain “imperial self-sufficiency” in the home islands.⁴²

Even when official regimentation was light, the translation of food into numbers had a substantial influence on “national” cuisines. The interwar decades marked the high point of the “textualization of the culinary realm,” but cookbook authors were less interested in heirloom recipes than in conforming local tastes to a progressive, international standard, typically by enlarging the consumption of wheat. The cuisine globally recognized as Greek, for example, appeared first in the cookbooks of Nikolaos Tselementes in the interwar years. A chef in Parisian restaurants, Tselementes Europeanized moussaka and pastitsio by eliminating Anatolian yogurt, oils, and spices and introducing a floury Béchamel identical to a high-calorie “white sauce” that American nutritionists were pushing as a meat substitute. Jeffrey M. Pilcher has examined the diverse ways in which Mexico’s revolutionary government sought to assimilate Mesoamericans into a revitalized nation by promoting “the Spanish language, the capitalist work ethic, and the cuisine of wheat.” The practice of condensing national character into recipes predated the calorie by a hundred years, but numerical standards lent scientific authority to the process as well as to certain choices, associating wheat with a cosmopolitan, forward-looking identity, and local ingredients, such as yogurt and corn, with a vernacular past. One effect was to encourage mass consumption of wheat even as autarkic policies increasingly segregated the world market, a combination that would prove disastrous after October 1929.⁴³

In the British Empire, and especially India, innovations in nutritional research contributed to a reformulation of the imperial project around a mission of development and welfare known as the dual mandate. The double impact of Wilson’s Fourteen Points and the Russian Revolution made it imperative, according to Sir Keith Hancock, to lend “positive economic and social content to the philosophy of colonial trusteeship by affirming the need for minimum standards of nutrition, health, and education.” The dual mandate also adjusted policy to the requirements of an emerging empire-wide consumer-goods economy. Continuous-process manufacturing required reliable outlets for the branded toiletries, household equipment,

⁴² League of Nations Health Organization, *Progress of the Science of Nutrition in Japan* (Geneva, 1926), 13–36; Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, “Popularizing a Military Diet in Wartime and Postwar Japan,” *Asian Anthropology* 1 (2002): 1–30; “Food and Population Problems Attacked by Government Body,” *The Trans-Pacific*, October 22, 1927, 13a; Michael A. Barnhart, *Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for Economic Security, 1919–1941* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987).

⁴³ Arjun Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (January 1988): 3–24; Shannan Peckham, “Consuming Nations,” in Sian Griffiths and Jennifer Wallace, eds., *Consuming Passions: Food in the Age of Anxiety* (Manchester, 1998), 173; Jane Eddington, “A Meatless Meal,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 7, 1917, 10; Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *¡Que Vivan Los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque, 1998), 90. On other national cuisines, see Igor Cusack, “African Cuisines: Recipe for Nation-Building,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (December 2000): 207–225; Catherine Salzman, “Continuity and Change in the Culinary History of the Netherlands, 1945–1975,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 4 (October 1986): 605–628. See Rebecca Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 27, on the early use of cookbooks to create national publics.

cereals, and canned goods issuing from assembly lines, and the colonies contained Britain's largest potential sales territory. Reimagining subject populations as customers opened new possibilities and goals for imperial development.⁴⁴

The "discovery of colonial malnutrition," according to Michael Worboys, occurred when investigations suggested that an improved diet might enhance the labor efficiency and buying power of rural, colonial populations. Under the new paradigm, colonial officials viewed formerly tolerable rates of disease and mortality as "a heavy drag upon prosperity," while seeking to raise "the standard of life of the Indian countryside" as a stimulus to "demand for food, clothing, and every form of manufacture." Dietary statistics identified areas of deficiency and guided investment. Thus positioned, nutrition held the key to linked problems of public health, agricultural revitalization, and economic development, giving British officials a broad injunction to manage markets, irrigation, property rights, social services, and consumption in the name of the public welfare.⁴⁵

As Mohandas Gandhi and other nationalists recognized, the crisis of malnutrition furnished an expansive justification for Britain's continuing stewardship, while nutritional science supplied a seemingly neutral, calculative language in which to reassert the claims of imperial ideology. In the course of their investigations, for example, nutritionists updated hoary distinctions between "martial" and sedentary races, classifying meat-, milk-, and wheat-eating peoples as physically efficient and prosperous owing to their superior diet. John Boyd Orr found that the "meat, milk, and blood" diet of Kenya's Masai produced a stronger physique than the vegetarian cuisine of the Kikuyu. McCarrison confirmed the "remarkable difference in physical efficiency of different Indian races" owing to variations in diet. The chief indicator of efficiency was the quantity of milk and the quality of grain consumed. European nutritionists uniformly disparaged rice, while dal, according to McCarrison, had a nutritive value so low as to be "toxic." These lessons were absorbed into the school curriculum, and Indian students were counseled that "rice is not very nourishing," while dal induced "paralysis of the legs."⁴⁶

Challenges to these claims made dietary measurement a locus of nationalist resistance, which played out in two ways. The first was a move by subaltern critics to rehabilitate indigenous foods, particularly the devalued grains. Nishikanta Ray, a nutritionist at the University of Calcutta, praised rice as "the greatest of all cereals," and dal as richer in protein "pound for pound" than meat. Dudley Senanayake, who

⁴⁴ W. K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, vol. 2: *Problems of Economic Policy, 1918–1939* (London, 1942), pt. 2: 267.

⁴⁵ Michael Worboys, "The Discovery of Colonial Malnutrition between the Wars," in David Arnold, ed., *Imperial Medicine and Indigenous Societies* (Manchester, 1988), 208–225; Arnold, "The 'Discovery' of Malnutrition and Diet in Colonial India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 31, no. 1 (1994): 1–26; Cynthia Brantley, *Feeding Families: African Realities and British Ideas of Nutrition and Development in Early Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002); Lt. Col. Christopher, "What Disease Costs India," *Indian Medical Gazette*, April 1924, 196–200; "Development of the Empire: A Higher Standard of Living," *The Times*, November 26, 1937, 11.

⁴⁶ J. L. Gilks and J. B. Orr, "The Nutritional Condition of the East African Native," *The Lancet*, March 12, 1927, 560–562; Royal Commission on Agriculture, *Evidence of the Officers*, 96–97; Robert McCarrison, "The Nutritive Value of Wheat, Paddy, and Certain Other Food-Grains," *Indian Journal of Medical Research* 14, no. 3 (1927): 631–639; Dagmar Curjel Wilson and E. M. Widdowson, "Nutrition and Diet in Northern India," *The Lancet* 233 (December 18, 1937): 1445–1448; W. R. Akroyd, *The Nutritive Value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets* (Delhi, 1937); John Wallace Megaw, *The First Laws of Health: A Health Reader for Indian Schools* (Bombay, 1924), 12–13.

would later become the first prime minister of independent Sri Lanka, urged patriots to restore the “dignity” of rice and other native comestibles displaced by imperial commodities such as tea, sugar, and coffee. These critiques operated within the medium of nutritional science, affirming the necessity of hygienic measures to address malnutrition while challenging the colonial authority’s accuracy, and consequently its jurisdiction over the embattled ground of social welfare.⁴⁷

Gandhi, by contrast, premised his critique on the urgency of preventing modern science from gaining authority to set universal norms. Choosing diet as his point of attack, he challenged science’s fundamental claims to realism. Dietetics, he acknowledged, introduced techniques “fraught with the greatest consequences for the world and especially for the famishing millions of India,” but he rejected the validity of calculative methods—and by extension the universalistic claims of all expertise—advocating instead a descriptive, particularistic empiricism. He urged followers not to copy his own regimen of fruit, milk, and uncooked vegetables but to do their own experiments, insisting on the specificity of individual appetites and the distinct properties of each food. *Satyagraha* required a consciousness of diet attuned to the body, the community, and *ahimsa*, the principle of nonviolence. Since science abstracted food from the labor of growing, cooking, and digesting, Gandhi mingled his dietary advice with un-abstract discussions of urine, frying oils, mastication, the life cycles of plants, and techniques for kneading manure into the soil. Apart from caloric values, each vegetable and fruit possessed “physical and spiritual values” that could also be measured, but only in the unique laboratory of each human body.⁴⁸

In crafting a link between diet and nationalism, Gandhi used food as a potent symbol of the value of the particular, the local, and the individual under assault from the homogenizing logic of modern science. As Ashis Nandy observes, Gandhi conceptualized development as an expression of personal morality and happiness, and disparaged the penchant of industrial civilization for “gauging progress in terms of calories and comforts.” To accept the West’s terms of reference, he contended, was to risk incorporation into a developmental regime in which singular cultural values would not count.⁴⁹

THE CRISIS OF AGRICULTURE that followed the reverberations of the stock market crash around the world starkly exposed the inadequacy of food regulation on a purely national basis. As prices plummeted and stocks of grain and meat rotted in storage, militant farmers’ unions in North America, Australia, and Europe demanded interventions to shore up prices, but restrictions that dumped milk and plowed under crops while urban laborers starved could scarcely be justified as rationalization.

⁴⁷ Nishikanta Ray, *Cheap Balanced Diets (For Bengalis)* (Calcutta, 1939), 57, 65; Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* (London, 1938); D. S. Senanayake, *Agriculture and Patriotism* (Colombo, 1935), 6.

⁴⁸ Mahatma Gandhi, “The Struggles of a Worker,” June 1, 1935, in Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 90 vols. (Delhi, 1958–1984), 61: 127; Gandhi, *Diet and Diet Reform* (Ahmedabad, 1949); Gandhi, *Food Shortage and Agriculture* (Ahmedabad, 1949); Gandhi to Vijaypal Singh, July 17, 1927, in *Collected Works*, 34: 184–185.

⁴⁹ Joseph S. Alter, *Gandhi’s Body: Sex, Diet, and the Politics of Nationalism* (Philadelphia, 2000); Ashis Nandy, *The Savage Freud* (New Delhi, 1998), 182.



FIGURE 6: The experts confront the poor. In the 1930s, international commissions fixed a minimum daily caloric requirement as a gauge for living standards, food relief, and wages. George Strube, *Daily Express*, May 18, 1934. British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent.

Trade ministries found that they could buttress agriculture only at the expense of manufacturing; protectionist controls hurt overall consumption, while subsidies, the solution eventually improvised in the United States, Australia, and Canada, led to the accumulation of enormous unused stockpiles. Sir William Haldane warned in 1933 that a glut of 350 million bushels of wheat was strangling all other markets, precluding the resuscitation of world trade. It was in these circumstances that a global scheme for disposing of surpluses in the statistically malnourished colonial and semicolonial areas took shape.⁵⁰

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) claims the 1936 report of the League commission on nutrition as its founding document. A compilation of research on nutritional requirements, dietetic surveys, and policy comparisons, it aroused an emotional response seemingly out of sync with its content. *The Spectator* found its findings “little short of revolutionary.” The commission had laid bare, according to the *New York Times*, “the challenge underlying the disorders of this epoch, the pretext for modern wars.” The power of the report’s message was conveyed by a juxtaposition of three columns of data, all in calories, previously considered in separate contexts: figures on the minimum requirements for mothers and children, per capita consumption of food in various countries, and total volume of food produced. The tables illustrated (“irrefutably,” according to commentators) a connection between the crisis of agricultural overproduction in some countries and the

⁵⁰ C. H. Lee, “The Effects of the Depression on Primary Producing Countries,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 4, no. 4 (October 1969): 139–155; William Haldane, “Too Much Wheat, a Burden on the World,” *The Times*, March 20, 1933, 13.

problem of malnutrition in others, a planetary imbalance requiring, according to Australian delegate Stanley Bruce, "a marriage of health to agriculture."⁵¹

The report proposed a grand design for a "consumer economics" that would reconcile local autonomy and multilateral trade. Intensified national efforts at food self-sufficiency coupled with international food redistribution would spearhead a demand-driven expansion of global commerce. Advances in statistics, it concluded, made it possible to predict "the probable increase in demand which would follow on the adoption of an optimum regime of nutrition." The gains were potentially huge. Asia, for instance, could easily absorb all of North America's surplus stocks of milk and wheat. Moreover, the commission anticipated, transfers would provide a durable solution to instability. Since shortfalls were not episodic but chronic, food shipments would carve out permanent markets and channels of trade. "Generally speaking," the report found, "most Chinese are in a state of malnutrition all of the time."⁵²

Britain's Parliament hailed the strategy as an indirect assault on economic nationalism. The United States, abandoning its customary detachment, lent it increasing support out of a conviction, articulated by Agriculture Secretary Henry Wallace, that the overproduction crisis could be solved only by optimizing consumption in low-income areas of Latin America and Asia through measures that presaged postwar foreign aid programs. When Henry Luce appealed for an "American Century" based on the dissemination of U.S. laws, the U.S. Constitution, and "magnificent industrial products," Wallace countered with a vision of a global consumer's century founded on technical aid and modern science, which "made it possible to see all of the people of the world get enough to eat." The construction of a postwar international order began with food. In 1943, the Roosevelt administration gathered seventy-seven nations to institute the first component of a new United Nations system, the FAO, with the mission of balancing mass production against the "mass buying power" of the world's farmers. By then, Franklin Roosevelt had declared freedom from want an American war aim, and Atwater's "food supply of the future" had become a political reality.⁵³

Of the traces left by the calorie on the food regime that came into its own after the war, three merit particular attention for the magnitude and durability of their effects. The first was a recasting of hunger as an aggregate problem for which nations and international agencies bore primary responsibility. The FAO, incorporated into the new United Nations organization, cultivated a network of national food ministries and published annual "balance sheets" for each nation. Beginning with India's 1946 crisis, "famine" came to be understood as a national caloric deficit rather than

⁵¹ "A Nutrition Policy," *The Spectator*, July 24, 1936, 129; "The Staff of Nations," *New York Times*, September 4, 1937, 4. Bruce's metaphor became the formulaic expression of the FAO's mission. See Norris E. Dodd, *The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization* (San Francisco, 1953), 15; Ralph Wesley Phillips, *FAO: Its Origins, Formation, and Evolution, 1945-1981* (Rome, 1981), 4.

⁵² F. L. McDougall, "Food and Welfare," *Geneva Studies* 9, no. 5 (November 1938): 10; League of Nations, *Nutrition: Report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on the Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture, and Economic Policy*, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1936), 2A: 11; 3: 270. On the founding of the FAO, see Amy L. S. Staples, "To Win the Peace: The Food and Agriculture Organization, Sir John Boyd Orr, and the World Food Board Proposals," *Peace & Change* 28, no. 4 (October 2003): 495-523; "The Standard of Living Way to Economic Appeasement," *The Times*, September 8, 1937, 9.

⁵³ Henry R. Luce, "The American Century," *Life*, February 17, 1941, 61-65; "Text of Vice President Wallace's Address on This Nation's War Aims," *New York Times*, April 9, 1941, 18; Russell B. Porter, "Food Conferees Depict World of Cooperation," *New York Times*, May 30, 1943, E7.

the strictly localized emergency defined by imperial famine codes. Hoover, delegated to survey the scarcity in April 1946, reported levels of 800 calories a day in Austria and India, 1,000 in Germany. Caloric accounting reversed the flow of information about famine; international authorities decreed emergencies, while officials in stricken areas complied with mandated remedies.⁵⁴

Secondly, the United States, as the leading exporter, recognized the value of grain shipments in fortifying clients against ideological assault. Hoover's remedy for Bolshevism became an axiom of national security. To General Lucius Clay, U.S. occupation governor in Germany, it was self-evident that offering a "choice between becoming a communist on 1500 calories and a believer in democracy on 1000 calories" would "pave the way to a Communist Europe." The China White Paper attributed the collapse of the nationalist regime to its "failure to provide China with enough to eat." Beginning in 1954, U.S. officials wielded transfers through Public Law 480, the Food for Peace program, as instruments of influence. In the atmosphere of the Cold War, quantitatively comparable food supplies became yet another score-card in the ideological contest, a position encapsulated in the Eisenhower administration's assertion that "free men eat better" and the Kennedy administration's claim that "wherever Communism goes, hunger follows."⁵⁵

Finally, the calamity of starvation in the poorest countries came to be inextricably entangled with issues of rural welfare in the wealthiest. P.L. 480 and the FAO's World Food Programme fostered the growth of powerful farm/industry constituencies that sustained price support policies in the United States and the European Union. Despite authoritative studies demonstrating that "tied" food aid—surpluses shipped from donor countries—disrupts local markets and prolongs scarcity, the belief in a world food balance and a reciprocity of surplus and dearth, ratified by the calorie, upholds the logic of international transfers. Transnational shipments of wheat remain the principal mechanism of international hunger relief. In international forums and the advertisements of the Archer Daniels Midland Corporation, world hunger continues to justify crop subsidies. In the contentious Doha round of world trade talks in 2005, delegates once again failed to dissolve "the marriage of health to agriculture" solemnized in 1936.⁵⁶

IN 1935, HISTORIAN CHARLES A. BEARD wrote *The Open Door at Home*, an extended essay on the failings of scientific foreign policy. U.S. diplomacy, he observed, proceeded from a misguided assumption that "everything that exists, even knowledge and the affections, exists in some *quantity*, [and] is therefore measurable and can be

⁵⁴ Binay R. Sen, "Director General's Monthly Letter No. 67," September 1958, Sen Papers, RG 8, FAO Archives, Rome, Italy; Sen, *Towards a Newer World* (Dublin, 1982), 141; "Cry for Food," *Washington Post*, April 16, 1946, 6; "Text of Secretary Acheson's Letter Transmitting White Paper," *New York Times*, August 6, 1949, 4; John M. Cabot, "Wise Distribution of U.S. Food Surpluses," *Department of State Bulletin*, April 1, 1959, 636.

⁵⁵ David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America, and Postwar Reconstruction* (London, 1992), 54; "Text of Secretary Acheson's Letter," *New York Times*, August 6, 1949, 4; John M. Cabot, "Wise Distribution of U.D. Food Surpluses," *Department of State Bulletin*, April 1, 1959, 636; Dean Rusk, "The Tragedy of Cuba," *Vital Speeches*, February 15, 1962, 258–262.

⁵⁶ Alan Beattie, "Food Aid Less Efficient Than Cash, Says Study," *Financial Times*, September 27, 2005, 6.

reduced to system.” Beard expected that the Depression, by exposing the many “intangibles and immeasurables” lurking outside the quantitative view, would finally discredit this empirical style, but even as he wrote a new foreign policy, “realism” based on calculations of economic interest and a presumed mastery of the social and natural environment was already germinating. Between 1937 and 1945, new sciences of demography, national incomes accounting, and econometric modeling profoundly expanded the jurisdiction of state policy and the influence of international expertise.

What had escaped Beard’s notice was the capacity of science to renew positivism by inventing new metrics and new ways of deploying them. Quantitative reasoning was not a singular approach that could be disproved, but a succession of rhetorics tied to particular ways of counting. The inception of new numbering schemes revived a mandate for international social engineering that imperial ideologies could no longer support. Critics of modernization have associated the certitude and ambition of this sensibility with a moment in the mid-twentieth century, and with particular projects manifesting an extravagant style of architecture, planning, and governance—Brasilia, the Aswan High Dam, or the War on Poverty—but fragments of this vision of an orderly world, in which resources align neatly with desires and every person is entitled to a minimum daily requirement, may still be found even in ordinary places, such as on the side of a cereal box.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Charles A. Beard, *The Open Door at Home* (New York, 1935), 17, 28–29.

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Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South

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DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, black southerners regularly made claims through formal legal channels. The documentary record—which is voluminous at the federal, state, and local levels—has inspired a new generation of scholarship that explores how former slaves used the legal system to express and pursue their goals as free people.¹ Generally, historians place African Americans' actions

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¹ African Americans' use of law—at the local, state, and federal levels—is a common element in the literature on the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Cambridge University Press series "Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867" emphasizes African Americans' involvement with various government institutions and legal forums at the federal, state, and local levels; see, for instance, Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982); Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Thavolia Glymph, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *The Destruction of Slavery* (New York, 1985); and see Ira Berlin, Stephen F. Miller, and Leslie S. Rowland, "Afro-American Families in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Radical History Review* 42 (1988): 89–121. Subsequent scholarship also has relied extensively on legal materials, produced at various levels of government; see, for instance, Nancy D. Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms: Race, Rights, and the Politics of Household in the Delta, 1861–1875* (Gainesville, Fla., 2003); Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1997); Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1985); Noralee Frankel, *Freedom's Women: Black Women and Families in Civil War Era Mississippi* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999); Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Hannah Rosen, "'Not That Sort of Women': Race, Gender, and Sexual Violence during the Memphis Riot of 1866," in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York, 1999), 267–293; John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862–1880* (Baton Rouge, La., 2001); Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860–1870* (New York, 1994); Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 147–175; Leslie A. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana, Ill., 1997), 147–268; Christopher Waldrep, "Substituting Law for the Lash: Emancipation and Legal Formalism in a Mississippi County Court," *Journal of American History* 82 (March 1996): 1425–1451.

against the backdrop of the era's dramatic legal changes—the abolition of slavery, the extension of civil and political rights with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, and the democratization of southern state governments. Few of us, however, have stopped to consider why African Americans thought to make their claims in legal forums in the first place. Yet the fact that African Americans *could* use the legal system does not explain why they *did*. Why law? In this regard, the scholarship has followed general trends in the historiography, which tend to assume freedpeople's desire to use the legal system as a foregone conclusion: of course they would resort to law, as soon as they were able to do so; if they did not, it was because of barriers that stood in their way. It is odd, however, to assume anyone's natural affinity for the legal system, given its reputation for alienating rules and esoteric logic. That assumption is particularly problematic when applied to former slaves. In other times and places, people from rural societies have avoided the intricacies of modern legal systems in favor of more traditional forms of conflict resolution. Considering the experiences of slavery, moreover, it would be more understandable if freedpeople shunned the legal system, seeing it as hostile and arbitrary, of little use to them personally or in the post-emancipation society they hoped to build. It is all the more interesting, then, that African Americans in the U.S. South became such savvy legal operators so soon after the end of slavery.

We must look to the legal culture of the slave South to explain this anomaly. In so doing, we can build on several strands of historical scholarship: work in U.S. history that roots freedpeople's activism in the period before the Civil War,² feminist analyses that emphasize the gendered construction of individual rights,³ and scholarship that reconsiders the legal and political traditions associated with modern nation-states.⁴ In shifting the analytical focus to the slave South, we should not discount

² Recent work has rooted African Americans' post-emancipation activism in the slave period, emphasizing both slaves' distinct cultural values and their engagement in the broad cultural and political currents in the antebellum U.S. more generally. See, in particular, Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). Also see Stephanie M. H. Camp, *Enslaved Women and the Geography of Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South, 1830–1865* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*; William A. Link, *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Joseph P. Reidy, *From Slavery to Agrarian Capitalism in the Cotton Plantation South: Central Georgia, 1800–1880* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Heather Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

³ Feminist scholarship has focused on the gendered nature of citizenship within emerging, modern nation-states and the resulting difficulties in extending individual rights not only to women, but to others on the social margins as well. See, in particular, Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). Feminist historians of the United States have taken up these insights, although they differ in their assessments of the possibilities for women of liberal conceptions of citizenship: Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998); Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York, 1998); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (New York, 2001). The gendered critique of rights is particularly pronounced in the context of the post-emancipation South; see Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Post-emancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York, 1998).

⁴ This article explores state formation in the post-Revolutionary period, as a process by which the concept of nations—and states—needs to be created and then naturalized. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983); Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London, 1991), 86–106. The analysis also draws on the insights of

or dismiss the dramatic effects of top-down, Reconstruction-era policy initiatives. It is hard to overstate the impact of emancipation or the formal extension of civil and political rights to former slaves. Yet there are understudied aspects of the existing legal culture that shaped how African Americans and other southerners experienced those policy changes. The procedural practices and the conceptual logic of that legal culture have much to tell us, particularly the area of law that dealt with public matters. In the parlance of the times, such matters concerned the maintenance of the peace, not the protection of individual rights. In this area of law, nuisances such as wandering livestock or redolent latrines shared quarters with violent neighbors, abusive husbands, recalcitrant slaves, and those accused of felonies such as rape and murder. Southerners had regular, direct contact with such matters, because the legal process was so localized that it involved people—including slaves, free blacks, and other subordinates—who did not have the rights necessary for participation in other legal matters and at other levels of the legal system. Even if they were never directly involved in a case themselves, most southerners, black and white, witnessed such hearings and trials on a regular basis.

This localized legal culture provides the context for understanding the politics of the post-emancipation period. Like other southerners, freedpeople were familiar with the legal process and viewed the system in terms of the maintenance of the peace, not just the protection of individual rights. Those expectations explain why former slaves thought that they could make use of the legal system after the Civil War even when they could not claim the individual rights that historians now identify as its basic foundation.

The persistence of antebellum legal culture also provides new insights into the contested history of civil rights and political democracy in the nineteenth-century United States, challenging central historiographical frameworks that not only emphasize the acquisition and extension of civil and political rights to individuals, but also associate the possession of those rights with personal agency, inevitable social progress, and access to governing institutions at the state and national levels. Questioning those assumptions in the realms of economic and political life, scholarship on the post-emancipation period has begun to explore aspects of freedpeople's political culture that rejected individualism. Many of these historians also question the analytical link between civil status and the ability to influence law and politics.⁵

James Vernon and other scholars of nineteenth-century British political history, who focus on reconstructing those processes that were later obscured, particularly the importance of local governance, informal political arenas, and decentralized conceptions of law, all of which were later delegitimized in a process of nation building that centralized governing authority. See, for instance, Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815–1867* (Cambridge, 1993); Vernon, ed., *Re-reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England's Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996). As argued by Bonnie Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), the historical narratives linked to nation building were deeply gendered, in ways that marginalized not only women but also particular subjects and methods associated with them, such as the dismissal of local history as “particular” rather than “general,” the realm of “amateurs” rather than “professionals.” All these insights are finding their way into a new legal and political history of the United States. See, for instance, Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer, eds., *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (Princeton, N.J., 2003); Jeffrey L. Pasley, Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds., *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004).

⁵ For analyses that emphasize an approach to political action that depends neither on formal po-

Broader claims, however, can also be made. African Americans' use of the legal system sheds new light on important elements of nineteenth-century political culture more generally: freedmen and freedwomen involved themselves in the legal system, even when they could not claim individual rights, because neither they nor other southerners understood the political terrain exclusively in those terms.⁶

THE U.S. SOUTH SEEMS AN UNLIKELY PLACE to look for a legal culture that included slaves. The region has a well-deserved reputation for its profoundly hierarchical legal order. In their statutes and appellate decisions, southern states not only denied individual rights to enslaved men and women, but also restricted the civil and political rights of free black and poor white men as well as all free women. From this perspective, the system was rigid and exclusionary, disciplining those on the margins while prohibiting them from using the law in their own interests. Statutes and appellate decisions, however, provide only a partial view of southern legal culture. Those texts tend to emphasize individual rights in their most abstract form, as the law's primary fulcrum, thereby obscuring key elements of what was, in fact, a highly localized system that rooted legal culture directly and concretely in daily life.⁷

Both law and government operated in close physical proximity to ordinary southerners, because the basic institutional structures of state government in the slave South were so localized. In matters other than law, North Carolina and South Carolina were very different. South Carolina was British North America's premier colony, with close ties to Europe and a thriving economy based on staple crop culture. By contrast, North Carolina was something of a backwater, with a reputation as a refuge

litical participation nor on the rights necessary to claim access to the formal political process, see Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," *Public Culture* 7 (Fall 1994): 107–126; Robin D. G. Kelly, "'We Are Not What We Seem': Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," *Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 75–112; Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). Much of the post-emancipation literature critiques liberal notions of citizenship, arguing that former slaves were unfamiliar with the concept and suggesting the presence of alternatives to that model: Berlin et al., *The Destruction of Slavery*; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*; Eric Foner, *Nothing but Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge, La., 1983); Thavolia Glymph, ed., *Essays on the Postbellum Southern Economy* (College Station, Tex., 1985); Thomas D. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain* (Baltimore, Md., 1992); Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction*.

⁶ This article is based on legal records and a range of other sources from North Carolina and South Carolina, at both the local and state levels, 1787 to 1840. Materials from the local level are from Orange, Granville, and Chowan counties in North Carolina and Kershaw, Anderson-Pendleton, and Spartanburg districts in South Carolina. The research includes extensive runs of court documents from those areas. Unlike sampling, which abstracts cases from context, this intensive approach reveals information that is essential in understanding the underlying conflicts and their resolutions. Such an approach also allows insight into the ways that people defined law, on the ground, in the years following the Revolution. That perspective is particularly important because so many areas of law were left to local discretion in this period. The research then extends outward to other counties to include divorce, apprenticeship, poorhouse, and church records. At the state level, the materials cover statutes, appellate decisions, and various published legal sources; state government documents such as governors' correspondence, legislative committee reports, pardons, and petitions; newspapers; and the diaries and letter collections of various leaders in state law and politics. Although the article focuses on particular examples from these source groups, the analysis is representative of larger patterns within the research more generally.

⁷ Laura F. Edwards, "Enslaved Women and the Law: The Paradoxes of Subordination in the Post-Revolutionary Carolinas," *Slavery & Abolition* 26 (August 2005): 305–323.

for other colonies' misfits and failures. The two states nevertheless represent broader trends in the legal culture of the South after the American Revolution. In these two states, as elsewhere, lawmakers decentralized the most important functions of government during the Revolution, drawing equally on Revolutionary ideology, established elements of Anglo-American law, and undercurrents of local political unrest.⁸ The results reflected a blatant disregard for distinctions that would later become so important in government, not only allowing local custom, politics, and law to mingle freely, but also blurring the demarcation between "local administration" and "state government." In their basic design and daily operations, the two state governments placed legal authority in local institutions, directed political matters to those venues, and gave them considerable autonomy over a wide range of public matters. As a result, the state level was largely dependent on local jurisdictions, particularly in the period between 1787 and 1830. Statutes, for instance, often responded to individual and local concerns and often had limited effect beyond a specific issue or area. Similarly, appellate decisions resolved issues in particular cases without necessarily establishing an authoritative guide for other cases elsewhere in the state. Legislation and appellate decisions then accumulated piecemeal, full of inconsistencies and contradictions, without constituting a systematic body of state law.⁹

In this system, local legal practice was not some quaint, folksy exception to a formalized, rational body of state law, as is commonly assumed. Local decisions, like legislation and appellate decisions, were central components of state law, because state governments—as well as the national government—were relatively weak in this period and delegated so much authority to local jurisdictions. Although historians have often associated the South with "localism," this approach was not peculiarly "southern" at the time. Similar arrangements characterized both the theory and

⁸ The trend embraced a unique blend of Revolutionary ideology, the Anglo-American legal tradition, and the politics of the 1760s Regulator Movement. For these points, see Lars C. Golumbic, "Who Shall Dictate the Law? Political Wrangling between 'Whig' Lawyers and Backcountry Farmers in Revolutionary Era North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* 72 (January 1996): 56–82; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760–1808* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990); Walter F. Pratt, Jr., "The Struggle for Judicial Independence in Antebellum North Carolina: The Story of Two Judges," *Law and History Review* 4 (1986): 129–159; James P. Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (April 1977): 215–238.

⁹ In North Carolina, localism persisted into the 1830s; see William J. Adams, "Evolution of Law in North Carolina," *North Carolina Law Review* 2 (1923–1924): 133–145; Atwell Campbell McIntosh, "The Jurisdiction of the North Carolina Supreme Court," *North Carolina Law Review* 5 (1926–1927): 5–29; Walter Parker Stacy, "Brief Review of the Supreme Court of North Carolina," *North Carolina Law Review* 4 (1925–1926): 115–117; George Stevenson, "Higher Court Records," in Helen F. M. Leary, ed., *North Carolina Research: Genealogy and Local History* (Raleigh, N.C., 1996), 331–344. The situation is more complicated and uneven in South Carolina, where legislators made more radical changes in the system more often. Despite the trend toward greater centralization and systematization over time, localism also persisted there; see Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800–1860* (New York, 1988); Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 109–237; Donald Senese, "Building the Pyramid: The Growth and Development of the State Courts System of Antebellum South Carolina, 1800–1860," *South Carolina Law Review* 24 (1972): 357–389. The frequency and the dramatic nature of such changes are apparent in the revised statute collection, a project begun in the 1830s: Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *Statutes of South Carolina*, 22 vols. (Columbia, S.C., 1836–1898), 7: 290–300. For similar trends in Virginia, see F. Thornton Miller, *Juries and Judges versus the Law: Virginia's Provincial Legal Perspective, 1783–1829* (Charlottesville, Va., 1994); Christopher M. Curtis, "Jefferson's Chosen People: Legal and Political Conceptions of the Freehold in the Old Dominion from Revolution to Reform" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2002).

practice of law and government throughout the United States in the post-Revolutionary period.¹⁰

Not all southerners, however, were happy with legal localism. Between the Revolution and the Civil War, a dedicated group of reform-minded legislators in North Carolina and South Carolina worked to change that situation. Reformers in these two states actually were part of a national network that sought to rationalize law and centralize the operations of state governments.¹¹ By the 1830s, Carolina reformers had made significant progress in creating unified bodies of law, intended to apply throughout their states. The effort included not only the organization of statutes and the creation of stronger appellate courts with the power to set precedent, but also the elevation of the state level over the local level as the place where a uniform body of law was created and interpreted. In the resulting statute collections and appellate decisions, lawmakers relied heavily on the rubric of individual rights, taking the legal principles that had governed civil matters involving property since the Revolution and applying them to areas of law that had been left to local areas, namely criminal matters and other public issues. These legal texts, however, did not necessarily describe or govern practice in the area of public law, even in the 1840s and 1850s. In fact, reformers were most successful at the ideological level, particularly in their efforts to legitimize the concept of a unified body of state law as desirable and even inevitable. In terms of actual institutional change, their accomplishments were un-

¹⁰ Until recently, the historiographical presumption has been that southern states lagged behind in strong, centralized governing institutions. But recent scholarship has suggested that they were not as undeveloped as previously thought; see Peter Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995); Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850–1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985). New trends in legal and political history have emphasized the importance of localism throughout the United States, suggesting that the South was not so distinctive; see Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 2001); Jacobs, Novak, and Zelizer, *The Democratic Experiment*; William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998).

¹¹ The following names are familiar to southern historians, because these men authored the publications and archival collections that they now use: James Iredell, Sr., John Haywood, Thomas Ruffin, William Gaston, and David Swain of North Carolina; William Loughton Smith, John Faucheraud Grimké, Thomas Cooper, Langdon Cheves, David J. McCord, Henry William DeSaussure, and John Belton O'Neill of South Carolina. Many of these men were educated in the Northeast, either at colleges such as Princeton or at law schools there. A few were educated in England, at the Inns of Court. But even those who trained in their own states had ties beyond the region, through their business, social, or political connections. What united them was an intellectual stance, bounded by basic assumptions about law and the legal system. They all tended to see law in scientific terms, as an internally consistent set of universally applicable principles, although they often disagreed bitterly on the specifics of those principles. They also favored a hierarchical institutional structure, with authority located in trained professionals at the top of the structure to ensure uniformity, although many still thought that the system should be flexible enough to allow room to achieve justice in particular circumstances at the lower levels. The power of the judiciary relative to the legislature divided reformers throughout the period, particularly at the height of partisan conflict between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans before the War of 1812 and during the nullification crisis in South Carolina. So did the question of states' rights, specifically the authority of southern states relative to the nation. Despite these differences, however, reformers as a group tended to support the creation of a clearly defined, definite body of state law, enforced by some institution—usually a strong appellate court—at the apex of the judicial pyramid. That body would decide points of law in decisions that would be enforced by lower levels of the system, which fell out in orderly layers beneath, descending from district or superior courts to individual magistrates in local neighborhoods, with each level subordinate to the one above. Reformers had such confidence in this vision of the legal system that they described it in normative terms: since there was no other option, the system evolved naturally—if somewhat haltingly and fitfully—in this direction.

even. Local areas retained considerable authority throughout the antebellum period. On the eve of the Civil War, counties and districts or municipalities remained important loci of government authority: major questions about the public welfare were still aired and decided at the local level.¹²

Within this localized system, a large portion of government business was handled in what are now considered “legal” venues. The most visible were the circuit courts, which met on a regular schedule in county seats or court towns and which held jury trials. Not only did circuit courts provide obvious symbols of government authority, but their grand juries also made recommendations for the enforcement and modification of laws at the local, state, and even national levels. Grand juries interpreted their authority broadly: they issued pronouncements on foreign policy, trade, and federal legislation; they advised legislatures to pass statutes on a range of issues, usually related to local concerns about slavery, transportation, crime, and family relations; and they dispatched local officials to investigate abused apprentices, unreported births, distributions to the deserving poor, unkempt roads, and other suspicious situations, such as “disorderly” houses, which usually involved some combination of noise, sex, liquor, violence, and gambling. But circuit courts were only the most conspicuous part of a system dominated by even more localized legal proceedings, including magistrates’ hearings and trials, inquests, and other ad hoc legal forums. Magistrates not only screened cases and tried minor offenses, but also kept tabs on the orphaned, ill, and poor as well as matters involving markets, health, and morals. It was in all these informal, nominally legal arenas that southerners did the business of “keeping the peace,” a well-established concept in Anglo-American law that expressed the ideal order of the metaphorical public body, subordinating everyone (in varying ways) within a hierarchical system and emphasizing social order over individual rights.¹³

This legal system was everywhere and nowhere. There was no single location for localized law or the government authority it represented. Towns where circuit courts met were likely to have courthouses, but that was not always the case. The practice of law was not associated exclusively with courthouses anyway, because most legal matters were conducted elsewhere.¹⁴ The legal system moved around promiscuously,

¹² See n. 9 above.

¹³ For the overlap between law and politics in this period, see Novak, *The People's Welfare*.

¹⁴ Many districts and counties had neither courthouses nor other public buildings, such as jails, in the first decades of their existence. Courts met in whatever available buildings were large enough. If there were courthouses, they were modest structures initially, replaced later by more imposing buildings in the wave of courthouse construction that took place in the last decades of the antebellum period. John Faucheraud Grimké noted the lack of courthouses in South Carolina, as new districts were being formed: J. F. Grimké, “Rough Draft of Address on the European Situation and Fear of Slave Revolt Due to French Intervention,” 11/172/33, Grimké Family Papers, 1761–1866 (1040.00), South Carolina Historical Society [hereafter SCHS]. Also see William Drayton, “Remarks in a Tour through the Back Country of the State of South Carolina,” 1784–1789 (34/630), SCHS, 41–52, which include notes on his trip through the northern circuit courts as a judge in 1789. Even when there were courthouses, they were not always in the best condition, and grand juries routinely issued demands to the state legislature for funds to remedy the situation: Kershaw County, Grand Jury, April 1805, South Caroliniana Library [hereafter SCL]; Charleston, Grand Jury Presentment, in *South Carolina State Gazette, and Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser*, February 5, 1794; List of Statutes, *South Carolina State Gazette, and Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1794. Given the complaints, it is difficult to imagine that such structures were the imposing symbols of state authority that they later came to be. Although colonial-era North Carolina counties, particularly in the eastern part of the state, were likely to have a structure that

following the officials who oversaw it and the people it served. When people had a complaint, they initiated the legal process by going to find a magistrate—the officials who presided at the first, busiest level of the legal system. Magistrates heard complaints when and where they received them, in the fields where they had been working or even from the beds where they had been sleeping. They then held hearings and trials in convenient spots that could accommodate a crowd—taverns, country stores, front porches, a room in the magistrate's house if it was large enough, or outside under a canopy of trees if it was not.¹⁵ Legal reformers cringed, seeing disrespect in the informality of these proceedings. "The places of trial," wrote one observer through gritted teeth, "are usually some tavern or some such place, where such scenes are sometimes exhibited, as justice never before witnessed."¹⁶

That was the point. Such locations pushed law physically into the community and into the lives of the people there. As a result, the bulk of legal business was conducted in those places where ordinary southerners were most likely to be: in houses, yards, fields, or other community meeting places. Legal forums, for instance, often crystallized at community gatherings, emerging from the interactions of those who were there. Inquests provide excellent examples. When a death occurred, neighbors gathered to pay their respects, to clean and dress the body, and to grieve. That process also could reveal evidence of wrongdoing. Sometimes the signs were easily spotted

expressed government authority in its architecture, piedmont and western counties did not erect such public buildings until later in the antebellum period—around the 1830s and 1840s. See Robert Paschal Burns, *100 Courthouses: A Report on North Carolina Judicial Facilities*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, N.C., 1978), 1: 243–244, 435. Vernon, *Politics and the People*, makes a similar point about nineteenth-century England, noting that town halls and other such formal government buildings were linked to changes that formalized the political process.

¹⁵ The statute collections and codes of both states summarize the duties of the local courts and local officers. For South Carolina, see Cooper and McCord, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7, which lists significant legislative changes in the structure of the courts from the colonial period to 1840; for relevant changes to law courts between 1785 and 1840, see 211–241, 243–245, 245–246, 247–249, 253–257, 260–270, 283–289, 290–293, 293–300, 300–303, 325–328, 334–337, 339–341. For North Carolina, see the appropriate headings in *Laws of the State of North-Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1821), and *The Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1837). The actual dynamics emerge from the local court records. The descriptions of local courts in the following paragraphs are drawn from records in Criminal Action Papers, Granville County, 1790–1840; Criminal Actions Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, Granville County, 1800–1839; Superior Court Minutes, Granville County, 1790–1840; Criminal Action Papers, Orange County, 1787–1808; Superior Court Minutes, Orange County, 1787–1840; all in North Carolina Department of Archives and History [hereafter NCD AH]. County and Intermediate Court, Sessions Docket, Kershaw District; County and Intermediate Court, Common Pleas Docket, Kershaw District; County and Intermediate Court, Indictments, Kershaw District; Magistrates and Freeholders Court, Trial Papers, Kershaw District; Court of General Sessions, Indictments, Kershaw District; Court of General Sessions, Journal, Kershaw District; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Kershaw District; all in South Carolina Department of Archives and History [hereafter SCD AH]. Court of Magistrate and Freeholders, Trial Papers, Anderson/Pendleton District; Court of General Sessions, Indictments, Anderson County, 1828–1913; Court of General Sessions, Peace Bonds, Anderson County, 1828–1905; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Pendleton District; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Anderson District; Magistrates and Freeholders Court, Vagrancy Trials, Anderson District, 1829–1860; County and Intermediate Court, Indictments, Pendleton District, 1790–1799; Court of Common Pleas, Pleadings and Judgments, Pendleton District, 1799–1805; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Pendleton District; Court of General Sessions, Indictments, Pendleton District, 1800–1828; Journals of the County and Intermediate Court, Pendleton District, 1790–1793; County and Intermediate Court, Peace Bonds, Pendleton District, 1792–1797; Court of General Sessions, Peace Bonds, Pendleton District, 1807–1827; Magistrates and Freeholders Court, Vagrancy Trials, Pendleton County; all in SCD AH.

¹⁶ *Raleigh Register*, October 25, 1822.

by those who first saw the body. Sometimes they were uncovered by the women whose job it was to ready the body for burial. And sometimes they emerged through the mourners' conversations, as information was shared and the pieces began to form ominous patterns. When doubts coalesced into something more serious, the coroner—or someone designated to act as one—was called, if he was not already there. The gathering then reconstituted itself as a legal hearing: a jury was formed, often from among those in attendance, and mourners became witnesses. One by one, they offered their observations, repeating for the record what had already been said. And so law arrived at the wake, at the invitation of no one and everyone.¹⁷

The physical proximity of the legal system did not mean that individuals had equal access to it or enjoyed equal treatment within it. To the contrary, the system was designed to maintain a rigid social order based on stark inequalities. The distribution of individual rights fell out along that same hierarchy, simultaneously reflecting and buttressing status within the social order. Many of those individual rights involved private property or were related in some way to private property: in addition to the rights to buy, sell, and own were rights to one's body and to the products of one's labor, as well as rights to contract. Other procedural rights—including those to have a trial, to face one's accusers, to know the charges against one, to bring charges, and to testify—also had strong associations with private property, in the sense that they created predictable rules for its protection. Legal officials scrupulously safeguarded such rights in civil suits involving private property in its various forms, whether real estate, movable goods, perishable items, other people's bodies, or one's own body. These matters were "private" in the sense that they involved the private property of specific individuals—and were thus titled with the names of those individuals, such as *John Smith v. William Brown*. Individual rights, particularly those involving procedure, also applied in criminal cases and other public matters, where they were an important component, even at the local level, providing crucial avenues of access and influence within the system. The difference was that individual rights were not the only consideration in this body of law. In theory, public matters involved offenses against the peace, the metaphorical public body—a fact signaled in the cases' titles, such as *State v. Mary Jones*. In practice, public offenses encompassed everything but civil suits involving private property, and included all criminal matters as well as a range of ill-classified infractions that were judged to disturb the peace in some way. The interests of peace, which made the cases public, provided other points of entry and standards of evaluation.

Given the acknowledged place of individual rights in public law, however, it is not surprising that white men from the middling ranks of society were the most likely to summon the legal system to resolve their problems. Their rights gave them access to it, while their social status brought the process within easy reach. White women from that social stratum also tended to approach the law with an air of proprietary familiarity, based more on their status than on their formal legal rights, which were few. They routinely called on legal officials for aid and provided information about

¹⁷ These patterns are drawn primarily from Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Kershaw District; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Pendleton District; Court of General Sessions, Coroner's Inquisitions, Anderson District; all in SCDAH. In North Carolina, coroners' reports are not filed separately, but are sometimes attached to murder cases.

the problems of others. By contrast, the legal experiences of slaves, free blacks, and poor whites were likely to affirm their subordination, precisely because it was crucial to the maintenance of social order as it was defined in this system. In general, slaves' and free blacks' participation in law was not voluntary: they were summoned by the legal system; they did not summon it. Brute force often characterized their legal encounters, as they were yanked out of their daily routines, tried, and sentenced by white people with whom they worked and worshiped. The process then transformed familiar domestic settings into menacing sites of interrogation and punishment. Poor whites often met up with law on unfavorable terms as well.¹⁸ Some poor whites and African Americans nonetheless mobilized the legal system on occasion. When they did, however, it was not because their rights had been violated, but because legal officials considered their problems a threat to the larger social order.

The legal system's proximity and accessibility wove the practice of law into the fabric of daily life and familiarized southerners with it. The emphasis on social order also had the effect of combining formal law with local custom, particularly in the area of law that dealt with public matters. Lawyers had not yet claimed this legal terrain and professionalized it—in contrast to the situation in civil matters involving private property, a lucrative area that constituted the bulk of lawyers' incomes.¹⁹ Public offenses still were governed by common law in its traditional sense as a flexible, customary collection of principles rooted in local practice. In most issues, the parties represented themselves. If lawyers entered into the picture, it was in the very final stages, if the case went to a jury trial, which was unlikely. Public law thus had deep cultural roots. As an institution, a process, and a body of knowledge, this area of law

¹⁸ These patterns are drawn from the records listed in n. 15. The compulsory and brutal qualities of law are obvious in cases with slave defendants. Those inequalities are well documented in the scholarship as well; see, for instance, Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century American South* (New York, 1984); Michael Hindus, *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); Thomas D. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Christopher Waldrep, *Roots of Disorder: Race and Criminal Justice in the American South, 1817–80* (Urbana, Ill., 1998). For a haunting description of these dynamics, although in the realm between culture and law, see Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). The literature also underscores the legal disadvantages of poor whites; see Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1992); Charles C. Bolton, *Poor Whites of the Antebellum South: Tenants and Laborers in Central North Carolina and Northeast Mississippi* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

¹⁹ Civil suits involving property constituted the bulk of court business in most southern jurisdictions. Ayers estimated that there were about three or four civil cases for every criminal case in a typical southern court; *Vengeance and Justice*, 32. Also see Ariela Gross, *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 23. The preponderance of civil cases, however, actually reflected the relative inaccessibility of property law. Property law had been professionalized before the Revolution, which was one of the North Carolina Regulators' chief complaints; see Whittenburg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers." Lawyers then solidified their hold on economic matters in the decades following the Revolution, given the unsettled state of the economy, the scarcity of cash and credit, and the uncertainty of land titles in the Carolinas. The situation continued into the nineteenth century, largely because of the widespread use of notes, mortgages, and other instruments of debt as the primary means of economic exchange and capital formation. As a result, property law became even more elaborated and professionalized. The place of lawyers in a wide range of economic exchanges is also apparent in their practices, which are composed largely of property matters; see, for instance, Letter Book, William Gaston Papers, #272, box 7; Cameron Family Papers, #133, subseries 1.2, boxes 4–28 (business-related correspondence); both in the Southern Historical Collection [hereafter SHC].

existed as an extension of those mechanisms through which communities maintained social order.²⁰

That was exactly how southerners, white and black, used this area of law. In fact, a wide range of people expected the legal system to enforce their notions of the public order, which were usually defined in terms of their own needs and interests. Those expectations produced an endless stream of complaints to magistrates and grand juries about threats to community health, welfare, and order. Depending on the informants' predilections, these ran the gamut from the absurd to the serious: from dilapidated fences and ill-kept roads, to neighbors with a penchant for late nights, drinking, or pilfering, to threats or actual instances of physical violence. Among those offenses worthy of legal intervention were domestic issues. Masters filed charges against hired servants and slaves whom they could not control; white and free black wives filed charges against husbands; and free children informed on their parents. Free families brought their feuds to court for resolution, with wives, husbands, parents, children, siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins all lining up to air their dirty laundry. Neighbors routinely involved legal officials in their quarrels, sometimes using the system in combination with insults, threats, and violence, as yet another weapon in an ongoing conflict. In all these instances, southerners marched off to magistrates, certain that the legal system would cure what ailed them: legal action could keep a lazy man at work, a philanderer from tempting young girls, a bully from terrorizing his neighbors, a husband from beating his wife, or a drunk from his whiskey bottle. Those expectations represent a remarkable leap of faith.²¹

The influential literature on southern honor has pointed historians in another direction, leading many to assume all southerners' distance from legal institutions and their disdain for law. This culture of honor supposedly encouraged white men to prefer individual acts of retribution to legal action. While claiming rights for themselves, these men questioned a system of law that limited their actions by recognizing those rights in others, even other white men. They also excluded African Americans, granting them neither honor nor rights in an underdeveloped legal system that was clearly subordinate to the whims of elite white men. The result was African Americans' deep alienation from the law. Yet Bertram Wyatt-Brown, the historian most closely associated with the scholarship on southern honor, does not actually posit an irreconcilable contradiction between honor and law.²² That is partly because his

²⁰ Robert W. Gordon, "Critical Legal Histories," *Stanford Law Review* 36 (January 1984): 57–125. For the customary nature of criminal law as well as its professionalization in the early nineteenth century, also see Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1985), 280–294; Michael Meranze, *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Allen Steinberg, *The Transformation of Criminal Justice: Philadelphia, 1800–1880* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989).

²¹ This analysis is based on the local court records listed in n. 15. Southerners' embrace of the legal system as a mechanism of social control also echoes Christopher L. Tomlins's emphasis on a broad construction of police power and his characterization of law as a "primary modality of rule" in the early republic; see Tomlins, *Law, Labor, and Ideology in the Early American Republic* (New York, 1993).

²² Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), esp. 401. Traditionally, southern historians have tended to link honor to premodern culture and approaches to justice, and thus to posit a conflict between honor and a modern, institutionalized legal system. The same presumptions that emphasize white men's preoccupation with honor also imply African Americans' exclusion from honor and southern law (except as criminal defendants): Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*; Kenneth Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball,*

analysis of the legal system includes localized legal proceedings. At this level, in contrast to appellate courts, the process was not just about the protection of individual rights and universalizing legal abstractions, the elements of law that other scholars characterize as foreign to southern culture and at odds with honor. The scholarship, notably the work of Ariela Gross, has further reduced the distance between the mechanisms of law and the dynamics of daily life in southern society, showing how honor and law comfortably coexisted.²³ Moreover, the denial of rights to slaves and free blacks did not necessarily result in their rejection of law as a conceptual system of rule. In fact, many of those on the margins still had faith that the system could work for them, under the proper circumstances.

If anything, however, law was more deeply embedded in southern culture than even this scholarship suggests, because the difference between local legal venues and other means of governing misconduct was not always evident or meaningful. Magistrates and local courts, for instance, handled the same kinds of offenses as church disciplinary hearings—drunkenness, sexual impropriety, and conflicts within families and among neighbors. In fact, most offenses in local courts emerged out of otherwise ordinary encounters involving otherwise ordinary people who knew each other well. In theory, calling in the magistrate represented a significant escalation of an issue, transforming it into a formal legal matter. In practice, however, the results were not always distinguishable from the services offered by churches or the mediation of neighbors or family members. Magistrates usually handed out nothing more than sympathy or censure. When they took action, they were likely to issue a peace warrant, which labeled the perpetrator's actions a potential, yet unrealized, public offense. The errant individual then secured a bond for good behavior for a specified period of time, but did not incur any criminal penalty unless he or she broke the peace thereafter.²⁴

This approach to crime derived from a cultural milieu that accepted misconduct as a part of everyday life, rather than a deviation from it. Disorderly behavior was a regrettable but inescapable aspect of the human condition, because original sin made all human beings susceptible to evil. What distinguished crime from other forms of disorder was the venue in which it was handled: it became crime when it met the legal system.²⁵ Criminal behavior, moreover, did not necessarily make the

Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Hindus, *Prison and Plantation*; Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877* (New York, 1993). Scholarship that focuses on the blatant inequalities in slave law does not always deal with African Americans' view of law, but given the nature of the sources, the analyses understandably tend to assume that such inequalities resulted in African Americans' alienation from the system. In addition to the above, see Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*; Bynum, *Unruly Women*; Melton McLaurin, *Celia: A Slave* (Athens, Ga., 1991); Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*; Mark Tushnet, *The American Law of Slavery, 1810–1860: Considerations of Humanity and Interest* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); Waldrep, *Roots of Disorder*.

²³ For the compatibility of honor and law in the South, see Gross, *Double Character*. Also see Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1867* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003); Sommerville, *Rape and Race*. For work that links honor to institutions and practices associated with the modern nation-state, including a legal system that dispenses impersonal forms of justice, see William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Freeman, *Affairs of Honor*.

²⁴ These generalizations are based on the local court records explained in n. 15.

²⁵ These ideas, common in the Christian tradition, were accepted parts of legal culture that were so

offender into a criminal. All those guilty of misconduct—criminal or otherwise—could be forgiven, even excused, as long as they confessed and repented. Then community members could receive them back into the fold. That last step was crucial, because the remedy for individual offenders was integration back into the community, not expulsion from it. That logic, for instance, underlay peace bonds, which threw enforcement back on the community, summoning family, friends, and neighbors to police troublemakers. Bonds required one or more other people to put up part of the amount, making them liable if the accused broke the peace again. That economic obligation represented the signers' promise to keep the offender in line. Peace bonds put everyone else on notice as well, investing them with the responsibility to monitor the situation and make sure that the offender was successfully reintegrated into community life.²⁶ Even capital punishment, which severed the offender's social ties permanently, did not have that intent: death was punishment for the offense, not a means of eliminating a dangerous criminal from society.²⁷

The detection and prosecution of crime also required community participation. Because the legal system construed the maintenance of order as a public responsibility, it gave police power to ordinary people in local communities as well. They, not legal professionals, identified wrongdoing, investigated crimes, and conducted prosecutions. Knowledge about legal procedure was so widely diffused that southerners knew exactly what to do when they encountered a suspicious event. The first step was to announce the crime—to give “information” about it to a legal official. “Information” was a recognized legal term that covered complaints about offenses as well as facts that supported those charges, including physical evidence and other details about the crime and those involved. People assumed that the discovery of a crime entailed the responsibility to investigate and gather evidence—all part of “information.” They followed through, doing what was necessary, pursuing tracks, hunting down witnesses, searching houses for stolen items, sorting through burned coals

obvious that they needed no explanation. This analysis also is based on the minutes of about forty-five Evangelical Protestant churches in North Carolina and South Carolina, from the collections at the SCL, SHC, and NCDAH. They include Baptist, Primitive Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, although the majority are Baptist and Primitive Baptist. Also see John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787–1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington, Ky., 1972); Donald G. Matthews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago, 1977); Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830–1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985); Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 269–302; Ford, *Origins of Southern Radicalism*, 19–43.

²⁶ For South Carolina, see County and Intermediate Court, Peace Bonds, Pendleton District, 1792–1797; Court of General Sessions, Peace Bonds, Anderson County, 1828–1905; both in SCDAH. In North Carolina, peace bonds are mixed in with the other court documents: Criminal Action Papers, Orange County; Criminal Action Papers, Granville County; Criminal Actions Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, Granville County; all in NCDAH.

²⁷ North Carolina's John Clary, for instance, was treated to a pointed visit from the extended family of the young woman whom he impregnated, an action that many historians would designate as “extralegal.” Although Clary prosecuted the mob and they were convicted for riot, the entire group was later pardoned by the governor. The pardon owed in part to the nature of Clary's offense. It also reflected the ambiguity between extralegal violence and legally sanctioned policing—and, in a larger sense, the legal system's deep customary roots within local communities. David Stone, Pardon of Nixon, White, Copeland, Copeland, Townsend, and Jordan, October 31, 1809, Governor's Letter Book, vol. 17, 115, NCDAH. The point is similar to, but not the same as, the one made by Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 366, that extralegal sanctions replaced legal punishments within the southern criminal justice system without undermining the integrity of law. In contrast to Wyatt-Brown, I am arguing that the distinction between “legal” and “extralegal” was less meaningful, because of the institutional structures of law.

for the charred remains of missing livestock, measuring footprints against the shoes of suspects, and reconstructing fights to gauge the order, reach, and severity of participants' blows. The formal use of community policing also tended to legitimize customary forms of discipline. In fact, the difference between unsanctioned customary action and sanctioned forms of community policing was not always clear.²⁸

Even slaves and free blacks, who were blocked from formal participation in court, shared in legal duties at this level. That is what Joe, a South Carolina slave, did when he found another slave, Israel, dead in a field. At the inquest, Joe explained that Israel "was dead when he found him, and that he did not touch him, but went to Mr. Gordon's to give information." Joe may have left Israel untouched for any number of reasons, ranging from squeamishness to superstition. But his use of the term "information" indicates a familiarity with the legal process and suggests that he knew to leave the body as he had found it, so that the coroner's jury could investigate and determine the cause of death.²⁹ Because "information" was different from sworn testimony, people who could not legally testify could supply it. Not only did they bring crimes to the attention of legal authorities, but they also found and provided the information necessary in determining cases. Slaves occasionally provided information—as distinct from testimony—in cases involving whites, bypassing restrictions against their sworn testimony. It was more common, though, for information to reach the courtroom through the testimony of whites, in ways akin to those described by other historians for civil cases. Slaves nonetheless played crucial roles in cases that involved offenses against them and other African Americans, where their information framed how and whether the issues would go forward in law.³⁰

The legal system rested on the initiative of local people in less direct but no less important ways. For legal proceedings to have the desired effect of restoring order, a range of community members needed to be there to fill the role of a classical chorus, witnessing and commenting on events. The entire neighborhood turned out for this phase of the legal process, which began at magistrates' hearings where information was aired and evaluated. Sometimes people brought others with them when they filed complaints. Cases also could attract quite a crowd as they moved from complaint to hearing. If the magistrate acted on a complaint, he compiled a list of witnesses and then summoned them to give information on the matter. Those lists could be extensive, although the ability to give sworn testimony depended on the race of the accused. But an invitation was not always necessary, as people in-

²⁸ The process of private detection was similar to that described by Cynthia Herrup, *The Common Peace: Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York, 1987), 67–92. Also see Steinberg, *The Transformation of Criminal Justice*, who describes the process of private prosecution and community-based policing in Philadelphia in the early republic. These generalizations about the process are based on the local court records explained in n. 15.

²⁹ Inquest of Israel, slave of James Gordon, 1845, Court of General Session, Coroner's Inquisitions, Anderson County, SCDAH.

³⁰ Magistrates and grand juries both identified community problems that required legal action, based on "information" that had been given to them. An "information" was one of the ways to establish a criminal charge in British law. In its strict sense, "information" was the charge brought by one individual against another. That information was then investigated by the magistrate, who determined whether the case would go forward. In practice, in the post-Revolutionary Carolinas, "information" acquired a broader definition, encompassing all the evidence given at the investigatory hearing. See Arthur P. Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (Chicago, 1930), 72–75. For a brilliant analysis of the way that slaves' words entered court in civil cases despite restrictions on their testimony, see Gross, *Double Character*.

sinuated themselves into the process at all levels of the system. They did not “participate,” in the sense of taking time out from their daily lives to perform a civic duty. Rather, involvement in the legal process was part and parcel of established community dynamics, in which people made it a point to keep tabs on everyone else, because they assumed that it was their duty to do so. They showed up at hearings, whether summoned or not, expecting to say their piece, even if the information qualified as hearsay, appeared to be irrelevant, or duplicated what others had said. The repetition and accumulation of details were central to the process, which was as much about airing the conflict, repairing a rift, and establishing order as it was about determining the facts of the crime.³¹

Hearings and trials turned on local gossip networks that produced knowledge about individuals. That knowledge occupied a formal place in the legal system as “common reports”—information that was widely held to be true, even though positive proof was lacking. The mechanisms of gossip that produced “common reports” were so efficient and influential that evangelical Protestant churches regularly disciplined their members for spreading false rumors.³² True rumors were an altogether different matter, although the distinction between a true rumor and a false one was less about verifiable facts and more about the extent to which others believed the story. The true rumors lodged in local information exchanges, where they circulated until they became common reports. In this way, the gossip produced and conducted through community networks became the information that provided an evidentiary basis for legal decisions.³³

The close connection between cultural knowledge and legal practice drew a range of southerners into the system, allowing them to influence the terms through which conflicts were interpreted, even when they could not participate directly in institutional arenas where such issues reached a formal resolution. In this context, for instance, slaves figured into a wide range of legal matters, because they created and

³¹ These observations are based on local court records explained in n. 15. For similar dynamics, see Block, *Rape and Race*; Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood*. The process also was similar to the kind of social witnessing that slaves used to claim property that Penningroth describes in *The Claims of Kinfolk*, 91–109.

³² The term “report” figured prominently in church hearings, suggesting the influence of legal culture on religious practice: members reported on themselves and others; church members investigated those reports to find out whether they were true or false; they also charged people with false reports or false swearing. For particularly illustrative examples, see New Hope Baptist Church, Purleer, Church Minutes, 1830–1930, Wilkes County, North Carolina; Cane Creek Baptist Church, Minutes and Membership Roll, 1829–1941, Orange County, North Carolina; Brassfield Baptist Church, History and Minutes, 1823–1948, Creedmore, Granville County, North Carolina; Wheeley’s Primitive Baptist Church, Roxboro, Session Minutes and Roll Book, 1790–1898, Person County, North Carolina; all in NCDAH. First Baptist Church, Barnwell County, Minutes; Cashaway Baptist Church, Record Book, Darlington [Craven] County; Methodist Church, Darlington County and Florence County, Darlington Circuit; Big Creek Baptist Church, Williamston, Anderson County, Records; Methodist Church, Florence County, Lynch’s Creek Circuit; Thomas Memorial Baptist Church, Marlboro County, Bennettsville, Church Book; all in SCL.

³³ The scholarship on the nineteenth-century South, in particular, has emphasized the importance of local custom in the legal process. See, in particular, Ariela Gross, “Beyond Black and White: Cultural Approaches to Race and Slavery,” *Columbia Law Review* 101 (2001): 640–689, 640. Also see Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*; Gross, *Double Character*; Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*; Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood*; Sommerville, *Rape and Race*. As other legal historians have emphasized, custom continued to play a central role in local venues; see Michael Willrich, *City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago* (New York, 2003). The implications for law’s content, however, were different in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, because local courts occupied a different place within the institutional structures of law.

passed along rumors that ultimately shaped legal cases. As people heard gossip and repeated it, the source became increasingly obscure and increasingly irrelevant. That was why Elizabeth Arrants, a white woman in Kershaw District, South Carolina, prosecuted Elley, a slave, for slander. According to white and black witnesses, Elley had repeatedly called Arrants a “blasted whore” and claimed that her children were illegitimate. The insults had circulated first among slaves and then more widely to whites. Elley, at least, had recently bragged that “white people had heard what she said.” It was at that point that Arrants—whose position as a female head of household made her particularly vulnerable to insults of this kind—filed charges. The danger for her was that white people would repeat Elley’s charges, spreading them and giving them legitimacy in the process. That information then shaped the context for understanding why Arrants filed charges against Elley: what Elley said could turn Arrants’s actions into disorderly conduct that required legal intervention.³⁴

Those people without individual rights left their imprint at the very early stages of the process, when written records were less likely to be kept. Their presence became less obvious as cases moved through the legal system and away from the localized proceedings in their communities. By the time those cases went to trial in circuit courts, the influence of such people over the proceedings could be difficult to discern, as propertied white men took over the process at that stage. Yet at that point, the cases usually had already been all but decided anyway. Both white and black southerners who did not testify at trials were crucial in laying the groundwork for them, providing the context for defining the charges and interpreting the evidence. Having set the stage, they sat back and watched the results, knowing that it was their input that turned a fight into assault or a death into murder.³⁵

Circuit courts were more formal and more distant from daily life. At this level, the possession of individual rights became more important to the legal process, circumscribing the participation of slaves and free blacks as well as white women and children. Courtrooms were also noisy, opinionated places, which some historians have associated with the distinctly masculine culture of white, southern men. But the

³⁴ *State v. Elley*, 1807, #6, Magistrates and Freeholders Court, Trial Papers, Kershaw District, SCDAH. For other, similar cases in which whites prosecuted slaves for spreading rumors, see *State v. Peter and Demce*, 1815–1816; *State v. Nowell*, 1810–1812; both in Criminal Actions Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color, Granville County, NCDAH. *State v. Patt*, 1825, case #14, reel 2916; *State v. Fed*, 1828, case #37, reel 2916; *State v. Cain*, 1835, case #75, reel 2916; *State v. Toney*, 1838, case #97, reel 2916; *State v. Spencer*, 1839, #106, reel 2916; *State v. Fanny and Richmond*, 1839, case #109, reel 2916; *State v. Margret*, 1840, case #115, reel 2916; all in Trial Papers, Court of Magistrates and Freeholders, Anderson/Pendleton District, SCDAH. *State v. Titus*, 1833, case #8, reel 2920; *State v. Chang*, 1835, case #13, reel 2920; *State v. Jacob*, 1835, case #15, reel 2920; *State v. Tom*, 1841, case #35, reel 2920. Also revealing are William Valentine’s fears, after a fight with his landlady, about how she will publicize the incident and what that will do to his reputation; see William D. Valentine Diaries, #2148, SHC, June 4, 1842.

³⁵ A South Carolina slave named Sylva, for instance, managed to mobilize local gossip networks to implicate her overseer in her own death. See Inquest on Negro Sylva, the Property of John Brown, 1822, Court of General Sessions, Coroner’s Inquisitions, Kershaw District, SCDAH. Likewise, Annis and Juno, two North Carolina slaves, appear to have had a hand in defining violence against them as rape. At least, it is difficult to imagine how the women’s owners or white court officials arrived at that particular charge without some input from the two women. For Annis and Juno, see *State v. George*, 1826; *State v. Tom*, 1824; both in Criminal Action Papers, Chowan County, NCDAH. Many scholars have noted the acceptance of rape and the idea of the sexual accessibility of black women among whites. Also see Edwards, “Enslaved Women and the Law.”

swirl of activity surrounding court sessions was not limited to white men.³⁶ Criminal trials spiced up the dull routines of rural life, and people followed the proceedings with the same addictive attention now reserved for television soap operas. White women, for instance, routinely attended criminal trials for that reason. Court also provided an excuse to go to town, to relax, shop, trade, visit, or gawk—the crowds included slaves and free blacks as well as white women and children. There was always conversation to be had about the cases, the guilt or innocence of the accused, the evidence presented, and the performance of the lawyers and judges. Gossip permeated the parlors of respectable households, where white matrons entertained friends and relatives in town for court. Similar conversations could be overheard down the street in modest houses and shanties as well as in the back rooms and kitchens of the wealthy, where slaves worked and visited. The discussions then extended beyond the town's boundaries, involving people in the countryside who could not be in town for court, but who eagerly awaited the latest grist to put into the gossip mill.³⁷

White and black southerners also knew enough about the circuit court to appreciate its limits. The gossipy crowds on court days had a distinct role in the legal culture, shaping the reception of trials' outcomes. In fact, a trial did not necessarily mark the end of a case. Pardons constituted an alternative appeals process: like cases presented in appellate courts, pardon petitions contested a trial's outcome, although they did so by skipping over legal points and going directly to either the facts of the case or its social context. Petitioners constructed these appeals as if they were making extraordinary requests: they described the situations as singular, emotional, and urgent, which was why they were begging the governor to intercede with mercy. The language, however, can be misleading. Petitions circulated after every court session

³⁶ Diaries of David Schenck and William D. Valentine, both of North Carolina, contain descriptions of trials and courtrooms; see David Schenck Papers, #652, SHC, Diaries, series 1, folder 2, vol. 1, particularly 7–8, 33, 80–82, 137–140, 151. William D. Valentine Diaries, #2148, SHC, April 14, 1837, August 16, 1837, September 21, 1837, March 23, 1838, May 16, 1838, September 21, 1838. The patterns echo those in colonial Virginia described so well by A. G. Roeber, "Authority, Law, and Custom: The Rituals of Court Day in Tidewater Virginia, 1720–1750," *William and Mary Quarterly* 37 (January 1980): 29–52, although early national and antebellum courts seem to have been less decorous. Also see Gross, *Double Character*, 22–46; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982).

³⁷ For court day as an occasion to exchange gossip and for gossip about court cases and court officials, see John Hill Wheeler to David S. Reid, in Lindley S. Butler, ed., *The Papers of David Settle Reid*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, N.C., 1993), 1: 207–210, 222–224, 229–230. William Henry Hoyt, ed., *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, N.C., 1914), 1: 93–95, 168–170. David Schenck Papers, #652, Diaries, series 1, folder 2, vol. 1, 151. *Raleigh Register*, July 14, 1808, contains a suggestive article regarding the governor's attempts to gauge public opinion through circuit judges and their contact with people and gossip at court. Newspapers also reported on notorious cases in a way that suggested the larger swirl of gossip that surrounded them. Even out-of-state cases, republished in local papers, indicate the way trials functioned as local entertainment. See, for instance, *Raleigh Register*, July 12, 1810, October 11, 1810, February 22, 1822, April 9, 1824, April 12, 1825, November 12, 1829, April 8, 1830, May 20, 1830, October 7, 1830. Also see *State Gazette of South Carolina*, March 17, 1791, April 21, 1791, October 3, 1791, November 29, 1792; *South Carolina State Gazette*, and *Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser*, March 29, 1794; *Charleston Courier*, December 20, 1822; *South Carolina State Gazette and Columbia Advertiser*, May 5, 1827, September 27, 1828. William Valentine's evaluations of judges' and lawyers' abilities also suggest the entertainment value of court dynamics; see, for instance, William D. Valentine Diaries, #2148, SHC, August 16, 1837, September 21, 1837, August 18, 1837, May 16, 1838, September 21, 1838, October 29, 1841, September 27, 1845, March 18, 1846, October 12, 1846, March 26, 1847, June 1, 1848, June 6, 1848, December 20, 1848.

in a routine as predictable as clockwork. They followed specific rhetorical conventions, resulting in something akin to a handwritten legal form, in which the petitioners themselves churned out the appropriate boilerplate and then filled in the necessary details.³⁸

Although white male property owners signed these petitions, their names did not represent their interests and opinions alone. Petitions also reflected currents of gossip that had become something more tangible, as community members evaluated the reputations of both the guilty offender and the victims. In these calculations, everything mattered: age, personality, family responsibilities, demeanor, church attendance, work habits, family ties, and community connections. Other people's opinions on these issues concerned the elite white men who usually made out pardon petitions, because their own reputations depended on the same gossip networks that produced common reports about the people involved in criminal cases. For those outside these tight circles of local knowledge, the conclusions can seem arbitrary: Why did communities rally around one convicted murderer but not another? Why did whites occasionally come to the defense of certain slaves? Why did they ignore the offenses against certain white men? The answers lie less in the abstractions of race, gender, class, or rights and more in the networks of personalized information produced about specific individuals by the people who knew—or thought they knew—them.³⁹ In this legal culture, neither the process nor its outcomes were confined to the boundaries of the courtroom.

THE SOUTH'S LEGAL SYSTEM neither protected the interests of slaves nor recognized their rights. Yet localized legal culture still incorporated slaves and other subordinates into its basic workings, because they were part of the social order that the legal process was charged with maintaining. One result was that slaves and free blacks had intimate knowledge of the legal system: they not only knew the process, but also understood its underlying logic, in which individual rights provided access and priv-

³⁸ This analysis is based on about 650 letters and petitions related to pardon requests to North Carolina governors from 1787 through 1845. This correspondence is in two different record groups, Governors' Papers and Governors' Letter Books, vols. 6–36, NCDAH.

³⁹ The concept of credit was crucial to deliberations about who would receive pardons and who would not. External indices of social status—such as gender, race, age, and property—all figured prominently in establishing credit, just as they had for centuries in the legal culture of both England and continental Europe. But they provided only the starting point. What determined any given individual's credit was specific knowledge about that person, disseminated through the exchange of gossip among those who knew him or her. The personal and impersonal aspects of credit worked together, creating a unique balance in each instance. That was why local courts routinely included testimony about the reputations of witnesses, as well as defendants and victims, if their information was crucial to the case. Such character witnesses were believed necessary to establish the reliability of key accounts, a practice that suggests the personal connotations of credit: who someone was, at a very personal level, was essential in evaluating what that person said in court—and determining the implications and consequences of what he or she was judged to have done. See, in particular, Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London, 1998). Credit, then, carried over into the legal evaluation of other kinds of information; see Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford, 1996), 50–52, 232–262; Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder: Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (New York, 1999). Also see Barbara Shapiro, "Beyond Reasonable Doubt" and "Probable Cause": *Historical Perspectives on the Anglo-American Law of Evidence* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 6–12, 114–185.

ileges, but which nonetheless elevated the maintenance of social order over the interests of individuals.

In theory, the peace was both hierarchical and inclusive. While the term was common in post-Revolutionary southern legal culture, it was based in a long-standing, highly gendered construction of government authority, which subordinated everyone to a sovereign body, just as all individual dependents were subordinated to specific male heads of household. That metaphorical body was represented first through the king, and then, after the Revolution, through “the people,” via the agency of the state—although the state’s form was still an open question in the post-Revolutionary decades, a situation that made it possible to locate so much governing authority at the local level. The sovereign body, however, was always a patriarch, whatever its location or physical embodiment. That remained the same, whether sovereignty resided in local jurisdictions or centralized institutions, or whether it took the form of a male king, a female queen, or a combination of men and women from different social ranks as “the people.”⁴⁰

The peace was inclusive only in the sense that it was an equal opportunity enforcer, enclosing everyone in its patriarchal embrace and raising its collective interests over those of any given individual. Typical was John Haywood’s North Carolina magistrates’ manual, published in 1808, which identified the “peace” as “a quiet and harmless behavior towards the government, and all the citizens under its protection.” The substitution of “citizen” for “subject” was more a Revolutionary flourish than a substantive change, since the manual explicitly incorporated domestic dependents and other subordinate groups within the peace, including free blacks and slaves: not only were they accountable to law, but they were also under its protection. Separate entries in justices’ manuals covered every conceivable legal category of people, including wives, widows, women, children, wards, students, free blacks, slaves, Indians, and servants. While extending the peace to all those people, the entries also made the hierarchical structure abundantly clear, by focusing on the restrictions unique to those in each legal category. The combination underscored the importance of coercion in this system: everyone had a place, and force was necessary to keep them there.⁴¹

⁴⁰ This summary draws on the scholarship that uses gender to illuminate the status of women and their relation to government in the early modern period and the age of revolution. See, for instance, Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, “Nasty Wenches,” and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, “A Genealogy of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State,” *Signs* 19 (Winter 1994): 309–336; Carol Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1987); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980); Joan B. Landes, *Women and Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988). Also see Edwards, “Enslaved Women and the Law.”

⁴¹ John Haywood, *The Duty and Office of Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, &c. According to the Laws of the State of North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C., 1808), quote from 191. Haywood’s was the standard guide in North Carolina. In South Carolina, one of the most popular guides was John Faucheraud Grimké, *The South Carolina Justice of the Peace* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1788). The manuals were usually based on either Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice*, or Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace, and Parish Officer*. They also duplicated earlier colonial guides; see William Simpson, *The Practical Justice of the Peace and Parish-Officer, of His Majesty’s Province of South-Carolina* (Charleston, S.C., 1761). The guidelines in Blackstone were much less detailed; see Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 4 vols. (repr., Chicago, 1979), vol. 3 on private wrongs and vol. 4 on public wrongs.

Yet, it was precisely because the patriarchal peace combined rigid hierarchy with coercive inclusion that subordinates, even slaves, could play active roles in the system. They could trump the authority of their immediate patriarchs by appealing to the higher patriarchal authority of the peace. Slaves, free blacks, and white wives and children who could not testify, for instance, regularly gave information that initiated cases and shaped their outcome. Even when they could not prosecute cases in their own names, they made complaints that resulted in prosecutions and convictions for their injuries. In such instances, subordinates did not use the law in their own right. When legal officials acted on such information and complaints, they did so by invoking the larger interests of the peace. The source of the information was irrelevant if the peace was threatened. Those dynamics were particularly evident in cases involving injured subordinates who were unable to prosecute in their own names: although the injury was to a specific individual, officials prosecuted by making the legal offense the theoretical damage to the peace, in its guise as the metaphorical public body. The injured peace thus replaced the actual victim and prosecuted the case. At issue was who could act in law. The metaphorical public body could do so when the actual, corporal bodies of subordinates could not. This legal form erased injured subordinates only in theory. In practice, they still remained central, because the damage to the public body was done through their flesh and blood. Always present, yet unacknowledged—this convenient legal fiction allowed subordinates a central role in the legal order, without disturbing the hierarchies that also defined it.⁴²

Local officials routinely invoked the interests of the peace when they confronted offenses against subordinates—white women, free blacks, slaves, and free children of both races. The concept accounts for the otherwise mystifying array of cases in local courts, such as incest, child abuse, wife-beating, and violence by masters against slaves. At least, that is the best explanation for what local officials did, a conclusion based on the distillation of ideas from action, since magistrates, sheriffs, and circuit court judges did not stop to record what they were doing or why. A liberal application of the peace, for instance, likely explains two separate rape cases involving enslaved women, Annis and Juno, in Chowan County, North Carolina. By casting the offense as one against the public order, it was legally possible to prosecute the rapes.⁴³ In

Also see Scott, *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia*, which describes procedural elements that continued to guide the process between the Revolution and the Civil War in the Carolinas.

⁴² The logic was laid out clearly in contemporary justices' manuals, which drew on rules from the earlier British guides. See n. 41 above. Also see Laura F. Edwards, "Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority in the Antebellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 65 (November 1999): 733–770.

⁴³ *State v. George*, 1826; *State v. Tom*, 1824; both in Chowan County Criminal Action Papers, NCDAH. These rape cases are just one example of prosecutions at the local level, which seem legally marginal, if not altogether impossible, given the status of the victim and the accused. In the mid-1820s, when charges were filed, North Carolina statutes and case law remained silent as to the criminal status of the rape of an enslaved woman by an enslaved man, although existing elements of slave law militated against such prosecutions. Prosecuting the cases as offenses against the peace bypassed those issues. Morris, *Southern Slavery and the Law*, 305–307, notes the loopholes in rape laws that allowed for such prosecutions and discusses several cases, including an 1859 Mississippi case in which the Mississippi State Supreme Court overturned a local judge's ruling, which allowed for the trial and conviction of an enslaved man for the rape of an enslaved child under ten years old, on the basis that statute and common law did not apply to slaves; and six Virginia cases, between 1790 and 1833, in which enslaved men were tried for raping free black women. Morris characterizes all the Virginia cases as exceptions and the Mississippi State Supreme Court decision as the rule. Given the changes in the court structure, however,

this legal logic, of course, Annis's and Juno's injuries were not the basis of the prosecution. The crime consisted in the virtual violence done to the metaphorical public body through the two women's injuries. That framework nonetheless assumed these enslaved women's place within the peace and made their experiences visible as public crimes.

Those cases, however, did not alter Annis's and Juno's legal status or the status of slaves generally. Local officials considered complaints on a case-by-case basis, righting specific wrongs done to the metaphorical public body without extending or denying rights to any category of individuals. The interests of the peace thus drew unique boundaries around each case, circumscribing the legal implications for the rights and status of the people involved. Their individual rights were not at issue; it was the good order of the peace that governed the cases. Acting on behalf of the peace, local officials could follow up on the complaints of one white wife or one enslaved woman. They could undercut the domestic authority of one husband or one master. But those circumstantial assessments did not translate into universal statements about the rights of all wives, all slaves, all husbands, or all masters in all like conditions. That was because such cases were about the peace, not the rights of the individuals involved. The logic emphasized the collective order, rather than specific individuals within it. In the name of the peace, subordinates could move out from under the legal purview of their household heads and acquire a direct, if momentary, relationship to law and government.⁴⁴

It was possible for anyone's personal problems—even those we would expect to be private—to emerge and assume public significance, given the right circumstances, because localized legal culture subsumed everything within the public order. Personal matters were always present within the public order, although not always legally relevant to it. In the localized legal system, people established and expressed legal relevance through the categories “private” and “public.” The concepts were a means rather than an end. They provided useful tools to establish and to rank the seriousness of problems, determining how they would be treated within the legal process: private issues either remained with those immediately involved or became

another interpretation would be that local jurisdictions retained the ability to define and prosecute such incidents as rapes until the appellate courts (1) acquired the power to say they could not, and (2) heard cases relating to the matter and, like the Mississippi State Supreme Court, rendered decisions that specifically disallowed prosecution. Within a year from the Mississippi court's decision, the legislature passed a statute that established the rape of any African American female under twelve by an African American man as a crime. Given their assumptions about the structure and logic of the legal system, Morris and other historians concluded that this statute extended new rights. For a discussion of the Mississippi statute, also see Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*, 67–68. An alternate explanation is that the statute codified local practice and framed it in the language of rights. Sommerville, *Rape and Race*, 64–68, notes rape cases involving African American females, although she emphasizes the age of the victims and attributes prosecution to social proscriptions that categorized the rape of children as a different, particularly heinous offense.

⁴⁴ This analysis is based not only on local court records, cited in n. 15, but also on the relationship between those cases and state appellate decisions. The legal implications of local cases were confined to the cases at hand, a situation that reform-minded state lawmakers tried to remedy throughout the period between the Revolution and the Civil War in a number of ways: by abolishing courts of conference, which reviewed problematic cases, offered suggestions, and then returned them to the district courts; by replacing it with an appellate court; by strengthening the appellate court's power to set precedent; and by elevating both appellate decisions and statutes as a single consistent, authoritative body of law that applied throughout the state.

civil matters; public matters, which affected the good order of the peace, had wider ramifications and merited collective intervention of some kind. Beyond that, the consensus broke down, because southerners invariably disagreed about what, exactly, should be private and public in any given situation. In local legal practice and common parlance, then, the terms did not refer to normative principles or specific categories of people (such as domestic dependents) or places (domestic spaces) that were inherently private or public. Any given matter could be either one or the other, depending on the circumstances. In the context of localized law, a domestic matter was not, by its nature, private. What made it private was the decision that outside intervention was inappropriate or unnecessary. Those determinations were part of a dynamic process—the ongoing negotiations necessary in maintaining order within communities. In fact, the terms “private” and “public” themselves expressed conflict rather than consensus. It was at those moments when the distinction between these concepts was the most unclear that people tended to invoke them the most forcefully: they appeared when there was the least agreement about them.

That construction of “private” and “public” is more apparent in people’s use of localized law than it is in the legal texts produced at the state level, on which historians usually rely. Southerners used the legal system with the assumption that all personal matters were potentially public. That immanent connection explains why free southerners felt so comfortable moving their own problems—what later would be private—into the legal system, without any sense that they were challenging the social order. That is also why they peppered their legislatures with requests for new laws to resolve individual problems and local issues.⁴⁵ The challenge lay in convincing legal officials that the issue would go forward in the system, which usually meant categorizing it as a public issue, not a private one. Consider the divorce petitions that occasionally appeared on South Carolina’s legislative agenda, even though the state’s laws did not allow for divorce. Petitioners were not necessarily naive or ignorant of the state’s prohibition on legal divorce. Rather, they hoped that the legislature would

⁴⁵ Individual requests for laws took up most of the state legislatures’ business. Petitioners identified problems that they considered of public import and requested action in the form of new laws. If successful, those requests usually resulted in statutes labeled as “private” acts, which far outnumbered public ones. Private acts ranged as widely as complaints brought to magistrates, and included the incorporation of voluntary organizations, the chartering of businesses, grants of manumission, divorce, legitimization of children, and suspensions of existing laws in particular instances. But the categorization of “private acts” and “public acts” was imposed after the fact, by the lawmakers, the terms of an existing process, or those publishing and organizing the statutes. The terminology was not that of the petitioners. As such, it can be misleading, because it implies a clear dichotomy that did not always exist in practice. In theory, the terms attempted to define the implications of legislation, along the same lines that distinguished private issues from public ones in other areas of law: “private” referred to the scope of enforcement, which applied only to those named, rather than to everyone in the state, as did “public” acts. But the line between private acts and public acts was not always well maintained. Public acts were initiated in the same way as private ones, through local initiative, usually petitions and grand jury presentments. The difference was that the sources of public law usually came through a request authored by a group—rather than an individual—which claimed to represent the interests of a particular area or constituency. Yet many public acts, like private ones, addressed specific, highly localized problems. The *Raleigh Register*, which provided day-by-day updates on the Assembly’s business, started separating out “private acts” from “public acts” only around 1809. Until then, it mixed them together, even when it listed the new laws published at the end of each legislative session. It is easy to see why the *Register* did not bother to make the distinction, considering the nature of so many “public acts.” Whether labeled public or private, statutes resulted from a process similar to that in the localized legal system. Individuals or small groups requested outside legal intervention in personal or highly localized matters, by linking them to the maintenance of the peace.

use its power to make a new law, specifically designed for them. At least one petitioner indicated his awareness of what he was asking. "Your petitioner," he wrote, "is well aware that your Honorable body by no means are in favor of dissolving the matrimonial tie." He nonetheless thought that his personal problems deserved special consideration and their own statute.⁴⁶

This conception of private and public is different from the one now current in the historiography of the nineteenth-century South. This scholarship tends to construe the interests of domestic dependents and the dynamics involving dependents within households—including wife-beating, child abuse, incest, and violence against slaves—as inherently private, insofar as they were separate and excluded from the public realm of law and politics. As a result, one tendency in the scholarship is to assume either that the legal system did not handle such issues or that it gave them cursory attention. The other is to assume that they represented either a disruption or a challenge to the public order when they did appear. In the context of the slave South, historians explain that situation in terms of the concept of dependency, which incorporates race and class as well as gender. Only those who could be independent—that is, white men with property or the capacity to acquire it—could claim the civil and political rights necessary to participate directly in matters on the public side of the line. Excluded from public participation were all those people—slaves, white women, free blacks, and even propertyless white men—whose gender, race, and class marked them with dependency, which signaled the incapacity for self-governance and, by extension, the governance of others.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Quote from Curtis Winget, Petition for Divorce, 1830, General Assembly Records, SCDAH. Other petitions for divorce or arrangements that approximated divorce came in infrequently but optimistically: Rachel Teakle, Petition for Divorce, 1802; Henry Gable and Nancy Gable, Petition for Divorce, 1810; Richard Hembree Hughes, Petition for Divorce, 1818; Mary Wilson, Petition for Divorce, 1821; Elizabeth Hamilton, Petition for Annulment and Exoneration from Her Husband's Debts, 1813; William Chick, Petition for Divorce, 1821; Thomas Miller, Petition for Divorce, 1841; Wilson Bartlett, Petition for Divorce, 1844; Marmaduke James, Petition for Divorce, 1847; all in General Assembly Records, SCDAH. Those same expectations explain why the North Carolina legislature still fielded divorce petitions long after the state moved jurisdiction over such matters to the superior courts.

⁴⁷ Nineteenth-century historians once assumed that "public" and "private" were separate realms, configured in a hierarchical arrangement, much like that posited by liberal political theorists, notably John Locke: the "private" realm of the household was distinct from and subordinate to the "public" world of politics and commerce. The influence was apparent within southern history, where the traditional focus on political history and the men who figured in law and party politics focused on the "public" side of the equation. Later work on social history moved in the other direction, back toward the "private" sphere, although broadly conceived to include matters such as economic production, labor, and the slave system as well as the daily lives of all those enmeshed in that system, particularly slaves and their white mistresses. Where earlier scholarship on the South accepted that distinction as a given, later work in the field has used the analytical lens of gender to explain its presence, the resulting dynamics, and their wider implications. These historians construe private and public as products of politics and culture rather than expressions of nature, distinct spheres, or actual physical space. As a result, they have focused on the ideological assumptions that underlay the concepts, how they changed, and how they were used. In the context of the slave South, historians have linked the dynamics of private and public to the concept of dependency, which incorporates race and class as well as gender. Yet the scholarship still tends to assume that the legal system in the slave South treated all problems of domestic dependents as "private" and thereby either excluded them or did its best to ignore or limit them when they did appear, a situation that did not change until after Reconstruction. See, in particular, Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household*. Also see Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Brown, *Good Wives, "Nasty Wenches," and Anxious Patriarchs*; Bynum, *Unruly Women*; Dailey, *Before Jim Crow*; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Women in the Old South* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); Frankel, *Freedom's Women*; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the*

In fact, domestic dependents and domestic issues are categorized as private in the legal texts on which nineteenth-century historians have tended to rely—appellate decisions, statutes, and the writings of reformers who favored changes that would elevate those bodies of law. But those sources are limited in their representation of southern legal culture. At issue is the fact that appellate courts and legislatures were not the only or even the primary locus of legal authority in the South for much of the period between the Revolution and the Civil War. Nor did the statutes and decisions produced in these arenas define a comprehensive body of law applicable throughout the entire state, although they held more sway in property issues than they did over criminal matters and other public legal issues. While appellate decisions and statutes acquired more legal authority in all areas of law by the 1830s, they did not assume their place at the top of the legal hierarchy until Reconstruction. Indeed, scholarship that includes local court records provides a very different picture of the legal process.⁴⁸

Even in the late antebellum period, when statutes and appellate decisions became more authoritative, they still underscored the continued importance of localized law, particularly in the broad area of public matters. Specifically, appellate cases and statutes settled conflicts that could not be resolved at the local level. In the resulting texts, appellate cases and statutes tended to use the terms “private” and “public” as if they were settled, mutually exclusive abstractions. In fact, however, lawmakers had to use “private” and “public” in that way, because the point was to impose order on local conflicts, generated because some people thought that their concerns rose to the level of public issues and others did not. Regardless of what statutes advised and what appellate courts ruled in any particular case, the peace still made it possible for similar kinds of private problems to become public in other cases. All those private issues were already part of the peace; it was just a question of whether they were problematic enough to become a public concern: that included petty disputes (which might be considered private because of their seeming insignificance) as well as the complaints of domestic dependents and even problems associated with private property. Such private matters routinely became public—including legal issues that were assumed by historians to be private because they did not appear at all in statutes or appellate cases or that were explicitly labeled private in these legal texts. In localized law between the Revolution and the Civil War, the public realm of the peace was littered with issues that many historians have considered outside its bounds. If anything, those matters were the defining element of public law, rather than exceptions to it.

The peace was as capricious as it was capacious. Enfolding the entire range of conflicts that characterized community life in the slave South, it was contradictory and conflicted, just like the people who composed it. Even as it reflected and en-

Antebellum South Carolina Low Country (New York, 1995); Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*; Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract*; Lee Ann Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860–1890* (Athens, Ga., 1992).

⁴⁸ Gross, “Beyond Black and White.” Also see Block, *Rape and Sexual Power*; Stephanie Cole, “Keeping the Peace: Domestic Assault and Private Prosecution in Antebellum Baltimore,” in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, eds., *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America* (New York, 1999), 148–169; Gross, *Double Character*; Johnson, *Soul by Soul*; Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk*; Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood*; Sommerville, *Rape and Race*.

forced rigid hierarchies, the peace was never defined solely in terms of the rights or interests of individual patriarchs. Of course, the interests of the peace and the rights of individual patriarchs often coincided, because elite white men were the ones who wielded public authority, oversaw the interests of the peace, and played an influential role in defining the public order. But at this particular historical moment, those men held that position, at least in part, at the behest of the public order; they did not yet possess patriarchal authority solely by individual right, at least not in public matters as they were adjudicated in localized law. In fact, individual white men acquired their status through their own particular form of subordination to the peace: their domestic authority was necessary to the maintenance of order, just as dependents' submission was. Yet the peace encompassed them, as it did everyone else, and demanded their acquiescence as well. Thus, the peace could never be defined solely in terms of individual patriarchs' interests—whatever they might be.

By contrast, historians often describe the post-Revolutionary South in terms of an individualized version of patriarchy, one in which the interests of propertied white men and the goals of law and government were the same. Such men, it is assumed, could label the concerns of "their" dependents and other subordinates as "private" and exclude them from the realms of law and politics. To be sure, many southerners at this time saw white men's authority in exactly those terms. Some of the region's most prominent and prolific residents expounded on such views at great length. Many more expressed them through their daily interactions with each other. White men habitually acted as if their domestic authority were an individual right, one among many that their government was bound to uphold. Their aspirations found support in certain areas of law and political theory. Between the Revolution and the Civil War, for instance, property law emphasized the protection of individual rights—rights fully claimed only by those white men with the resources to support dependents. Some Revolutionary-era political principles went a step further, identifying the protection of individual rights as the central purpose of law and government. From there it was a short leap to a public order defined exclusively in terms of the interests of propertied white men, since they were the only ones who could claim the full range of rights as legally recognized individuals.

Given the popularity of this individualized version of patriarchy among those southerners who left most of the records, it is no wonder that it now takes up so much space in the historiography. But rhetoric and desire were not sufficient to make it so, no matter how forcefully expressed. Within the institutional structures of law and government, individualized forms of patriarchy occupied only certain limited spaces. Before the Civil War, they shared legal quarters with other conceptions, including the one that emphasized everyone's subordination to the peace of the public body and, by extension, the notion that the legal system was about the maintenance of a social order more broadly defined than just the protection of individual rights. Even if the system did not always acknowledge everyone's claims on it, the logic still obtained. It was difficult for even the most subordinated people within this system not to see themselves as part of this public order, if only because it was so difficult for them to escape it. For them, familiarity with this legal order was a product of coercion—but familiarity is often acquired in that way.

That familiarity is what is so striking about the legal culture of the slave South:

even those on its margins *assumed* that they were part of it, whether for good or for ill. Free blacks regularly tried to use the system, sometimes with surprising success, despite the denial of rights that limited their access. Slaves did not so much use law as survive legal proceedings they had no choice but to endure. Their acceptance of the system might better be termed resignation. Although they knew that the legal system was capricious, they nonetheless lived with its processes and understood it as a means to regulate the communities in which they lived. They had to, because legal practice was so thoroughly integrated into the rhythms of daily life. Ordinary problems were legal because the localized legal system was supposed to maintain peace by resolving all the ordinary problems generated within it. Within the localized system, legal questions involved concrete relations within households and communities, not abstract concepts that existed outside of people's lives. The legal adjudication of all these issues rested on local knowledge created through informal community networks. As a result, African Americans contributed regularly to southern legal culture. Whether slave or free, they were integral to the base of local knowledge on which localized law depended.

THIS BACKDROP IS CRUCIAL for understanding African Americans' use of law during Reconstruction. During and after the Civil War, African Americans made use of law in new ways, initiating cases and trying to mobilize the system on their own behalf. They did so even before emancipation, during the Civil War, with refugees and black soldiers firing off letters and complaints to federal officers and agencies. They continued after the Civil War, before the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment and under the notorious state Black Codes, which limited freedpeople's individual rights and barred them from using local and state courts in most instances. Freedpeople nonetheless brought complaints to federal Freedmen's Bureau officials, turning them into legal intermediaries. After the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment and the democratic restructuring of southern state governments, freedpeople made valiant efforts to use all the new legal arenas open to them, at the local, state, and federal levels. As the scholarship suggests, freedpeople made substantive claims about the post-emancipation social order in these legal arenas that went beyond their individual rights: they made powerful statements about economic justice, racial equality, and political democracy.⁴⁹ Freedpeople turned to the legal system because of the dramatic policy changes of the era, which not only granted them individual rights that allowed new kinds of access, but also encouraged them to think that the system could now be a more reliable ally. As important as those changes were, however, they constitute only part of the story. African Americans' past experiences also encouraged them to look to the legal system. Like other southerners, they were familiar with the system's workings. More than that, they had experienced law as a

⁴⁹ Berlin et al., *The Black Military Experience*; Berlin et al., *The Destruction of Slavery*; Ira Berlin, Thavolia Glymph, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, Leslie S. Rowland, and Julie Saville, eds., *The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Lower South* (New York, 1991). Also see Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*; Foner, *Nothing but Freedom*; Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet*; Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill, 1977); Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields*; Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction*; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*.

system designed to protect community order. After emancipation, African Americans had every reason to think that they could assume more active roles in defining the public order, even when their claims to individual rights were tenuous.

Those expectations are particularly pronounced in the actions of freedwomen, who did not acquire the full range of rights that freedmen did. In fact, African American women shed the legal bonds of slavery only to acquire all the legal disabilities of other free women. Yet, as records indicate, freedwomen used courts not just to assert civil and political rights, but also to address a range of domestic issues: they filed for divorce, brought charges against their husbands for neglect and abuse, informed on annoying neighbors, testified in cases involving community conflicts, and prosecuted neighbors and even family members on behalf of their children. These uses of the legal system were strikingly similar to those of white southern women of poor to modest means, who had expected the system to resolve such problems before the Civil War and continued to bring such cases afterward.⁵⁰

African Americans' use of the legal system is important, given the trajectory of Reconstruction. The same Reconstruction-era lawmakers who extended civil and political rights to African Americans also made other changes that were not as democratic. Legislation in the late nineteenth century centralized state authority and systematized a body of state law around the concept of individual rights. Those changes built on trends from the late antebellum period, spearheaded by reform-minded southern lawmakers who tried to move governing authority away from local jurisdictions and create a uniform body of state law that slotted individuals into generic categories. Ironically, the efforts of these southern statesmen were not fully realized until after the Civil War, as part of the systematic reform of the region under the terms of the congressional Reconstruction plan and the dramatic revision of state constitutions under Republican rule. The institution of capitalist labor relations and the extension of individual rights to former slaves required a hierarchical legal system, which construed law as a set of universal rules, consistently applied within defined categories. Although most southern legal reformers who lived through the Reconstruction era bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, and other changes that came with Republican rule, their basic vision of the legal system was similar to that of Reconstruction-era Republicans. It is no coincidence that Democrats left these changes in place when they took over after Reconstruction.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Berlin et al., "Afro-American Families in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom"; Bercaw, *Gendered Freedoms*; Victoria Bynum, "Reshaping the Bonds of Womanhood: Divorce in Reconstruction North Carolina," in Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds., *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York, 1992), 320–333; Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Frankel, *Freedom's Women*; Susan Eva O'Donovan, "Transforming Work: Slavery, Free Labor, and the Household in Southwest Georgia, 1850–1880" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1997); Elizabeth Regosin, *Freedom's Promise: Ex-Slave Families and Citizenship in the Age of Emancipation* (Charlottesville, Va., 2002); Rosen, "'Not That Sort of Women'"; Sommerville, *Rape and Race*, 147–175; Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We*, 147–268; Karin L. Zipf, *Labor of Innocents: Forced Apprenticeship in North Carolina, 1715–1919* (Baton Rouge, La., 2005). For white women, see Drew Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, Ill., 1989); Edwards, "Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority."

⁵¹ Accounts focusing on the development of the state's courts usually note this point. See, for instance, Adams, "Evolution of Law in North Carolina"; McIntosh, "The Jurisdiction of the North Caro-

Within the political context of the post-Reconstruction era, this new version of state authority did not necessarily work to the benefit of most southerners. Consider the experience of African American men during and after Reconstruction. The extension of civil and political rights to them also formally linked possession of those rights with citizenship—in the broader sense that civil and political rights were considered essential markers of citizenship and, more than that, prerequisites to participation as full members in the polity, whether at the state or the national level. That link between individual rights and citizenship actually redefined the basis of participation in law and governance. As Redemption and Jim Crow rolled back the legal changes of the Reconstruction era, the subsequent denial of those individual rights had devastating effects for men, denying them what had become the only entry to law and governance. That outcome highlights the problems of relying on the conventional, theoretical legal subject—a (masculine) individual with an unrestricted array of civil and political rights—as the historical standard against which to measure historical change. In legal practice, most men were more like women, in the sense that they never enjoyed the full array of rights associated with that theoretical individual. Assessing change in those terms—that is, the acquisition or loss of individual rights—fails to capture the complexities of most Americans' legal status and the radical changes they experienced in that regard. Moreover, the trajectory of change in the Reconstruction-era South suggests the limits inherent within legal changes that emphasized individual rights and that usually are associated with democracy and political progress. Although individual rights held great promise, they arrived with new legal institutions that undermined other forms of access to law that had existed within a localized system. In that localized system, a person's subordination and lack of rights were not always a barrier either to making claims on the community or to participation in the basic processes of community governance.

The emphasis on southern legal culture and African Americans' position within it thus reveals an important historical counternarrative, one in which individual rights were only one way to imagine and produce claims on the state. African Americans' persistent use of the legal system reveals not just the fight to obtain individual rights, but also the presence of a broader legal culture in which citizenship and participation in governance were not defined exclusively in those terms. Local court records indicate that many white southerners approached the legal system and other institutions of state governance before and after the Civil War laden with the same expectations. White women marched off to local officials to demand redress for the various problems in their lives. During the Civil War, they sent off missives to state leaders and Confederate officials, with every expectation that the government would deal with their personal problems. White men did so as well, requesting favors, transfers, and leaves as if the war should accommodate their desires. Even though white men could rely on their individual rights for access and could assume that their interests were central in defining the social order, they were accustomed to operating in a legal system in which individual rights were not the only way to define justice. Of course, white southerners' conceptions of that public order were very different

lina Supreme Court"; Orth, "North Carolina Constitutional History"; Senese, "Building the Judicial Pyramid."

from those of African Americans. But the way they viewed the process of achieving that order—however it might be defined—was strikingly similar. Turning our attention to people at these local levels provides a different understanding of legal and political history. In this history, ordinary men and women without civil and political rights would have more substantive roles. This history also would be based in a different narrative of political development, one defined through expansive historical contests over the content of the public order, instead of the acquisition of individual rights.

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“The Filthy American Twang”: Elocution, the Advent of American “Talkies,” and Australian Cultural Identity

JOY DAMOUSI

[T]here is contrasted the soft-toned enunciation of an educated Englishman and the speech of a harshly accented American who handles the fifth vowel with scant consideration.¹

It must be already apparent to many thinking people that since the introduction of the American talking films . . . we are in grave danger of the Americanisation of our speech.²

Writing to the *SYDNEY MORNING HERALD* in 1930, a “Picture Patron” expressed a view that was commonly held by Australian filmgoers during the interwar years:

Most of the American pictures shown are absolute rubbish, and an insult to one’s intelligence, while the harsh, low-class voices and accent are a continual strain on one’s nerves . . . English pictures, with pleasing voices and accent, are a welcome relief after most American talkies. Patrons would also welcome occasional silent films, which are most restful.³

One of the most vehement objections to the arrival of sound in film in Australia was that it was introducing the American accent to a culture accustomed to English pronunciations and diction. Not only were silent films seen as superior to talkies in some quarters and talkies considered crude, but the American voice on film was believed to have a profoundly detrimental effect not only on the spoken word but on the aural senses. Some believed that the American sound—both its accent and its pronunciation—would completely desecrate the English language. The director of education in New South Wales, Henry Smith, argued that

if we are to preserve the purity of the English tongue drastic steps must be taken to keep out of the lands of the Southern Cross those of the American tongue films which do violence to the Saxon Speech. The sincere and successful efforts we are now making in Australian schools to maintain the high standard of spoken English will fail if our young children hear much of the execrable pronunciation of English which distinguishes most of the American “talkies” to-day. We want legislation to enable our censors to exclude all talking pictures which des-

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¹ *Wireless Weekly*, February 1, 1929, 16.

² *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 23, 1930, 5.

³ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 17, 1930, 9.

ecrate the canons of pure speech as practiced among the educated classes in British communities.⁴

In a simple and blunt statement, Beatrice Tildesley, the president of the Good Film League, summed up the view of many who were of this persuasion: "Surely in a British community any of our native dialects should be preferable to the squawks and yowls of Hollywood and to Bowery slang."⁵

The debate in Australia about the coming of sound to film centered on the nature of the accent, pronunciation, and voice. The American "twang" caused great offense, while what was identified as the eloquence of the British voice was to be promoted and emulated. Not only did the appearance of certain American sounds seem novel, but those sounds were perceived in national terms, as between "modern" American and traditional and staid English. The distinction identified by John Rickard between "high" (English) and "low" (American) culture was exemplified in these debates.⁶

How do we understand the depth of this negative response to American talkies? A suspicion of, and objection to, American cultural imperialism, as identified by several historians, is certainly a crucial factor. There was concern about an increasing Americanization of Australian culture, and loyalty to the British Empire aroused further antagonism. Many criticisms were directed at the American talkie, including its moral and artistic shortcomings as well as economic considerations.⁷ Speech was one aspect of this general critique, and a focus on it enhances our understanding of the extent of the public outcry in some quarters to the perceived threat that talkies posed to Australian cultural life.

Historians have long prioritized the written over the spoken and the visual over the auditory in the history of the senses. A shift of the historical imagination from seeing past societies to hearing them offers a further perspective for examining the complexity of everyday life. Recent studies by historians have taken up the initial challenge thrown up by Alain Corbin and Peter Bailey, who have identified the auditory as one aspect of cultural life that historians can no longer afford to ignore. In his pioneering study *Village Bells*, Corbin argues that a history of representations of the social world "can no longer afford to neglect materials pertaining to auditory perception."⁸ Through an examination of the use of village bells in the nineteenth-century French countryside, Corbin considers how the ringing of the bells and the experience of hearing them constituted a language and a form of communication that "gave rhythm to forgotten modes of relating between individuals and between the living and the dead. It made possible forms of expression, now lost to us, of rejoicing and conviviality." Listening to the sound of ringing bells was a way of inscribing and

⁴ *Argus*, August 7, 1929, 7.

⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 10, 1930, 8.

⁶ John Rickard, "Music and Cultural Hierarchy, 1918–1939," in Nicholas Brown, Peter Campbell, Robyn Holmes, Peter Read, and Larry Sitsky, eds., *One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History, 1930–1960* (Canberra, 1995), 181.

⁷ See Philip Bell and Roger Bell, eds., *Americanization and Australia* (Sydney, 1998); Jill Matthews, *Dance Hall and Picture Palace: Sydney's Romance with Modernity* (Sydney, 2005), 225–227.

⁸ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (1994; repr., New York, 1998), xi; Peter Bailey, "Breaking the Sound Barrier," *Body and Society* 2 (1996): 49–66.

experiencing time and space; it helped to construct the identities of individual and collective communities.⁹

Bailey similarly alerts us to “the whole range of sounds that enliven the past and contribute to its changing sensory orders.”¹⁰ Social noise during the premodern period in the West tells us much, he argues, about the ways in which the control and selection of sound defined genteel identity. Sounds that were unwelcome or deemed offensive, such as the noise of petitioners, attendants, and servants, were suppressed or partitioned off.¹¹ Tuning in to the noise of Victorian England, Bailey found “a continuing struggle between refinement and vulgarity.”¹² Yet he also observed in 1996 that sounds in history “rarely receive more than lip service.”¹³

Since that time, there have been a growing number of historical works that aim to capture the auditory environment of the past.¹⁴ Historians working across many fields have begun to listen to the past, and in doing so they have developed new arguments about the history of sensory experience. Each of those studies considers the ways in which listening to sound can provide new insights into historical places, events, and processes. These include, for example, a history of the soundscape of slavery that considers the significance of the sounds of music and language to the identities of American slaves during their experience of bondage and of freedom. A study of the sonic environment of the public and private worlds of Victorian London—from the noise of the streets and public spaces to the chatter of middle-class parlors and private homes—sheds light on how Victorians heard their environment, a crucial aspect of how they understood themselves. Histories of the introduction of new technologies and sound reproduction have further sharpened the importance of the history of the auditory. In the early-twentieth-century United States, the arrival of new technologies and the rise of modernity provide the context for examining the history of acoustics as a way of exploring the aural aspects of modernity.¹⁵ Studies of the invention of sound technologies such as headsets, the radio, the stethoscope, the telephone, the phonograph, and the cinema highlight the ways in which techniques and patterns of listening to modern technology have dramatically changed over time.¹⁶ Understanding the impact of these technologies has also ushered in a

⁹ Corbin, *Village Bells*, xix.

¹⁰ Bailey, “Breaking the Sound Barrier,” 64.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹² *Ibid.*, 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁴ See Veit Erlmann, ed., *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (London, 2004); Douglas Kahn, *Noise, Water, Meat: A History of Sound in the Arts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago, 1999); Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Douglas Kahn and Gregory Whitehead, eds., *Wireless Imagination: Sound, Radio, and the Avant-garde* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York, 1993); Susan J. Douglas, *Radio and the American Imagination: From Amos 'n' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (New York, 1999); Jeremy Gilbert and Ewan Pearson, eds., *Discographies: Dance Music, Culture and the Politics of Sound* (New York, 1999); James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York, 1997); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003); James Latra, *Sound Technology and the American Cinema: Perception, Representation, Modernity* (New York, 2000).

¹⁵ See Graham White and Shane White, *The Sounds of Slavery* (Boston, 2005); John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (New York, 2003); Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

¹⁶ Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, N.C., 2003).

heightened awareness of the centrality to Western cultures of listening to the human voice, as a way of shaping individual and collective identities.¹⁷ The emphasis on listening in this literature is a further frame of reference for this research and draws on the insistence of Steven Connor, Emily Thompson, and Jonathan Sterne on the need to consider the influence of the auditory in the formation of individual and collective subjectivities, with particular attention to sonic landscapes and the history of listening.¹⁸

The hostile response to American talkies in Australia can best be historicized by considering the importance of vocal quality and correct pronunciation to notions of individual and national identity in the period before the 1920s. Doing so can highlight the significant place of elocution and the importance of the purity of voice and pronunciation in defining Australian culture and the self from the 1870s to the interwar years. The rationale for drawing attention to this earlier period is twofold: first, to claim a place for the significance of elocution in the cultural history of sound and speech in order to identify the wider auditory context within which the talkies arrived in Australia; and second, to suggest the ways in which judgments about character and the self were closely interconnected with the voice. In general, speaking well in Anglophile society marked one as a person of character and integrity and provided an entrée into respectable society. Elocution was a part of this belief in the role of voice in defining character and class standing for both men and women. "Of no small importance, and of no insignificant task as an accomplishment, is a ready and graceful elocution," noted the author of the English etiquette journal *How to Behave*. Correct speech and the ability to speak with "taste and elegance" were "indispensable requisites to the privileges of good society."¹⁹ These aspects were considered with attention to race, national identity, class, gender, and the urban/rural divide, as speech, language, and voice are informed both implicitly and explicitly throughout the discussion by these dynamics.

Debates about the Australian, English, and American voices—and the accent, pronunciation, lexicon, and expression of each—were crucial in shaping understandings of Australian identity even before the arrival of the talkies. The centrality of language to that identity was reflected in the values emphasized through elocution and etiquette manuals as well as through the public performance of school speech days and the place of eloquence in political life. Only by understanding these cultural

¹⁷ Anne Karpf, *The Human Voice: The Story of a Remarkable Talent* (London, 2006).

¹⁸ Steven Connor, "The Modern Auditory 1," in Roy Porter, ed., *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London, 1997), 203–223; Sterne, *The Audible Past*; Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity*. This connection between speaking and listening has not been a major area of study in Australia. As part of his formative history of Australia, Keith Hancock discussed Australian intonation and Australia's convict vocabulary in a brief examination of the evolution of Australian words and expressions. Several decades later, A. G. Mitchell charted the development of Australian speech and sound, while Russel Ward identified distinctive Australian speech patterns in his influential account of the radical national ethos. Alan Atkinson's work stands out among the few recent scholarly efforts to capture the auditory in Australia in his discussion of talking and listening in colonial and contemporary Australia. Bruce Johnson's research into the introduction of jazz, the microphone, and modernity has made a similar contribution to histories of sound, but he is concerned with music rather than language. See William Keith Hancock, *Australia* (London, 1930); Alexander George Mitchell, *The Pronunciation of English in Australia* (Sydney, 1946); Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne, 1958); Alan Atkinson, *The Commonwealth of Speech: An Argument about Australia's Past, Present and Future* (Melbourne, 2002); Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, vol. 2: *Democracy* (Sydney, 2004); Bruce Johnson, *The Inaudible Music: Jazz, Gender and Australian Modernity* (Sydney, 2000).

¹⁹ *How to Behave; or, Etiquette of Society* (London, 1879), 12.

dynamics prior to the interwar years can we further grasp the intensity of the response to listening to the talkies and to the worldwide introduction of the American sound on film.

ELOCUTION—THE ART OF SPEECH AND ELOQUENCE—was a distinctive marker of social and class status and an indicator of national identity in Australia during the nineteenth century. At that time, it was taken for granted that the enunciation of “good speech” was not only desirable but also necessary. This remained the case for several decades, into the first half of the twentieth century. “There is no need, surely,” wrote the elocutionist A. Musgrave Horner in 1951, “for a case to be made out in support of the importance of good speech, especially for professional and social reasons. No proof is necessary for so obvious a fact that speech is involved in a great part of some, and in almost the whole of other professional activities.”²⁰ It was assumed that an accomplished speaking voice was essential to “facilitate success in both society and professional life.”²¹

The origins of elocution date back to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when it became part of what Andrew McCann has described as the process of “self-fashioning.” Speaking well became central to the “communicative integrity evident in the faithful evocation of affect, intention and meaning.”²² Once it was identified as a form of social status and cultural acceptability, it also became increasingly popular in Anglophone societies. Lynda Mugglestone estimates that five times as many works on elocution appeared between 1760 and 1800 as in the years before 1760. This popularity, she argues, attests to the “growing conviction that accent could provide a way of articulating social identity as much as words in themselves.”²³ Initially, Victorian elocution and public-speaking manuals were written by the clergy for university-educated men who wished to continue a career in oratory. By the late nineteenth century, these texts were pitched at a wider audience and reinforced and legitimated class distinctions. As Mark Morrisson has argued, discourses about correct diction and verse recitation stressed the central role of a pure voice in “bourgeois self-legitimation and cultural reproduction.”²⁴

These developments were also part of an attempt to prescribe the proper use of

²⁰ A. Musgrave Horner, *Speech Training: A Handbook for Students* (London, 1951), 9.

²¹ Judith Pippen with Dianne Eden, *Resonating Bodies: Reflections on 50 Years of Theory and Practice in Voice and Movement Training for Actors and the Framing of a Manifesto for Today* (Brisbane, 1997), 13.

²² Andrew McCann, “Romantic Self-Fashioning: John Thelwall and the Science of Elocution,” *Studies in Romanticism* 40 (Summer 2001): 218. For aspects of the history of elocution, see Earl R. Cain, “Elocution in German Rhetorical Theory, 1750–1850,” *Western Speech* 4, no. 27 (1963): 221–226; Denyse Rockey, “John Thelwall and the Origins of British Speech Therapy,” *Medical History* 23 (1979): 156–175; Rockey, *Speech Disorder in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London, 1980); Michael Shortland, “Moving Speeches: Language and Elocution in Eighteenth-Century Britain,” *History of European Ideas* 8, no. 6 (1987): 639–653; Susan Kates, “The Embodied Rhetoric of Hallie Quinn Brown,” *College English* 59, no. 1 (January 1997): 58–71; Nan Johnson, “The Popularization of Nineteenth Century Rhetoric: Elocution and the Private Learner,” in Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran, eds., *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (Carbondale, Ill., 1993); Peter Middleton, “The Contemporary Poetry Reading,” in Charles Bernstein, ed., *Close Listening: Poetry and the Performed Word* (New York, 1998), 262–299.

²³ Lynda Mugglestone, *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol* (London, 1995), 3.

²⁴ Mark Morrisson, “Performing the Pure Voice: Elocution, Verse Recitation, and Modernist Poetry in Prewar London,” *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 3 (September 1996): 27.

the written as well as the spoken word. During the eighteenth century, grammarians increasingly saw standard pronunciation as an important aspect of establishing a normative approach to grammar. Elocution became central to these efforts to standardize pronunciation, which was seen as integral to standardizing the written word. David Crystal observes that there were more English grammar books published between 1750 and 1800 than in the entire previous two centuries combined. These shaped what became understood as a prescriptive approach to grammar, as they quickly defined what was correct and incorrect usage. "Elocution," notes Crystal, "was big business, and people were prepared to pay for it," by attending courses and lectures and by buying the elocution manuals that burst onto the market. This insatiable desire for correct speech and linguistic unity reflected a range of other cultural and political anxieties. From the outset, such a prescriptive model of correct speech and writing reinforced class differences. Furthermore, as Crystal argues, many of the grammarians of this period saw their work as part of a wider endeavor to create an ordered and unified society, in which elocution, rhetoric, and oratory were central to law, religion, and politics and hence were the basis of civilized society. Language norms, it was believed, would ensure social, civil, and cultural stability. Underlying these aspirations was an assumption that language was a subjective and not an objective construction.

The wider context of these developments is the story of the history of the English imperial project. As the British Empire expanded, so too did the English-speaking world, but speech was not adopted in uniform ways. The United States and Australia were both former British colonies that had inherited the language of Britain, but very soon each country developed its own different and distinctive accents, vocabulary, and pronunciation in response to its unique environment and emerging cultural practices. At the same time, there was a continuity of linguistic forms; throughout the nineteenth century, British textbooks were used in schools, and English literature was studied in both the United States and Australia.²⁵

Once the indigenous populations in the two colonies began to speak English and develop a distinctive accent and vocabulary, the linguistic diversity became even more complex. In Australia, indigenous languages influenced white speech. One of the distinguishing features of the white Australian form of speech is the integration of indigenous terms. The systematic destruction of Aboriginal languages was a cornerstone of the colonial project, as missionaries and government bureaucrats attempted to "civilize" the indigenous population by instructing them in the values of British culture. A central aspect of this process was teaching young Aborigines English so that they could read the Bible and thereby absorb Christian morality. Although there was doubt on the part of some missionaries from the 1840s to the 1870s about whether indigenous children were capable of acquiring English, they did so with a proficiency that increasingly rivaled that of their white counterparts, lending currency to the view that patterns of speech were cultural rather than biological.²⁶

Concurrently, elocution as a scientific form of voice production emerged in tan-

²⁵ David Crystal, *The Stories of English* (London, 2004), 296, 419–435; quotation from 414.

²⁶ Graham Seal, *Lingo: Listening to Australian English* (Sydney, 1999), 13; Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800* (Sydney, 2005), 36; Ian D. Clark and Toby Heydon, *A Bend in the Yarra: A History of the Merri Creek Protectorate Station and Merri Creek Aboriginal School, 1841–1851* (Canberra, 2004), 63–64.

dem with the development of a white democratic public sphere. In Australia, colonial democracy evolved around the eloquence of public speeches, which were meticulously reported in nineteenth-century newspapers and were disseminated in other publications such as pamphlets.²⁷ During the 1850s, five of the colonies of Australia gained self-government, and with this came valorization of the masculine political culture of speech, debate, and oratory. The importance of oratory was exemplified by colonial politicians such as William Wentworth and Henry Parkes. Daniel Deniehy, born of convict origins and an advanced democrat, especially typifies the power of eloquence and speech at this time. He was a brilliant orator, with a voice that was described as “of the most marvellous quality, low and sweet, yet pure and resonant, and magical in making its way to the hearts and sympathies of his listeners.” In Parliament as well as in public demonstrations, “he was invariably listened to with the utmost respect and deference.”²⁸

The perception of elocution as an “art” was also connected to the development of male public-speaking and self-improvement societies, such as the Young Men’s Societies that flourished from the mid-nineteenth century. These groups provided a forum for young men to come together in “mutual, spiritual and mental improvement”; an important part of this process was attending and giving lectures, debating, and public speaking.²⁹ Such clubs encouraged the development of young men’s professional masculinity in the evolving public sphere and appealed to both working-class and middle-class men. The Melbourne University Debating Society, modeled on the Oxford University Union Society, was established by Charles Pearson in 1874 to debate and discuss various contemporary issues and provide an apprenticeship for future leaders in public life. Among its members were the teenage Alfred Deakin, who would later serve three terms as prime minister; William Shiels, premier of Victoria in the 1890s; H. B. Higgins, future attorney-general and presiding judge over the Australian basic wage case; H. N. P. Wollaston, first permanent head of the Commonwealth Department of Trade and Customs; Alexander Sutherland, a prominent Melbourne headmaster; T. F. Bride, chief librarian of the Melbourne Public Library; and Theodore Fink, a prominent educationist and chairman of directors of the Melbourne *Herald*.³⁰ Working-class organizations also aimed to nurture skills such as eloquence, public oratory, and debating. The North Melbourne Literary and Debating Association, for example, nominated “readings for working men” that consisted of “extracts from the writings of the leading thinkers of the age upon political and social subjects of interest and value to working men.” The Young Men’s Christian Association emerged from similar efforts to expose Christian young men to

²⁷ E. A. Martin, *The Life and Speeches of Daniel Henry Deniehy* (Melbourne, 1884). See also James Perrin Warren, *Culture of Eloquence: Oratory and Reform in Antebellum America* (University Park, Pa., 1999); Alexandro Portelli, *The Text and the Voice: Writing, Speaking and Democracy in American Literature* (New York, 1994); Sandra M. Gustafson, *Eloquence Is Power: Oratory and Performance in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Donald M. Scott, “The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,” *Journal of American History* 66, no. 4 (March 1980): 791–809.

²⁸ Martin, *The Life and Speeches of Daniel Henry Deniehy*, 22, 4.

²⁹ See Rev. John C. Symons, *The History and Advantages of Young Men’s Associations* (Melbourne, 1856).

³⁰ John Tregenza, *Professor of Democracy: The Life of Charles Henry Pearson, 1830–1894* (Melbourne, 1968), 69.

"mutual improvement classes."³¹ Catholic clubs and societies that formed at this time also promoted the practice of correct speech and eloquence in public, while Mechanics' Institutes from their early inception in the 1850s conducted lectures, debates, and "penny readings."³²

Elocution figured formally in the curriculum of working-class education. It was on the very first syllabus of the Working Men's College (later the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) when the school opened in 1887. That year, 57 students were enrolled in elocution. Enrollments increased over the next few years. In 1891, 125 students were studying elocution and voice production under the Reverend A. Macully. Elocution was taught at the college until 1938.³³ Although the attraction of elocution transcended class lines, the class dimension of elocution teachings was pronounced. It was owing to the "slovenly habits acquired in early youth," one elocutionist asserted, that the worst pronunciations occurred, as in the following instances:

good and bad—are converted into—	good-an-bad
cause and effect " "	cause-en-effect
loaves and fishes " "	loaves-un-fishes ³⁴

During the mid-nineteenth century, elocution manuals and public performances also reflected the centrality of speech and language to promoting "civil" society and British values. Leading figures such as the elocutionist Thomas Padmore Hill, author of the enormously successful manual *The Oratorical Trainer* (1862) and founder of the Melbourne Elocution Society, stressed these values. In his book (which went into an astounding fourteen editions), Hill emphasized the importance of vocal delivery in reading aloud and in speaking. The principles he outlined were modeled on the standard principles of elocution: inflection ("Destitute of these, reading degenerates into those dreary mechanical monotones"), correct pronunciation ("without which no public speaker ought to be tolerated by an intelligent audience"), modulation ("What light and shade are to a picture, that is modulation to speech"), judicious pausation ("In reading they . . . hesitate, they stammer, they hurry, they mumble"), and earnestness ("be it remembered, sounds are nothing without SOULS in them"). Clarity, not volume, was the key. "Many speakers, when rising to address a large assembly, seem to be under the impression that, in order to be well heard, it is necessary to speak at the top of their voices. This is a great mistake. *Clearness*, not *loudness*, ensures audibility." What was abundantly clear was that elocution was not value-free; it was one of the quintessential ways in which English values and institutions were sustained and perpetuated.³⁵

According to Hill, listening to the eloquent sound of perfectly pronounced language was central to elocution. Good elocution also had to be easy on the ear. To

³¹ *Argus*, August 6, 1866, 4.

³² See *Catholic Advocate*, April 6, 1878, 9; L. B. McCalman, *Pioneer and Hardy Survivor: The Prahan "Mechanics" since 1854* (Melbourne, 1983), 11, 15.

³³ Report of the Working Men's College for the year 1887 and Prospectus for 1888; Secretary's Report for the year 1887; Prospectus and Timetable of the Working Men's College, March 1888; in Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology Archives, Melbourne; Stephen Murray-Smith and Anthony John Dare, *The Tech: A Centenary History of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology* (Melbourne, 1987), 37.

³⁴ Thomas Padmore Hill, *The Oratorical Trainer: A System of Vocal Culture*, 8th ed. (Melbourne, 1876), 31.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 41, 37, 51, 68, 74, 23, 91–112.

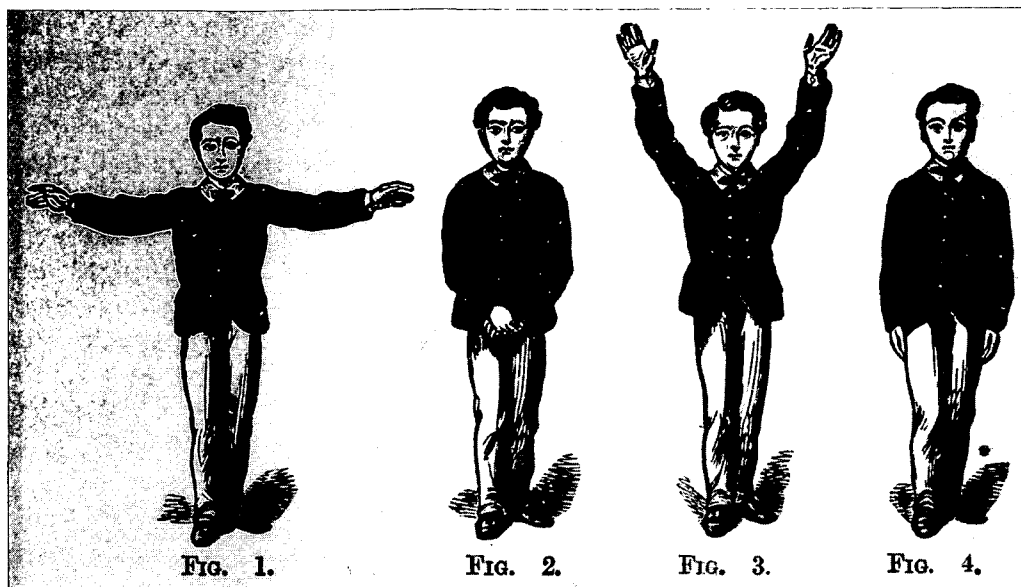


FIGURE 1: The posture of the body was considered to be essential in the delivery of elocution. In this diagram, the pupils in a group elocution class are arranged in a semicircle. Fig. 1: "Arms extended—hands on shoulders"; Fig. 2: "First position" ["The pupils make a graceful curve with their arms"]; Fig. 3: "Second position" ["The pupils *elevate* their arms"]; Fig. 4: "Third position" ["The pupils *drop* their arms"]. From Thomas Padmore Hill, *The Oratorical Trainer: System of Vocal Culture*, 8th ed. (Melbourne, 1876), inside cover, 41. La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria.

be avoided was "a false school of elocution . . . a school in which a grotesque art substitutes an elongated and disagreeable drawl for the simplicity and beauty of nature." Elocution was indeed the "subject of sounds."³⁶ But it was *English* sounds that were valued. The school inspector W. F. Gates observed in 1897 that one of the simplest yet most effective means of achieving eloquent voice production was "the reading aloud of some piece of dignified, sonorous English, such as Milton or Ruskin. Half-an-hour a week so spent will do much for the voice, and also, strange it may seem, for the health. It must be confessed that a teacher's model reading is often far from being what it should. Justice is not done to English *sounds*."³⁷ The experience of listening to such sounds was believed to be morally uplifting. Writing in the *Australasian Schoolmaster* in September 1880, "JMJ" characterized the "elevating influences" of elocution as "simply inestimable." He characterized the teaching of elocution as the "study of language and its proper expression; the structure of the voice; modulations in tone . . . the almost inestimable good of bringing the youthful minds in contact with the great master-minds of the past and present."³⁸

The vast majority of public speakers were men. As Marjorie Theobald has pointed out, universities, learned societies, and grammar schools, all of which promoted the cultivation of public speech, were unavailable to women.³⁹ With some

³⁶ Ibid., 50, 74.

³⁷ Inspector W. F. Gates, "The Teacher's Eye, Ear and Voice," *Australasian Schoolmaster*, August 1897, 29.

³⁸ JMJ, "Elocution," *Australasian Schoolmaster*, September 1880, 40.

³⁹ Marjorie Theobald, *Knowing Women: Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth-Century Australia* (Cambridge, 1996), 30.

exceptions—such as Martha Turner, a Unitarian minister who courageously spoke from the pulpit; and later the woman's rights advocate Catherine Spence and the generation of feminists who followed her, such as Rose Scott and Vida Goldstein—women were excluded from public oratory. Women who did speak in public were at times physically attacked, and not given the privileges of their male counterparts in the circle of elocution and public-speaking societies. That is not to say that the art of speaking and speech was not important to them. On the contrary, writers such as Henry Handel Richardson and Miles Franklin, who were children during the 1890s, recall the importance of reading aloud (especially the Bible) and appreciating the sound of language and correct pronunciation. Richardson cited Tennyson and Longfellow as key poets of influence during her childhood. She said of Longfellow's "six-penny paper-copy" of *Hiawatha*, "the rushing metre and the music of the Indian words took my ear by storm. I remember, at first reading, finding it so heady that I spent a coach-journey between Castlemaine and Maldon shouting out melodious bits to myself, for sheer joy in the sound."⁴⁰ The *Australasian Schoolmaster* insisted on the need for all schoolchildren to improve their oral composition skills. By the early twentieth century, it argued that "if the child is unable to talk correctly, most certainly will his particular foibles be reproduced when he attempts to express his thoughts in writing."⁴¹ Both reading out loud and the art of oral storytelling were encouraged; through listening, children learned correct speech and language.⁴²

Moreover, bourgeois society throughout the English-speaking world placed emphasis on the importance of speech for female self-improvement. Etiquette manuals, simultaneously distributed in New York, Melbourne, and London, promoted cultural understandings of femininity that encompassed the sound of one's voice.⁴³ In *Girls and Their Ways*, published in London in 1881 and written by "One Who Knows Them," it was observed that proficiency in elocution and reading aloud was a "very rare accomplishment" for a girl. It provided an important backdrop to such feminine activities as knitting, part of the pleasure of which was in the listening:

How much more nimbly the needles are plied if they work to the cadences of a well-managed voice, which is engaged in interpreting the last new poem or history or novel to a circle of eager listeners! What a depth of significance is given to a fine passage by a skilful reader; what lights and shades she indicates in it; how she conveys the sentiment, the feeling, the heart and mind of the hearer!

This was not simply a talent one acquired; it had to be learned:

But remember, that Reading is an art; it is no spontaneous growth; all that Nature can give is a good voice and a clear perception. The arrangement of the voice, the modulations by which every "tint" of expression is vividly reproduced, the just emphasis, the skilful inflection, the distinct articulation, the accurate pronunciation: these are graces to be acquired only by careful study and constant practice.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Henry Handel Richardson, *Myself When Young* (Melbourne, 1948), 76; Miles Franklin, *Childhood at Brindabella: My First Ten Years* (Sydney, 1963), 109.

⁴¹ *Australasian Schoolmaster* 26, no. 310 (April 19, 1905): 198.

⁴² *Australasian Schoolmaster* 31, no. 368 (February 16, 1910): 156.

⁴³ See, for example, *Complete Etiquette for Ladies and Gentlemen: A Guide to the Rules and Observances of Good Society* (1900), which was distributed in London, New York, and Melbourne by Ward, Lock & Co.

⁴⁴ *Girls and Their Ways: A Book for and about Girls, by One Who Knows Them* (London, 1881), 25.

The connection between speech, conversation, and character was made explicit in *Australian Etiquette; or, The Rules and Usages of the Best Society*, which declared that "The character of a person is revealed by his conversation as much as any quality he possesses."⁴⁵ The values and attitudes enunciated in *Australian Etiquette* were intimately connected to notions of "civilization" and citizenship. The introduction to the volume announced that the values of etiquette promoted "peace, harmony and good-will among all people who are enjoying the blessings of more advanced civilized government."⁴⁶

These values were also central to colonial education, especially in the elite, middle-class schools. Speech Day, which included an emphasis on elocution and vocal delivery, was an important yearly ritual that was central to school activities. There was a widespread belief that teaching children to speak correctly was important in molding character, especially in elite schools for middle-class boys such as Melbourne Grammar, Scotch College, and Wesley College, where elocution had been taught since the 1860s. However, these developments were not confined to boys' schools. "Speech" and voice were central aspects in the refinement and construction of middle-class femininity, especially as access to education was increasingly being seen as part of middle-class women's accomplishments. In *Patchwork*, the student magazine of the Presbyterian Ladies' College, voice and speech were held to be central to defining colonial femininity. Although the use of slang, recitation, reading aloud, and elocution contributed to a vocal culture that began to construct an Australian speech, it was firmly derivative of the English public school system. During the 1890s, there were elocutionary displays at the college by the pupils of the teachers Miss Veitch and George Lupton. The achievements of their elocution classes were documented in the annual reports. Under the direction of Veitch and Lupton, elocution flourished at the school, and kept to the bounds of uniform speech. In all "the classes, up to the fourth, reading is carefully taught, and every effort made to restrain the attempts of young Victorians to develop an accent or intonation of their own."⁴⁷ The public presentations of elocution were the pride of the school. Veitch was a successful elocutionist in her own right, and gave readings that inspired encores. The public performance of recitations, concerts, readings, and speeches became an essential aspect of celebrations marking the end of the school year. As Greg Denning has observed, these were "annual rites of passage," and the public examination of these rhetorical skills was a part of elite education at this time.⁴⁸

BY THE EARLY YEARS of the twentieth century, the quality of one's pronunciation and vocal articulation was seen as a reflection of one's worthiness and integrity as an individual. This is a pervasive theme in much of the Anglophile elocution literature, which during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries prescribed the view that one projected oneself to the world through one's voice. Usually written by members of the clergy, this instruction literature was characterized by an evangelical fervor and had its basis in religious interpretations of the voice as a reflection of the

⁴⁵ *Australian Etiquette; or, The Rules and Usages of the Best Society* (Melbourne, 1885), 88.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁷ Report of the Head Master to the Principal and Council to the Presbyterian Ladies' College (1897), in PLC Reports (1897–1904), State Library of Victoria, Melbourne; *Patchwork*, December 1892, 9.

⁴⁸ *Patchwork*, December 1898, 3; Greg Denning, *Xavier: A Centenary Portrait* (Melbourne, 1978), 130.



FIGURE 2: *Speech-Day Jottings*. November 18, 1882. La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.

soul. In his distinctive Australian elocution manual *The Essentials of Elocution*, published in 1903, Frank Apted positioned elocution within a discourse of moral failure and cultural collapse. In the book, he declared elocution to be a lost art. Its main aim, he said, was “to hold the mirror up to Nature.” It was, further, a colonial problem. We are “bringing deserved reproach upon ourselves for the corruption and Deterioration which have so swiftly fallen upon the use of our rich and beautiful English language in these Southern climes.” It was an evil, he pronounced:

The majority of our children are perceptibly DRIFTING into what can only be called an ABOMINABLE COLONIAL TWANG. The latter has all the faults and none of the crispness of the Cockney dialect, much of the distortion and none of the quaintness of the American accent. There is an alarmingly increasingly [*sic*] number of children whose voices are THIN AND BRASSY, whose Articulation is dull and indistinct, and who can scarcely enunciate one of the vowel sounds correctly. Why do these evils exist?

He also described a “Deplorable and Distressing habit which is being acquired by an alarmingly increasing number of our colonial children.” This was the “mal-pronunciation of the vowel sounds,” what he characterized as an “opprobrious twang.” He did grant that the average “colonial child or adult speaks more correctly than persons in a similar station in the old country.” The way in which English had been transplanted was, he believed, remarkable, and “from the homeland has produced no more serious defects than those we are now deploring.” From the “seeds of the language sown in Australia,” however, “scarcely anything better could have been expected.” What could account for the different accent in Australia? The climate could make a difference: “It is an ascertained law that certain sounds are more easily produced in one country than in another . . . The air we breathe has an influence upon the delicate issue of the vocal organs, which in time causes the speech to become indigenous.”⁴⁹

Apted objected to any variation from Standard English, but in some quarters it was hoped that the Federation of Australian States in 1901 would produce a distinctive Australian sound. “Perhaps under Federation,” reported the headmaster of Presbyterian Ladies’ College in 1897, “we may be able to afford the luxury of an Australian dialect and pronunciation.”⁵⁰ But for purists such as Apted, an Australian accent would always be seen as inferior to the English “mother tongue.” It was a “vice” that the mother tongue was being so “abused and debased.” It was imperative for all those with the “progress of real Education at heart to awake and strive to STEM THIS TIDE.” Not to do so would mean forever “wearing the brand of the Uneducated and unrefined, for ever outcast from all who love the Purity and Grandeur of our mother-tongue.” The voice was for Apted “a purity like the soul.” Next to reason, he argued, the voice is the “most blessed and useful gift of the Creator, and reason itself is of little use without the voice; indeed the latter is the chief evidence that man has reason, and it is to be distinguished from the brute creation.” Character was defined through elocution; self-reliance was to be encouraged, while self-consciousness was “offensive and reprehensible,” a “terrible foe for the reciter to harbour.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ Frank Apted, *The Essentials of Elocution, and How to Acquire Them: Being a Treatise and a Plea for Naturalness and Individuality in the Practice of the Art* (Geelong, 1903), 6, 44, 46.

⁵⁰ Report of the Head Master to the Principal and Council to the Presbyterian Ladies’ College (1897).

⁵¹ Apted, *The Essentials of Elocution*, 7, 44–45, 18.

This emphasis on speech as subjectivity was also manifest in the high value that politicians placed on eloquence. The year in which Apter's book was published, 1903, was also auspicious for both Alfred Deakin and Vida Goldstein. Deakin became prime minister for the first time that year, while Goldstein first ran for Parliament. Both were accomplished orators who made speech central to their campaigns for social change.⁵²

Throughout his life, Deakin enjoyed reading aloud, formal debates, speaking in public, and arguing. His interests reflect the value that Victorians placed on oratory and the public sphere of "talkers, public speakers and preachers."⁵³ As John Rickard has observed, "Alfred was forever talking and writing. The classroom chatterbox became the teacher, lecturer, platform speaker and, in his private circle, the conversationalist and entertainer."⁵⁴

Deakin judged not only the professional, but also the personal capabilities of his peers through the eloquence or otherwise of their speech. Speech was used to summarize masculine character and integrity. He described Australia's first prime minister, Edmund Barton, as someone who was

[a] sound lawyer with a judicial dignity of speech, a fine public spirit and high sense of personal honour . . . In debate he was always cogent and impressive but involved in style and sometimes arrangement, owing to want of preparation . . . A good classic, with an original vocabulary, a noble delivery and an advocate's eye for an opponent's weak points, he was at times an excellent debater and capable of set speeches of a high order of merit.

Sir George Grey was characterized as

[a] small stooping venerable figure with hair of silver, high in forehead, long in nose, and chin softened by age to a quiet dignity of expression. A silvery voice, a cultured English accent, a style clear, concise, persuasive and eloquent which sheathed even bitterness and innuendo in polished grace . . . upon the platform he was always deferential and in debate courteousness itself.⁵⁵

The belief that voice was a reflection of character and capability is illustrated no better than in the case of women's attempts to enter the male-dominated world of public politics. The overtly misogynist interjections against activists such as Vida Goldstein and suffragettes in general is well documented. The conflation of voice, person, and politics is encapsulated in some of the famous phrases used by opponents of women's suffrage, such as "shrieking sisterhood" and "shrieking cockatoos." The press commented on Goldstein's femininity and her style; her vocal delivery became central to her integrity as a politician. In 1899 she was described as having "ease and fluency of speech . . . united with a charm of manner essentially womanly and this, together with the clearness and precision of her arguments, carried the audience irresistibly with her." Her voice had "clear bell like tones"; she had "an assurance of manner and precision in argument for which she became noted." Her womanly qualities were commented upon, but it was her eloquence and speech that provided

⁵² James Warren considers the connection between eloquence and social change in early U.S. culture. See Warren, *Culture of Eloquence*.

⁵³ Andrew St George, *The Descent of Manners: Etiquette, Rules and the Victorians* (London, 1993), 78.

⁵⁴ John Rickard, *A Family Romance* (Melbourne, 1996), 51.

⁵⁵ Alfred Deakin, *The Federal Story*, ed. Herbert Brookes (Melbourne, 1944), 32, 33.

the key to interpreting her capabilities: "Her voice is alert, pleasant, feminine; her delivery could hardly be better; her magnetism—well, those who go off to scoff at future meetings will remain to admire."⁵⁶ Goldstein traversed many contemporary expectations of woman's role as mother and wife in society by campaigning vociferously in the public sphere. In the process, she challenged other views and assumptions about the feminine voice, and the appropriate sound of that voice in public. Writing in *Etiquette in Australia* in 1911, the author Mrs. Erskine acknowledged that times had changed, but she identified a quiet demeanor as a key aspect of women's femininity. One of her emphatic messages to women was "Don't be loud of voice in public places. A retiring, modest demeanour may have ceased to be fashionable, but it is much a charm in women to-day as it ever was."⁵⁷

Both Deakin and Goldstein belonged to a generation of speakers who immersed themselves in oratorical culture; eloquence was key to their view of how social and political change would be affected. They belonged to a pre-technological era. By the time the technology of the talkies had been introduced in Australia in the late 1920s, Deakin had been dead eight years, and Goldstein had removed herself from radical politics, choosing to channel her energies into Christian Science.

THE INTRODUCTION OF TALKIES took place against the backdrop of discussions of what would come to be referred to as "Australian-English," which was a local variant of the received English pronunciation. By the interwar years, there was considerable public discussion about the Australian sound, but often little agreement. Some wished for a nation of neutral speakers; others argued for the need for a distinctive Australian accent, while there was continued support for an accent derived from the British. "We would define Australian-English," wrote one newspaper correspondent who favored a more neutral sound,

as that pleasant oral communication which is audible and instantly apprehended by reason of its clear enunciation and rate of articulation; which is expressed in correct grammatical form and is free from solecisms; it has the vowel quality and absence of nasality associated with a person of respectable attainments, and the inflections are such as do not provoke a sense of antagonism or resentment in the auditor by virtue of such speech.⁵⁸

English speech was regarded as an ideal, and a model; but in Australia it was also a dynamic, changing construct of the correct form of pronunciation. It was held up for emulation, taught, promoted, and used in particular public contexts (such as the theater, public addresses, and radio) as correct and as affirming a British Australia.

There was also, however, a commitment at this time to a distinctly Australian accent, and not one that simply mimicked the British model. In 1930, the *Sun* re-

⁵⁶ Janette M. Bomford, *That Dangerous and Persuasive Woman: Vida Goldstein* (Melbourne, 1993), 25, 65.

⁵⁷ Mrs. Erskine, *Etiquette in Australia* (Sydney, 1911), 60.

⁵⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 28, 1933, 6. For this history, see Graham Seal, *The Lingo: Listening to Australian English* (Sydney 1999); Sidney J. Baker, *The Australian Language: An Examination of the English Language and English Speech as Used in Australia, from Convict Days to the Present, with Special Reference to the Growth of Indigenous Idiom and Its Use by Australian Writers* (1945; 2nd ed., Sydney, 1966).

ported that "if our speech is purely Australian, always providing that it is not a debasement, there is no cause for regret. Rather it is a reason for pride. Mimicry is a confession of inferiority." It was held that this speech should come from an authentic local connection with culture. "We desire," continued the *Sun*, "that our national speech be cultivated as a genuine expression of thought by a people whose opportunities for culture are exceptional, and if it have a distinctive Australian quality so much the better." There was nothing worse than when Australians tried to imitate the English: "Forgetting that he is an Australian and ought to have individuality enough to be true to his type, he becomes a weak imitator from pure affectation. There is sometimes the sorry spectacle of a returned Australian trying to pass off a poor limitation of the Oxford drawl, or bespattering his conversation with the 'dreadfully beautiful,' 'awfully gorgeous' tags that are plainly imported."⁵⁹

Some Australian forms of popular culture attempted to capture a distinctive style of speech and sound that challenged the formality of elocution. There were distinctive vernaculars that emerged in both the bush and the city, but these soon merged. C. J. Dennis's popular verse in the early twentieth century is an example of an individualized style that was spoken where elocution was not to be found, such as the workplace, the streets, and the schoolyard. Ginger Mick, a key character in Dennis's verse, is a rough, masculine larrikin from inner Melbourne who takes pride in speaking in a crude voice, clipping his words, elongating his sounds, and using slang expressions. In the opening verse of *The Moods of Ginger Mick*, we learn that "e quickly dropped 'is aitches, so as not to be mistook / Fer an edjicated person." Although Dennis enjoyed great success, his verse was in fact a middle-class representation; the vernacular was highly exaggerated and owed its tradition to a heavily pronounced Cockney accent, despite the local flavor that included Australian slang.⁶⁰

The Australian drawl celebrated by Dennis attracted its critics, who argued that it reflected a lazy, slovenly, and sloppy demeanor. Said J. Sutton Crow of the University Conservatorium, "Australians are said to be lip lazy, tongue lazy, and jaw lazy, and it is for this reason that one hears so much poor articulation among our singers." Crow was a firm believer in the lazy speech theory. "What Australians generally seem to suffer from may be called 'lip, tongue, and jaw laziness' leading to a lack of clear enunciation and a mumbling and slovenly mode of speech." Others agreed. Alfred Hart, a judge of the Melbourne Shakespeare Society, believed that mistakes in pronunciation were due to laziness and "sloppy vocalisation."⁶¹ Such critics did not appreciate that this type of speech could in fact be seen as potentially a bulwark against American accents. Writing in 1932, the English-born Professor G. H. Cowling insisted that he was not denigrating the Australian sound, but it was clear what type of speech he preferred:

My own view is that the Australian dialect is a thing to avoid. It is not a beautiful dialect. To call bound "baeund," moon "mewn," to confuse tie and toy, and to pronounce lady some-

⁵⁹ *Sun*, January 25, 1930, 6.

⁶⁰ Baker, *The Australian Language*, 75; C. J. Dennis, *The Moods of Ginger Mick* (Sydney, 1916), ix; John Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History* (Melbourne, 1988), 125.

⁶¹ The quotations are, respectively, from the *Argus*, October 27, 1936, 8; November 9, 1936, 8; October 29, 1926, 10.

thing like “lydy” is ugly, to say the least . . . Do not misunderstand me. I am not attacking the Australian dialect. I think dialects are inevitable, and in their proper place they are beautiful and right. All I wish to say is that the language of educated people should be standard Australian, and not the vulgar dialect, and this could be accomplished in a generation or less if all teachers were phonetically trained.⁶²

To English ears, this is often how Australian speech sounded. John Stewart, a visiting professor of English at Adelaide who briefly occupied the Jury Chair during the 1930s, described the Australian accent as “ugly,” but his own Oxford accent was not welcomed, either:

I had, in fact, found Australian speech the only positively and absolutely ugly thing in that extraordinary continent, and I had there probably preserved with care—and perhaps, obtruded—the kind of modified southern English speech I had picked up partly at school but chiefly at Oxford. A pommy accent was, of course, correspondingly ungrateful to many Australians, which may be one reason why I was very seldom asked to do any broadcasting in Adelaide.⁶³

The introduction of radio into Australia in 1923 had foregrounded some of these debates. There were discussions about the quality of voice and correct enunciation, but there was never any question that Australian radio would promote an English sound. Indeed, one of the perceived benefits of radio was that it brought the British Empire together for political and economic reasons, to render “entertainment and information of a British character to residents of the Empire throughout the world with a view to uniting these people more closely than ever, not only from motives of patriotism, but as a buying public for Empire goods.”⁶⁴ These discussions were heightened when spoken dialogue in film was introduced throughout the world in 1928; the first such Australian film was produced in 1931. Sound production in film was a technological advance that both represented a new mode of talking and listening on the screen and created a new relationship with the audience as *listeners*. Before the introduction of the Australian variety, the American talkie dominated the screen.⁶⁵ Critics deemed the American “sound” offensive, coarse, and harsh, with a consensus that the American accent was not considered appropriate for Australian audiences. They felt that the American “twang” was undermining the foundation on which the Australian sound was based, which was English, proper, formal, and precise. In their view, American speech did not vary from region to region or class to class; to them, it sounded like one voice.

What impact would sound have on *listening* to speech on film? The *Sydney Morning Herald* described the early sound in film as “harsh and thoroughly unpleasant.”⁶⁶ It was also noisy: “The nations will be a mass of nerves if there is no place where people can go for a nice quiet, peaceful hour or so of relaxation and entertainment,” predicted Arnold Wheatley in *Everyones*.⁶⁷ But the sheer effort of listening and look-

⁶² *All about Books* 4, no. 10 (October 1932): 154.

⁶³ John Innes Mackintosh Stewart, *Myself and Michael Innes: A Memoir* (London 1987), 130.

⁶⁴ *Wireless Weekly*, January 8, 1932, 8. For the English voice on Australian radio, see K. S. Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932–1983* (Melbourne 1983), 22–24, 70.

⁶⁵ For the introduction of speech and sound on film, see Donald Crafton, *The Talkies: American Cinema's Transition to Sound, 1926–1931* (New York, 1997).

⁶⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 10, 1928, 7.

⁶⁷ *Everyones*, November 7, 1928, 15.

ing was perceived as a great challenge: "If we have to concentrate upon the spoken word as well as upon the pictured action, however 'closely' the two may be made to synchronise, the 'work' essential to assimilate the entertainment will be greatly increased, while the present appeal to the eye may well be greatly diminished." The problem was even deeper than this, and more complex. The actual "effect of the spoken word upon our ears" presented a challenge. Watching a movie in silence allowed for a visualization of voices and an investment of "all the timbre and beauty that we fain would have them hold." But an untrained voice had a different kind of impact on the ears: "it will be a fatal catastrophe if these idols of ours should prove to speak harshly, or with an appalling accent, or even any of those affectations or vulgarisms which are so unfortunately common among those who have not been trained to speak properly." Actors had been trained "to act, to speak with their faces as it were, but they have not been trained, because the training was not necessary, to cultivate their voices too."⁶⁸ The problem faced by movie stars making the transition to sound was a source of intense discussion; a new projection was required as speech became an attribute of the character being performed. Some argued that the introduction of the talkies and the wireless served an important purpose—that, in the words of one Beatrice Ternan, who had written a letter to the *Herald*, it brought "before the public the overwhelming importance of the speaking voice." But a voice that was "harsh and strident, as is instanced in the majority of the talkies, results in a jumble of vibrations which perplex and confuse, producing an effect which is deleterious, especially to those who go to an entertainment to relax." In mechanical devices, "the sympathetic cadence of the voice is invariably lost. What character, what infinite variety belongs to the voice. Is this to be lost?" Not every elocution teacher was opposed to talkies or saw them as detrimental to voice purity. The leading elocutionist E. Stanley Brookes, who was eventually to work in radio, argued that audiences simply needed to adapt to different sounds. Prior to the gramophone and the telephone, he claimed, "our hearing facilities were adapted to natural sound vibrations only." The so called "talkie nerves"—"headaches, irritability, and other nervous complaints"—were simply caused by the amplified or magnified sounds that were created. Brookes predicated, "we will become accustomed to this new talkie vibration in the course of time."⁶⁹

If sound on film was generally deemed unpleasant and unfamiliar, the American voice was considered particularly offensive. The most profound response to American talkies was the claim that they corrupted the English voice, which meant the desecration of the voice trained by elocution: correct pronunciation, clear enunciation, and the pausation, clarity, and purity of speech of the English middle classes. It was believed that the American speech heard on film had none of these qualities. Schoolteachers expressed concern about the "possible danger of contamination to the speech of schoolboys which may result from the widespread exhibition of the 'talkies.'" There was fear that unless great care was exercised, the talkies would "seriously affect the young people's pronunciation and expression." Others found the abuse of correct enunciation and pronunciation more offensive. In 1930, the delegates to a teachers' conference in Melbourne decided to request that Common-

⁶⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 27, 1928, 8.

⁶⁹ *Herald*, February 10, 1930, 6.

wealth and state ministries "exercise a stricter censorship of talking films." They "attacked the American talking pictures on the grounds that they were exercising a harmful influence on the speech of Australian children. Miss M. Flynn (Vic) who introduced the subject, said that some of the American slang amounted to obscenity." By this time, schools had introduced a standardized program of speech and enunciation into the curriculum.⁷⁰

It was not only educators and theater performers who found such speech so offensive, but also legislators. The director of education in New South Wales, Henry Smith, declared, "The sincere and successful efforts we are making in Australian schools to maintain the high standard of spoken English will fail if our young children hear much of the execrable pronunciation of English which distinguishes most of the American talkies of to-day." He called for "legislation to enable our censors to exclude all talking pictures which desecrate the canons of pure speech as practiced among the educated classes in British communities."⁷¹ The possibility of legislating against talkies for these reasons was also discussed in Adelaide. "Language Desecrating English," announced the *Argus* in 1929. The minister for education, Malcolm McIntosh, was asked if he was aware of "the grave and desecrating influence such pictures would have on the high standard of English taught in the schools . . . Mr. McIntosh replied that he was aware of the damaging effect some pictures would have upon the standard of English. The question was whether the Cabinet would be justified in prohibiting pictures because they did not approve the tone of English expressed in them."⁷² There was a lively debate about what steps the censor should take to curtail the impact of film on Australian audiences. It was a question that went beyond mere prejudice.⁷³ In Melbourne, the "filthy American twang" heard in talking pictures was identified by Horace Richardson in the Legislative Council as the source of "contamination of the English language." He protested against its use, "particularly when millions of pounds were being spent to teach children to speak the English language."⁷⁴ There was a racial element in this complaint as well. As he argued in the Parliament,

I do not, nor do I desire to hear the contemptible twang . . . At the second place, I saw scenes in which a number of American negroes appeared. I heard their dialect spoken, and I had enough of that programme too. Some of the talkie pictures are lowering the standard of the English language. We spend millions of pounds in teaching the children to speak the English language, and these shows are contaminating it.⁷⁵

Linguists assert that the very notion that one English dialect can somehow influence another is problematic. Pam Peters believes that it is difficult to argue for a sustained American influence on the Australian accent; what is apparent over time is an extension of existing Australian linguistic patterns and sounds as the system of speech

⁷⁰ The quotations are, respectively, from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 6, 1929, 10; January 8, 1930, 14.

⁷¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 7, 1929, 15.

⁷² *Argus*, August 9, 1929, 10.

⁷³ *Everyones*, August 14, 1929, 24.

⁷⁴ *Argus*, October 31, 1929, 8.

⁷⁵ Victorian Legislative Council, October 30, 1929, in *Victorian Parliamentary Debates*, Session 1929 (Melbourne 1930), 2640.

remains intact.⁷⁶ These fine distinctions and subtle arguments were lost, however, on contemporary commentators, who were not linguists themselves. They characterized the introduction of the American sound as a cultural invasion and understood it through the discourse of moral panic.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT CENSOR, W. Creswell O'Reilly, was crucial in these discussions. In his view, the American accent and voice were contemptible. He conflated them with immorality, polluting young minds, and promoting bad character. O'Reilly, an ardent conservative Christian, believed that not only were films introducing unsavory values into the community, but they were destroying British values and the eloquence of speech. As a great supporter of silent films, he was damning of what talkies were introducing into Australian cultural life. In 1929, his annual report advocated that more British films be imported:

It is a marvel that the public will stand such large doses of the prevalent slang and accent, excruciating on an English ear, especially in the reproduction of the alleged singing and speaking of modern American girls. For the sake of the cinematic art, it is to be hoped that the silent film will not yet lapse into the limbo of things forgotten. Sound is hastening the Americanisation of the Australian people, but unfortunately censorship can do little or nothing to curb this tendency. The only remedy is an increased number of good British films.⁷⁷

Another critic of American films was Beatrice Tildesley, the president of the Good Film League and the Sydney-based Film Society. In the latter organization, which she helped to form in 1931, speech was identified as an important aspect of British and therefore Australian culture. The constitution recognized this explicitly when it referred to "the importance of the moving picture as affecting ideals of taste, speech, and conduct," and declared that "speech and subject matter [should] reflect life that embodies the traditions and ideals, first of British civilisation."⁷⁸ These values were also explicitly enshrined in the principles of censorship, among which was "likely to be offensive to the people of the British Empire." British morality, manners, and ethics were all combined in the nature of speech.⁷⁹ Tildesley did, however, argue for the promotion of Australian film. She wanted "films dealing with present-day life and conditions among ordinary people in Australia . . . telling a straightforward tale realistically so that the true Australian atmosphere pervades it."⁸⁰ The *Sydney Morning Herald* also observed the way in which American films were a threat to Australian values:

Without doubt, the American films have antagonized a large section of the Australian community. Many people associate talking films exclusively with stories of the underworld, or of life behind the scenes in vaudeville—sordid stuff, full of Bowery accent, and of that peculiarly aggressive kind of repartee which the Americans call "wisecracks" . . . Some of the American films screened in Sydney have been ugly and raucous.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Pam Peters, "Australian English," in Bell and Bell, *Americanization and Australia*, 32–41.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 16, 1930, 17.

⁷⁸ Quoted in Matthews, *Dance Hall and Picture Palace*, 236.

⁷⁹ Beatrice Tildesley, "The Cinema in Australia," *Australian Quarterly*, December 15, 1930, 94–95.

⁸⁰ *Australian Women's Weekly*, February 10, 1931, 4.

⁸¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 17, 1930, 13.

The *Argus* editorialized one of the particularly offensive aspects of American films: the speech and behavior of the characters. "The strident, nasal utterances of many American film actresses may not fall harshly upon the American ear," but Australians "would be staggered by the idea that any strange girl may be addressed by a breezy young man as 'honey,' 'cutie' or 'sweetie,' which appears an old American custom. Similarly, we may not know that a 'tuxedo' is a dinner jacket or that a dress suit is sometimes humorously called a 'soup-and-fish.' We may be unaware what a 'yegg' is, or what befalls him when he is 'bumped off.'" "The real danger of too many American talking films," it warned, "is that there is growing up a generation which knows no other kind," whose values would be perverted.⁸²

Less vocal were the supporters of the talkies, who saw the benefits of being exposed to a range of speaking styles. *Everyones*, the leading film journal, made the following observation:

The talkies, by bringing even widely different spoken dialects before Australians, perform a good service. To hear other accents and modulations is a common experience, and far from being hurtful may actually prove to be an advantage. The fine speakers of Dublin and Edinburgh flourish against a background of dialect from which they, perhaps, even draw strength. Therefore, it may well be that Australians will become all the better judges and users of English from being able to compare their own with the speech of others.⁸³

The changing nature of languages needed to be recognized, as did the resilience of the English language. The talkies were a cause for celebration: "let us be thankful for a new and delightful experience, which is likely to enlarge the knowledge and understanding of thousands of people," declared *The Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*:

The question may be asked just what is it that these critics find so baneful in the English of American film actors? Some, notably the men, and particularly John Barrymore, Warner Baxter, and Charles Rogers, reach a standard that would be respected in England itself. The women, for the most part, are not so good, but we may name Lola Lane and Dorothy Burgess as examples of film actresses who speak charmingly. Others, it is true, fall short of the highest standard of speech, but if they cannot be recommended as models to be slavishly copied, it will do Australian children no harm to listen discriminatingly to the pure vowels which most of these performers appear to command.⁸⁴

Perhaps the most influential and vocal supporter of the talkies was the Australian director Charles Chauvel. Described as "one of the strongest directorial voices of early Australian cinema," Chauvel was a major force behind the development of the nascent Australian film industry in the 1920s.⁸⁵ After a visit to Hollywood in 1928, he returned converted to the transition to sound. With the coming of talkies, he observed how "the cold silent moving picture has breathed into it the breath of life and has become a living, vibrant thing." The audiences that he witnessed in America did not in fact find it difficult to listen to speech on film: "I watched the audience lean forward with rapt attention while the players were speaking and saw them relax, sit back and whisper comments when the talking ceased and the old familiar title flashed on. To them the

⁸² *Argus*, September 13, 1930, 20.

⁸³ *Everyones* 10, no. 499 (September 11, 1929): 24.

⁸⁴ As cited in *ibid.*

⁸⁵ Brian McFarlane, Geoff Mayer, and Ina Bertrand, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Australian Film* (Melbourne, 1999), 63.

picture was once more a dead thing, without life, until another talking sequence occurred." He believed that "the advent of the 'talking' picture was most timely" and that it would "prove to be a great and needed stimulant," and he was keen to see how well England and Australia would make use of it.⁸⁶

While legislators and politicians expressed a sense of linguistic moral panic, the Australian public embraced the talkies with overwhelming enthusiasm. Although the critical reception of the first talkie released in Australia, *The Jazz Singer*, was mixed, the audience response was anything but ambivalent. The film showed for a staggering forty-six weeks in 1928–1929 at Sydney's Lyceum theater, setting an Australian record. Westerns and detective stories appealed to audiences, as did Shakespeare and historical dramas, which emerged in the 1930s. In 1935, *Everyones* recorded that the year's most successful films included *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, *Anna Karenina*, *David Copperfield*, and *Cleopatra*. Musicals were extremely popular; *Gold Diggers of Broadway* was one of the hits of 1930. As Diane Collins observes, musicals were regularly included on the annual list of box-office hits, as Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers, Judy Garland, Bing Crosby, and Betty Grable consistently figured in popularity polls. Not all the popular films were escapist entertainment, however. The acclaimed war film *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930) became one of the most successful talkies in Australia. British imports doubled between 1930 and 1932, and there were many that were popular, including *Pygmalion* and *The Private Life of Henry the VIII*. But by the end of the 1930s, 75 percent of the films shown in Australia were still imported from Hollywood.⁸⁷

Another import from Hollywood was the picture palace, which provided a luxurious and opulent setting within which to view the talkies. By the end of the 1920s, the cinema chain Hoyts had built its Regent cinemas in the major capital cities. The Sydney Regent boasted a Renaissance façade, with a dress circle foyer, lavish fittings, and seating for three thousand people. Rival picture houses built by Union Theatres included the Sydney Capitol, Perth's Ambassador's Theatre, the Brisbane Tivoli, and the Sydney and Melbourne state theaters. These, too, were extravagant, ostentatious, and opulent; the Melbourne and Sydney state theaters boasted marble staircases, colored domes, Gothic entrance halls, and period lounges.⁸⁸ Writer and political commentator Donald Horne remembers that when he was growing up with the talkies as a teenager, the cinemas gave Sydney "much of its significance. The big 'picture shows' were its true cathedrals."⁸⁹ Going to the movies was a delight for him, but his recollections would also have confirmed the worst fears of contemporary critics. When he arrived from rural New South Wales with his family in Sydney in 1935 at the age of fourteen,

[t]he language of city boys seemed different, more like tough talk in American movies. In particular, conversation was made barren with a constant repetition of sceptical "O yeahs?" Like "O.K.," "Oh yeah?" was only just coming in, and boys would spend minutes trying to

⁸⁶ The quotations are, respectively, from *Everyones* 9, no. 446 (September 19, 1928): 14; 9, no. 455 (November 14, 1928): 8; 10, no. 476 (April 3, 1929): 24.

⁸⁷ Diane Collins, *Hollywood Down Under: Australians at the Movies, 1896 to the Present Day* (Sydney, 1987), 65, 66, 69, 71.

⁸⁸ Richard Waterhouse, *Private Pleasures, Public Leisure: A History of Australian Popular Culture since 1788* (Melbourne, 1995), 176.

⁸⁹ Donald Horne, *The Education of Young Donald* (Sydney, 1967), 125.

out-scorn each other with its use. "Oh yeah?" a boy would say, pulling himself up and glaring at his rival as if that was the end of the matter. "Yeah!" the other boy would reply, equally challengingly. "Oh yeah?" . . . "Yeah!" "Oh yeah?" . . . "Yeah!" . . . and so on, until someone tired of it . . . [S]ome of these boys talked so bleakly that it seemed to deaden the senses.⁹⁰

In 1926, the Australian government censors pleaded for "a little more refinement and less vulgarity" in imported films. They looked forward to a time when British films would compete with the American cinema and endeavored to encourage the showing of British films in Australia. Indeed, they suggested that it might be necessary to "demand by Act of Parliament that a definite percentage of the Films shown here should be British."⁹¹

The introduction of American talkies into Australian cultural life during the interwar years highlights the importance of accents, language, and voice in defining national character and identity. Situating the critical response to the introduction of American sound on film within a broader history of pronunciation, elocution, and voice reflects the wider historical importance accorded to the belief that the eloquence of speech reflected one's character and was informed explicitly by understandings of class, gender, and national identity. It also, more specifically, points to how the purity and unity of the English language at one time defined "Australian-ness." Such an emphasis on the auditory and language can also highlight what Barry Truax refers to as a "community of listeners." The concept of an "acoustic community"—one that is able to "bind the community together and contribute to its character" through sound and listening—can frame our understanding of the sound of speech and its elocution as a central, yet overlooked, aspect of the cultural history of perception.⁹²

⁹⁰ Ibid., 112.

⁹¹ "Commonwealth Film Censorship: Report on the Work for the Year 1927," in *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, 1926–1928* (Canberra, 1928), 5.

⁹² Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication* (Norwood, N.J., 1984), 61.

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Review Essay
Western Masculinities in War and Peace

ROBERT A. NYE

IT WAS A COMMONPLACE for America's founding fathers to evoke the ideal of the ancient Greek and Roman citizen-soldier as a model for their own times, nurtured as they were on the principles of republican discourse. Even before the proclamation of independence, George Washington affirmed that "When we assumed the Soldier, we did not lay aside the Citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour when the re-establishment of American Liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our Private Stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy Country."¹ The reinvigoration of this tradition in North America was made possible by the presence of self-reliant property owners who were willing to take up arms against distant authority in defense of emerging political rights. This is the standard political narrative of the American Revolution, but there is a gender tale to tell as well. The men who made the transition from citizens to soldiers were obliged to leave behind a sense of manly competence as heads of household for a life in which they lived rough, submitted to discipline, and survived on their fighting skills and personal courage.² Thus began the first modern experiment in the creation of a form of masculinity peculiar to the modern nation-state, in which the citizen must carry within himself the qualities of a warrior, but as a warrior must also remain the citizen he will become again at conflict's end.

Much in modern history has depended on a nation's ability to manage this transition between civilian and military masculinities in ways that neither jeopardized the efficient conduct of warfare nor troubled civic peace. Indeed, one might argue that the greater process of nation building has been successful to the extent that national identity has been effectively embodied in the identity of the individual soldier as a national masculinity that attenuates masculinities of class, region, and ethnicity. In the crucible of modern warfare, states have disintegrated when they have failed to bestow rights and services in proportion to the sacrifices their soldiers have made, or when unincorporated social elements have undermined the unity of national re-

I would like to thank Mary Jo Nye, Maureen Healy, William B. Husband, Elinor Accampo, Ben Mutschler, and Marisa Chappell for reading earlier drafts of this essay or offering bibliographic suggestions. I am also grateful for the observations and advice of the anonymous readers of the *AHR*, and for the editorial assistance of Christie VanLaningham.

¹ Speech on June 26, 1775, to New York State Provincial Congress, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 3c Transcripts.

² On the evolution of colonial manhood in the American colonies, see Anne S. Lombard, *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

solve. Thus, in contrast to the relative cohesiveness of the fighting forces of France and Great Britain during World War I, Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Germany succumbed in varying degrees to the chaotic centripetal forces unleashed by citizen-soldiers who had not been wholly absorbed into the nation.³

A growing body of scholarly literature addresses the complex relation between soldier and citizen as an aspect of the history of masculinity and gender relations in modern Europe and North America. A dominant theme in this work is the observation that historically societies have valued military masculinity and the personal characteristics of manliness that it comprises more highly than civic virtue and its masculinities. This may simply be a necessary concession to the truth that if men cannot defend their nation from attack from without, the fruits of citizenship will fall ungathered. On the other hand, if the manly pleasures and duties of civilian life are overshadowed by more aggressive forms of masculinity, social chaos can ensue, as occurred widely in Europe after World War I. In general, the business of mobilizing men to fight has been a greater challenge than putting the warrior genie back in the bottle at a war's end. As many of these studies demonstrate, the raising of willing armies is best accomplished when military ideals are maintained at a simmer and their representations and values are kept fresh by commemoration, by national myths, and by masculine civilian practices that are readily adaptable to soldierly ends. The myriad ways in which military masculinities penetrate masculine associative life is another central theme, although most work acknowledges that the explicit aim of male organizations has been to separate a certain kind of man from other men and from women, not to build soldiers. There is also agreement that the previous war and the ones before it have dominated the horizon of individual and collective memory more powerfully, if inaccurately, than the prospect of future conflicts. Old soldiers migrate into civilian politics and perpetuate the comradely values that distinguished them. Until recent times, those who could not or would not fight, men and women alike, were not able to compete with the scent of gunpowder, or tales of it, that trails after the combat veteran.

The reforms of the age of democratic revolutions were built on the assumption that men who fought for their country were entitled in some degree to rights as citizens, even if these could not be immediately realized. Political rights were at least latent in the body of the male conscript or volunteer, whose actual or potential sacrifice would then earn him his nation's gratitude. Women, conversely, had to wait until they achieved full citizenship in the modern state before being admitted to regular military service; their sex disqualified them from battle and disenfranchised them from politics, a fatal combination that left few openings through which they might demonstrate their utility to the state. With the ascendancy of military masculinity in the periods before, during, and following wars, this asymmetrical situation has been generally aggravated to women's disadvantage. As a result, although we have become accustomed to thinking of the wartime gap between front lines and the

³ See the comparative essays on this matter in John Horne, ed., *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge, 1997): Leonard V. Smith, "Remobilizing the Citizen-Soldier through the French Army Mutinies of 1917," 144–159; Wilhelm Diest, "The German Army, the Authoritarian Nation-State and Total War," 160–172; John Horne, "Remobilizing for Total War: France and Britain, 1917–1918," 195–211; Richard Beisel, "Mobilization and Demobilization in Germany, 1916–1919," 212–222.

home front as separating two different worlds, some studies argue that these fronts interpenetrated one another materially and psychologically more than we had imagined, and we are also reminded to consider the fate of the men who remained at home, toiled in noncombat military jobs, or were excluded from full recognition of their sacrifices by race, class, disability, or sexual orientation.

Methodologically, historical writing on masculinities draws on a familiar body of feminist theory, especially the work on gender of Joan Scott, Judith Butler, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and Lynne Segal. These theorists have historicized gender and detached it as an analytical concept from patriarchy, emphasizing instead the performative and discursive features of regimes of gendered power.⁴ Sedgwick in particular demonstrated how homosocial relationships produced strong but often tender bonds between men at the price of powerful displacements of erotic anxiety onto women, homosexual men, and fears of the feminine in themselves. These insights have in turn been applied to men and masculinity by a number of writers who are deeply informed by sociological theory, including Michael S. Kimmel, Pierre Bourdieu, and especially R. W. Connell. In a series of important works written in the 1990s, Connell advanced a concept of gender that identifies plural masculinities and femininities in hierarchical relation, the topmost position held by historically hegemonic forms of masculinity and less prestigious varieties strung out below. Femininities are lower still, with all the men above them profiting from what Connell calls the “patriarchal dividend.”⁵ Bourdieu came relatively late to gender theory, but his notion of “habitus” as the formative context of social relations and his understanding of the ways that bodies unconsciously incarnate culture have been curiously underexploited by gender historians.⁶ Indeed, if there is a weakness in the work under review, it is a dearth of theorizing on the actual processes by which masculinities are incorporated into male bodies, and an inadequate number of material illustrations.

Several of the works under review stress the dominance of particular forms of military masculinity that have flourished in war and in the preparations for war, and consider how they and their civilian variants have been formed and maintained in a variety of historical conditions. Others point out that the boundary between the home front and the war front, between the putatively masculine domain of battle and the feminized sphere of domesticity and civilian life, is remarkably permeable. The indispensable masculine qualities of the combat soldier have altered little over the

⁴ In particular, Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Homosocial Desire* (New York, 1985); Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, 2nd ed. (London, 1997).

⁵ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000); Connell, *Gender* (London, 2002). In his many works on masculinity, Michael S. Kimmel uses an analytic concept similar to Connell's, in which he distinguishes between “superordinate” and “subordinate” masculinities. See Kimmel, *Manhood: The American Quest* (New York, 1994); Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays in the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany, N.Y., 2005). See also Robert A. Nye, “Locating Masculinities: Some Recent Work on Men,” *Signs* 30, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 1937–1962.

⁶ Bourdieu's chief works on embodiment are *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, 1977); *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, Calif., 1990); and *La domination masculine* (Paris, 1998). See on the applications of his work Richard Shusterman, ed., *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Oxford, 1999); Craig Calhoun et al., eds., *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Oxford, 1993); Nicholas Brown and Imre Szeman, eds., *Pierre Bourdieu: Fieldwork in Culture* (New York, 2000); Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Locating Bourdieu* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005).

long run of modern history: personal courage, the willingness to sacrifice for comrades, the fear of shame or dishonor. Without these behavioral norms, fighting could never have endured for long. But this minimalist definition does not consider the feminine aspects that inhere in the presumptively masculine homosocial bonds of soldierly life, nor does it acknowledge the network of connections with the feminine world beyond the battlefield that evoke memory and sustain hope of reintegration with peacetime society; and neither does it consider the dialectical relationship of combat masculinities with a range of other military and civilian masculinities that have reinforced or undermined the will to fight. The ideal qualities of soldiers and officers have also evolved over time, from semi-mercenaries led by noblemen to fellow citizens and members of the male sex, as that category came to be constituted in the course of the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, the bodily “habitus” of a man—his physical appearance, gestures, and speech—had become a marker in which many believed they could read the qualities of manliness he ostensibly possessed. We have since learned that the seemingly inexorable modern convergence of male sex and male gender has been disrupted by a number of scientific, technical, and cultural developments. As Leo Braudy reminds us, there is no “man,” nothing “invariable beneath the surface” of changes in clothing, male attitudes, and even body types.⁷

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE CITIZEN-SOLDIER took place against the background of a growing monopolization of violence by the state and the evolution of standards of manliness. Martin J. Wiener has convincingly traced the changes in law and popular attitudes toward male violence in England from the eighteenth century through the Victorian era. In the early modern era, conflict between men was regarded as a private affair, and violence toward women and children was viewed as shameful but seldom was punished. By degrees, the state criminalized male-on-male violence, and the public came to think it intolerable for a man to physically correct his wife or children—an ironic effect of contemporary family ideology and the idealization of female domestic virtues. But this tide of growing intolerance for civilian violence corresponded to a greater political and public willingness to employ ever larger and more destructive military forces abroad in behalf of the ideals of pacification and civilization that the state was now enforcing at home. As Wiener writes of this development, “the increasing disapproval of violence within Britain provided a discourse readily put to use in attacking empire . . . However in conflict they were on one level, in both internal pacification and external aggression can be seen the lineaments of the increasing state monopolization of violence that has characterized modern history.”⁸

As Pieter Spierenburg has pointed out, the civilizing impulse does not require some overall diminution of violence, only “a decrease in the intensity of personal

⁷ Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York, 2003), xvii. For an interdisciplinary study that considers many of these themes, see Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge, 2001).

⁸ Martin J. Wiener, *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 2004), 11–12.

conflict.”⁹ In Britain, public fist-fighting was brought under the aegis of a fairness code provided by the Marquess of Queensberry, fighting with serious injury was punished, and the duel was criminalized. Dueling continued throughout the nineteenth century on the Continent and until after the Civil War in the United States, but duelers were subjected to increasingly stringent private protocols that lessened the frequency and the danger of affairs of honor.¹⁰ The aim of such regulation was never to eliminate violence altogether but to mitigate the dangers that mayhem posed to public order, while preserving the tonic effects of risk and the tests of manliness that such activities allowed. In effect, the modern citizen-soldier was expected to internalize “naturally” these distinctions between the state-sanctioned violence that constituted his identity as a soldier and the more benign expressions permitted him at home.

One might argue that in the course of the nineteenth century, especially as warfare became more industrial and less a matter of hand-to-hand fighting, the personal honor that now resided in the individual soldier was shared with the nation in a kind of reciprocal embodiment, just as the ancient Greek citizen-soldier’s honor had been subsumed in the polis.¹¹ Glenda Sluga describes a similar process of mutual incorporation for the highly differentiated concepts of nationality that psychologists had elaborated by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1900 or so, national identity was located “more firmly ‘inside’ the self, and made the self a more complex entity involving layers of conscious and unconscious subjectivity.”¹² For modernizing nations, the conscript army was to be the “school for the nation” that would erase class, regional, and ethnic differences and create a “national masculinity” embodied in the individual soldier. Joshua A. Sanborn and Ute Frevert have shown how politicians and military men established the training procedures in Russia and Germany in the nineteenth century that would achieve, in Frevert’s words, an “inner transformation and resocialization” of recruits. The aim was to embed respect for arms, “hardness,” and sacrifice in men so that these “masculine ideals became the content of the character of the citizen-soldier.”¹³

Nonetheless, much as he might love and identify with his country, the citizen-soldier fought for and under the scrutiny of his comrades in arms, out of the need to defend his personal honor and that of the fatherland, or—which amounts to the

⁹ Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, Ohio, 1998), 9.

¹⁰ Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* (Oxford, 1995); Kevin McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-siècle Germany* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York, 1993); Steven Hughes, “Men of Steel: Dueling, Honor, and Politics in Liberal Italy,” in Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*, 64–81; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (Oxford, 1982).

¹¹ This is the general sense of the introduction by Stefan Dudink and Karen Hagemann, “Masculinity in Politics and War in the Age of Democratic Revolutions, 1750–1850,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds., *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004), 3–21.

¹² Glenda Sluga, “Masculinities, Nations, and the New World Order: Peacemaking and Nationality in Britain, France, and the United States after the First World War,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War*, 240; see also Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2000).

¹³ Joshua A. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925* (DeKalb, Ill., 2003), 132–143; Ute Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks: Modern Germany, Military Conscription and Civil Society*, trans. Andrew Boreham with Daniel Brückenhäus (Oxford, 2004), 182; Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, 6.

same thing—to avoid shame. As William Ian Miller has written of this motive, “Shame-driven courage looks just fine to me, and it is hard to see how the citizen soldier devoted to the welfare of the polis could avoid being caught up in it.”¹⁴

APART FROM SUPPLYING a stimulus to fight, a major consequence of this metaphorical reciprocity between the body of the nation and the body of the soldier has been the fertile possibilities it has opened for representations and an iconography of patriotic and commemorative symbols. As Leo Braudy writes about this development in *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity*, “Whereas before, masculine ideals had been influenced by both religion and nationalism, now it was the *image* of the soldier, as repeated innumerable times in the ear and the eye, that became the standard.”¹⁵ Joan Landes has argued that this process began in the French Revolution as an aspect of the “virilization” of the citizen-soldier during the “levée en masse.” This transformation of would-be citizens into soldiers was imagined in the 1790s through neoclassical visual representations of a fraternal and sacrificial fighting spirit among men and their collective devotion to female figures portrayed as objects of love, fertile mothers, or midwives of liberty and law, wherein “the alluring body of woman becomes a site for men’s patriotic investments.” Symbolic deflections of this kind ensured not only that friendship rather than erotic attachments would be the bond between men, but that a heroic sacrifice and death would be for women’s sake. As Landes concludes, “Among the many things that a citizen learned in his practice of citizenship was the value of masculinity, which in turn allowed a man to claim the right to possess the nation and to risk his life in its behalf.”¹⁶

Religious imagery as a source of inspiration for combat was by no means dead by 1914, however. Allen J. Frantzen has traced the long history of the idea of chivalric sacrifice and has demonstrated how images of Christ’s suffering were deeply integrated into the fighting traditions of medieval knighthood.¹⁷ This tradition of blood sacrifice resurfaced in Western societies in the mid-nineteenth century together with the rise of muscular Christianity and a renewed fascination with medieval chivalry. Frantzen has assembled an impressive repertory of images and texts that articulated heroic sacrifice as an ideal before and during World War I: images of crucifixions and resolute soldiers, medieval knights going off to battle for God and country, and memorials to the dead citing their discipline, duty, and sacrifice. Frantzen argues that if combat soldiers in the Great War did not imagine their willingness to sacrifice in exactly the same way as the medieval knight, dying heroically out of love for one’s comrades and nation was its functional equivalent. He rightly takes issue with his-

¹⁴ William Ian Miller, *The Mystery of Courage* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 179. For a confirmation of this fear, see the study of Civil War memoirs by David W. Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst, Mass., 2002), 55–61.

¹⁵ Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism*, 379.

¹⁶ Joan Landes, “Republican Citizenship and Heterosexual Desire: Concepts of Masculinity in Revolutionary France,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Peace and War*, 103, 111. See also Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

¹⁷ Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War* (Chicago, 2004), 51–96.

torians who see sacrificial discourses as self-deception; men risk their lives for other men when they are convinced that other men are risking their lives for them.¹⁸

The construction of a heroic citizen-soldier in the German lands drew upon these Christian and chivalric ideals of blood sacrifice during the Prussian Wars of Liberation in 1813–1814. The response to the universal conscription decreed by Frederick William III was overwhelming, despite no clear promise that enlistment would automatically entail citizenship, much less voting rights. But the monarchy broke with precedent and created honors and rituals to be shared by all heroes regardless of class. Poets and composers celebrated the “blood sacrifice” required of men in this “just and holy war”; and a cult of death was elaborated for the fatherland in countless sermons, rituals, and festivals in which a principal image was of Prussia (and Germany) as a “manly nation” demanding heroic sacrifice of its men.¹⁹ Ute Frevert provides numerous examples of how rituals and festivals surrounding national and regimental flags were perpetuated in civilian life over the next century by German veterans’ organizations, including the funerals and marriage celebrations of former soldiers.²⁰

By World War II, following the twentieth-century evolution of ideal male body types, the soldier in the United States and elsewhere was portrayed as more physical, sculpted, and aggressively masculine than in previous wars. This “turn to hardness” is prefigured in work on training, officer recruitment, and military publicity in the decades leading up to World War I.²¹ Christina S. Jarvis provides numerous examples of the ways that recruiting posters and movies, government propaganda, and popular culture in the U.S. created personal and cultural narratives of military masculine embodiment that conveyed impressions of national strength and determination both at home and abroad. Images of young, white, well-muscled men circulated everywhere in the popular press; even Uncle Sam looked like he was juiced on steroids.²² Another symbol of the nation, Lady Liberty, evolved between the world wars from a neoclassical dame into a vulnerable housewife in need of protection. Images of abject masculinities—“IV-F Charlie,” effeminate or homosexual men—also came to the fore as contrasting stereotypes.²³ Jarvis additionally analyzes in some detail the physical examination records of new recruits, in which the sex organs and body morphology (and lack of a gag reflex) were believed to reveal a man’s potential for unmanly comportment in battle. Deeply physical stereotypes of race also permeated

¹⁸ Ibid., 264–265.

¹⁹ Karen Hagemann, “German Heroes: The Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War*, 120–124.

²⁰ Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks*, 202–205.

²¹ Ibid., 216–223; Marcus Funck, “Ready For War? Conceptions of Military Manliness in the Prusso-German Officer Corps Prior to WWI,” in Karen Hagemann and Stephanie Schüler-Springorum, eds., *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany* (New York, 2002), 43–68; for the U.S., see Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

²² Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb, Ill., 2004), 56–85. See also George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 1996).

²³ Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 86–118. The classic texts on conceptualizations of the male body as hard and sealed up and women’s bodies as leaking and penetrable are Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994); and Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1: *Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway (Minneapolis, Minn., 1987).

attitudes toward allies and foes and nonwhite Americans in ways that valorized the masculine and white, if ethnically mixed, images that dominated war propaganda.²⁴

British World War II masculinity, by contrast, was deeply affected both by the disillusioning masculine experience of the previous war and by the hypermasculine and machine-like image of the Nazi soldier. As Sonya O. Rose points out, the nation and, by extension, its masculinities are “linguistically gendered” in an unstable way.²⁵ The nation itself may be vulnerable and feminine when under attack and vengefully male when on the offensive; military masculinities may be constructed in similarly contingent fashion. The British appear to have favored a kind of masculinity based on the contemporary stereotype of the national character as one of “rationality and emotional reserve,” the better to contrast beleaguered Britain with the German aggressor. This model, which appeared throughout official and popular culture, made the “soldier hero” into a “team player” who preserved his individuality, loved his family, and was plucky rather than foolhardy. It was easier to build bridges with this less militarized masculinity to civilian men working on the home front, and thus to construct a kind of hegemonic masculinity that served to distinguish soldiers and workers from women, conscientious objectors, effeminate men, and the home guard in no less distinctive a way than more aggressive varieties.²⁶ Muscular physiques and fitness were, in any case, perfectly compatible with this temperate style of heroism.

The twentieth-century emphasis on a fit body as the foundation of a soldier's military masculinity represented the first signs of a separation between sex and gender that we now take for granted, but during and after the two world wars this meant that a disabling wound was perceived and perhaps experienced as more deeply emasculating than in earlier wars, because it threatened the “performance and thus the bodily experience of an identity identified as masculine.”²⁷ On a more positive note, Sabine Kienitz argues that this emphasis on the body's fragility spurred the search for alternative masculinities that did not depend on an aggressive performativity; Kienitz and Jarvis both observe that it also encouraged medical personnel to see bodies as composed of interchangeable parts for which an appropriate prosthesis might remasculinize a disabled soldier.²⁸

WARTIME MASCULINITIES AT HOME and at the front are governed by contingent situations of danger and loss. The emotions they provoke generally keep combat masculinities in the foreground and other gendered responses, including noncombat

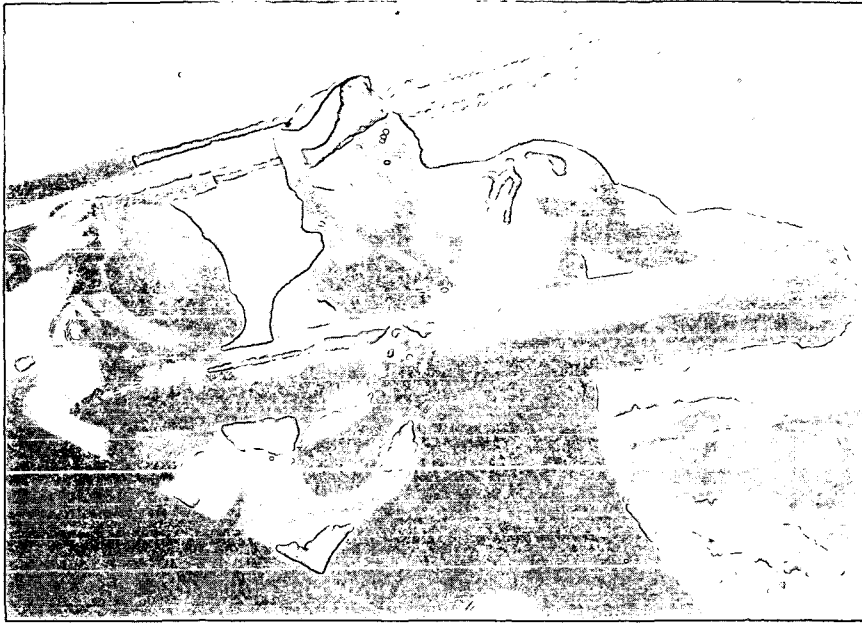
²⁴ Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 119–155. On the gay experience in medical examinations and the military effort to expel and segregate gay men, see Alan Bérubé, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York, 1990), 8–33, 149–174.

²⁵ Sonya O. Rose, “Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War*, 192–193.

²⁶ Ibid., 182–189. See also Penny Summerfield and Corinna Peniston-Bird, “The Home Guard in Britain in the Second World War: Uncertain Masculinities?” in Paul R. Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State* (Westport, Conn., 2003), 57–70.

²⁷ Sabine Kienitz, “Body Damage: War Disability and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany,” in Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, *Home/Front*, 189.

²⁸ Ibid., 190; Jarvis, *The Male Body at War*, 86–118.



Man the
GUNS
Join the **NAVY**

FIGURE 1: *Man the Guns—Join the Navy*. Patriotic poster by McClelland Barclay, produced for the Navy Recruiting Bureau, 1942. National Archives and Records Administration, Still Picture Branch, NWDNS-44-PA-24.

military masculinities, in subordinate positions.²⁹ The challenge for modern peacetime societies defended by citizen-soldiers is to maintain some degree of military readiness without disrupting the normal rhythms of civilian life. Occasionally, military masculinities are self-consciously cultivated in schools and all-male organizations by political elites, but they may also emerge spontaneously from the circumstances of male sociability.³⁰ Both kinds are adaptable to the military requirements of the state in times of war.

Amy S. Greenberg's gendered account of expansionism in *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* posits a competition between a "martial" masculinity that favored aggression and a "restrained" version that sought to conquer new territory through religious conversion and economic integration. There were sectional and class variations in support of these contrasting masculinities, but Greenberg shows that there was a growing consensus on the superiority of martial masculinity in winning an empire for the American Republic. "Filibustering" expeditions by ambitious or patriotic mercenaries to Central America and the Pacific had broad public and unofficial support throughout the antebellum era, as did the border provocations that led to the U.S.-Mexican War.³¹

Greenberg's principal contribution in *Manifest Manhood* is to track gendered discourse in the fiction, travel literature, and political rhetoric of the era to show how it overwhelmingly sustained the "martial" manhood alternative. Mexican and Latin American women appeared in this literature as appealingly seductive, and their men as weak and lazy; Hawaiian men and women were similarly described. These landscapes and societies alike were ripe, in this discourse, for regeneration by masterful men who were not afraid to employ force to gain their ends. The language of chivalry extended protection to white frontier women and señoritas alike, and Greenberg evokes Benedict Anderson's "deep horizontal comradeship" of willing men to describe the emerging sectional and social consensus on the superiority of force.³²

This approach to the constructionist power of narrative resembles Graham Dawson's powerful analysis of pre-World War I British "soldier-hero" narratives featuring Henry Havelock, T. E. Lawrence, and other colonial adventurers. As Dawson analyzes these narratives, they organized "the available possibilities for a masculine self in terms of physical appearance and conduct, the values and aspirations and the tastes and desires that will be recognized as 'masculine' in contemporary social life. Being subjectively entered-into and 'inhabited' through identification, the cultural forms of masculinity enable a sense of one's self as 'a man' to be imagined and recognized by others."³³ In antebellum America, the "traveling domesticity" of west-

²⁹ See on this point Paul R. Higate, "'Soft Clerks' and 'Hard Civvies': Pluralizing Military Masculinities," in Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 27–42.

³⁰ An excellent example of this spontaneity can be found in the numerous ways that various masculine practices—from dueling to homosocial emotional bonds—flourished in the nineteenth-century Russian universities despite the best efforts of Nicholaevan bureaucrats to contain them. See Rebecca Friedman, *Masculinity, Autocracy, and the Russian University, 1804–1863* (New York, 2005).

³¹ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York, 2005), 18–53, 231–268.

³² Greenberg discusses the ways this "comradeship" pointedly excluded white women and black men; *ibid.*, 44–47. The term refers to Benedict Anderson's description of the gender dynamics of nationalism in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

³³ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994), 23.

ern expansion in the 1840s was thus superseded in the 1850s by the “traveling masculinity” of filibusters and other armed expeditions. The unprecedented publicity generated by these dramas shaped both personal identities of American men as warriors and national images of the United States as a warrior nation, and served, Greenberg argues, as one of the trip wires that led to the War Between the States.³⁴ The transition Greenberg describes between post-Civil War “restrained” masculinity and the subsequent turn-of-the-century “martial” masculinity was prefigured in the multiple ways the citizen-soldier was schooled in this period throughout the West.

There is already a considerable literature on the Anglo-American “games revolution” of the mid-nineteenth century, and much on its ideological father, Thomas Hughes, whose 1857 novel *Tom Brown's School Days* attributed to Thomas Arnold, Rugby's famous headmaster, the forging of the connection between manliness and sport.³⁵ While acknowledging Hughes's influence, Axel Bundgaard complicates the relationships between sport, authority, and sport narratives. In *Muscle and Manliness*, Bundgaard argues that before play was governed by rules and became sport, it carried little ideological baggage. In the United States, the first efforts to link character to the sporting body appeared in the late 1860s, amid an explosion in the number of boarding schools for boys where upper-class parents concerned about the feminization of public education could be certain that their sons would be molded “with the desired [read masculine] character traits.”³⁶ At the same time, the formalization of sport in Britain and its empire was having a “transformative” social effect there, pushing women to the sidelines, encouraging the separation of public and private spheres, and imbuing “cultural practices with biological meaning.”³⁷ In the U.S., the first school-based games were initiated by students. Teachers and headmasters did not begin to exert authority until the 1880s, led by the earnest Christian and headmaster of Groton School, Endicott Peabody, mostly to cut down on brutality and cheating. Eventually, gyms were built, regular extramural competitions scheduled, and competitive traditions established. Sporting participation at elite schools became a requirement and the most prestigious activity of student life. This fact was acknowledged by headmasters in the era before World War I, who embedded sport in a discourse of manliness and character development and tied it to the shaping of a democratic citizenry.³⁸

Along with headmasters and sport-conscious politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt, it was those who wrote about sport, not the athletes themselves, who created the narratives of masculine competition, character, and the virtues of fitness.³⁹

³⁴ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 272–282.

³⁵ See in particular the work of J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Cambridge, 1981); Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, 1989). For a brilliant burlesque of manliness and Hughes's invention of the games ethic, see the Flashman novels of George MacDonald Fraser, based on Rugby's school bully Harry Flashman, as portrayed in *Tom Brown's School Days*, and in particular *Flashman: From the Flashman Papers, 1839–42* (London, 1969).

³⁶ Axel Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness: The Rise of Sport in American Boarding Schools* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2005), 32.

³⁷ Patrick F. McDevitt, “May the Best Man Win”: *Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880–1935* (New York, 2004), 3–9.

³⁸ Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness*, 152–163; see also Putney, *Muscular Christianity*.

³⁹ See Sarah Watts, *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire* (Chicago, 2003).

Bundgaard shows us that it was school newspapers that bestowed on athletics the ability to instill masculine qualities in athletes. Thus did the terms “manly, honor, toughen, physical prowess, pride,” among others attributed by schoolboy writers to their teams, mimic the characterizations of college and professional sportswriters who were supplying masculine narratives of their own, thereby creating a new audience for sport and a set of ready-made attitudes for reading it.⁴⁰

A similar process was at work in Great Britain, but with an imperial dimension in the bargain. British manliness in the 1840s and 1850s was evolving from “an evangelical Christian ethos that privileged earnestness” into a model “that emphasized physical strength, muscular development, the stiff upper lip, adventure, fortitude, and action,” qualities in keeping with the expansion of a vast empire.⁴¹ By the 1870s, as John Tosh has pointed out, a “flight from domesticity” drove men into imperial service, clubs, and sport as worries rose about the health of the race and the feminization of society.⁴² A competitive games culture was evolving alongside the new system of competitive exams in the elite universities. Paul R. Deslandes effectively shows how Oxbridge culture adapted itself in the second half of the nineteenth century to the new mission of creating professional public servants who were manlier than the indifferent scholars of the early Victorian era. Oxbridge campuses became self-consciously masculine spaces, homosocial rituals grew more central to undergraduate life, and athletic masculinity held pride of place over other varieties at the old universities. Sporting events became occasions for dramatizing gender segregation and affirming heterosexual sexuality; mothers, sisters, and love interests, ordinarily kept *ex muros*, were invited to the boat races to stand and cheer their men.⁴³ A pragmatic reason for exhausting schoolboys in play had always been the hope that they would drop off to sleep before masturbating. In Oxbridge, sport served to head off homosexual fears in men at the same time that it provided the occasion for establishing homosocial emotional bonds between them.

Women and foreigners were the outsiders in Oxbridge culture; sport served to make that distinction clear before World War I. However, as Patrick F. McDevitt has shown, although the forms of sport practiced by elite British men were adopted throughout the empire, colonials developed playing styles that distinguished them from the British, notably fast “head” bowling in cricket. “The Bodyline Affair” was the name given to a squabble that erupted after World War I between British, West Indian, and Australian cricket teams in connection with this departure from traditional play. The new aggressive style seemed to be at odds with the gentlemanly tone of the game, but as McDevitt shows, the riskier colonial style, which shared something in common with the popular attitude toward winning at all costs, was ultimately

⁴⁰ Bundgaard, *Muscle and Manliness*, 109. For American colleges and emerging professional sports, see Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), 189–276.

⁴¹ Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington, Ind., 2005), 5.

⁴² John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

⁴³ Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, 132–138, 154–178. On the rise of a competitive examination and games culture at Cambridge, see Andrew Warrick, *Masters of Theory: Cambridge and the Rise of Mathematical Physics* (Chicago, 2003).

more compatible with the military masculinity than in the ascendancy.⁴⁴ The Irish, who rejected elite British games altogether, were busy developing traditional Irish games into fiercely competitive sports. Hurling and Gaelic football exhibited many features of mock military battles, and Irish sporting rhetoric urged men to sacrifice their bodies for Ireland, a kind of “muscular Catholicism” equivalent to the Protestant variety. As was the case elsewhere, sport in Ireland served to sharpen gender distinctions and separate the sexes, just as it enhanced race distinctions in the colonial domains.⁴⁵

France experienced a similar fin-de-siècle fascination with sport and physical culture. Pierre de Coubertin was the moving force behind the reestablishment of the Olympic Games in 1896, and the brutalizing rigors of the Tour de France bicycle race began just after the turn of the century.⁴⁶ The biggest games in town, however, were the body wars of the Dreyfus Affair, which convulsed France in these same years. Christopher Forth has written a fascinating account of the struggle between anti-Dreyfusards and Dreyfusards for the privileged heights of masculine superiority. As was the case elsewhere, many French pundits were worried about the effeminizing effects of modern consumer culture, but they also feared the debilitating effects on young men of France’s intensely competitive intellectual culture. Dreyfus’s detractors used the interarticulated “others” of race and gender to make the body of Dreyfus into an effeminate, cowardly, and abject exemplar of a man, and those of his defenders into limp, unmanly *homo sedentarius*. Intellectualized Jews, pacifists, and socialists were the perfect foils, Forth reminds us, for the image of military manhood adopted by the apologists for the French Army.⁴⁷

The Dreyfusards fought back with similarly gendered and sexualized hyperbole. They claimed to be heroes of thought, fearless in their moral courage, and seekers after truth. Dreyfus himself and Emile Zola, forced into exile in England, were portrayed in religious imagery as sacrificial beings offering up their suffering bodies to the irrational anti-Dreyfusard crowd.⁴⁸ Each side made insinuations about the homosexuality of the other, duels broke out between respective “champions,” and women were brought onto the stage as moral exemplars and symbols of truth, but usually as incarnations of bodily frailty under the protection of gallant men. The Dreyfusards may have enjoyed a short-lived political triumph and won the symbolic victories in the Affair, but the real winner in this great political crisis was a discourse of military masculinity and a culture of the muscular, intrepid male body. By 1913, the new term “intellectual” had become an insult, and that bastion of intellectualism, the École Normale Supérieure, a “barracks.”⁴⁹ The “culture of force” was celebrated everywhere as a physical manifestation of strength and a moral force of will. The soldier in the citizen was primed to emerge. As George L. Mosse has taught us, by

⁴⁴ McDevitt, “*May the Best Man Win*,” 81–137.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 14–36.

⁴⁶ Christopher S. Thompson, *The Tour de France: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 2006). See also Venita Datta, *Birth of a National Icon: The Literary Avant-garde and the Emergence of the Modern Intellectual* (Albany, N.Y., 1999).

⁴⁷ Christopher Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore, Md., 2004), 70–81.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 67–70.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 235.

the end of the nineteenth century the male body had come to represent the health and well-being of the body politic.⁵⁰

MILITARY TRAINING DEINDIVIDUALIZES MEN and prepares them for sacrifice. As Theodore Nadelson has written of this process, "Military training is meant to wrest the soldier out of the civilian and throw him into action."⁵¹ Warfare itself was expected to complete the task, but in twentieth-century wars, men often complained of the inaccurate reputation that soldiers gained for bloodthirsty killing and rape, behavior that was publicized in war propaganda about the "other side."⁵² Deserved or not, the notion that war inured men to killing and violence against women was widespread in postwar societies. Demobilization obliged a man to shed his soldier's life and the homosocial world that had sustained it and cross back into the "feminized zone" of women and noncombatants to become a civilian again, the sooner the better for all concerned. While acknowledging the wrenching adjustments that men underwent when moving from one zone to another, some important work substantially undermines both the autonomy and the gendered homogeneity of home and war fronts, finding, as we shall see, ample proof of "feminine" qualities even among battle-tested combat soldiers at the front.

It obviously mattered whether a man returned to a "victory culture" or came home in defeat. If the latter, he returned as a "disabled patriarch," according to Maureen Healy, whose work on the Viennese home front during World War I treats this aspect of reintegration into civilian life. For the men who had stayed home, Healy writes, "to be simultaneously a civilian and a 'man' had also become something of a conceptual impossibility in wartime." But for returning soldiers, the opposite transformation was also difficult because, after years of war, "becoming civilized and becoming civilian were nearly synonymous."⁵³

As men, soldiers continued to dispose of the sacrificial dividend granted all combat troops, but finding a job, resuming family life, and curbing aggression were now their primary tasks, and most men made the transition with great difficulty. Men felt resentment at those who had stayed behind, including their wives, and the traditional patriarchal obligation to control one's wife was a particularly exigent aspect of military masculinity.⁵⁴ Unsurprisingly, attacks on women and a rise in rates of domestic violence characterized the postwar years in Austria, and the wartime weapons that men had been unwilling to abandon were often employed. Fellow veterans were a

⁵⁰ Mosse, *The Image of Man*.

⁵¹ Theodore Nadelson, *Trained to Kill: Soldiers at War* (Baltimore, Md., 2005), 43.

⁵² On this phenomenon, see Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 31–50; Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 50–85; Ruth Harris, "'The Child of the Barbarian': Rape, Race and Nationalism during the First World War," *Past and Present* 141 (October 1993): 170–206.

⁵³ Maureen Healy, "Civilizing the Soldier in Postwar Austria," in Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur, eds., *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006), 47; Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Hapsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge, 2004), 258–262, 272; Healy, "Civilizing the Soldier in Postwar Austria," 49. A caveat is in order here: Maureen Healy is a colleague at Oregon State University.

⁵⁴ Deborah Harrison, "Violence in the Military Community," in Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 79.

consolation, but also a temptation for engaging in violent political adventures. For men who had sworn to “win or die,” the residual prestige of military masculinity offered small comfort in peacetime.

With Healy’s book we add to an unusually important literature on the interaction of the home and war fronts. Michael Roper writes that a characteristic of work on World War I in the late 1970s was a tendency to portray the home and war fronts as zones of mutual incomprehension.⁵⁵ Historians probably do not sufficiently credit the fact that a turning point of sorts may have been announced in Pat Barker’s brilliant trilogy of World War I novels *Regeneration*, *The Eye in the Door*, and *The Ghost Road*, which were published between 1991 and 1995. Barker imagined the war through the memories of men in trauma hospitals, through their erotically charged friendships, and through the relationships of men and women on the home front, creating a web of interrelated life histories in which combat was both distant and yet inseparable from lived experience.⁵⁶ Susan Kingsley Kent, Joanna Bourke, Belinda J. Davis, Susan R. Grayzel, and Maureen Healy have further integrated home and war fronts in their studies of the European experience in World War I. They argue that women were present at the front in greater numbers than previously thought, sharing the chaos of war. They point out how privation, bombing, and violence in the European capitals were a simulacrum of war for women, children, and non-combatants, and they especially stress the home visits and the epistolary connections between soldiers, wives, lovers, and mothers that deepen our understanding of the emotional ties that helped to mitigate the gender divide created by warfare.⁵⁷ In these accounts, men were reluctant warriors who reimagined and clung to the nurturing masculine emotions of domestic life and modeled their bonds with fellow soldiers on the examples provided by their own mothers’ love and sacrifices.⁵⁸

It has been convincingly argued that the experience of combat and the emotional dynamics of *Kamaradschaft* may have neutralized the “fear of the feminine” that normally troubles the equilibrium of homosocial groups. Robert L. Nelson has examined soldier newspapers in World War I and found in the German papers eloquent testimonials to a “faithfulness and honesty” in friendship that rivaled marriage. He suggests that a relatively stronger emphasis on comradeship in German soldier papers than in their English and French equivalents was a guilty emotional compensation for the uncertainty that German soldiers felt about their nation’s war

⁵⁵ Michael Roper, “Maternal Relations: Moral Manliness and Emotional Survival in Letters Home during the First World War,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War*, 296. Roper refers particularly to Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford, 1977) and Eric J. Leed’s *No Man’s Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge, 1979).

⁵⁶ Pat Barker, *Regeneration* (London, 1991), *The Eye in the Door* (London, 1993), and *The Ghost Road* (London, 1995). Historical interest in combat trauma has followed. See Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists, 1914–1994* (London, 2000); Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (London, 2002); Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003).

⁵⁷ Kent, *Making Peace*; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996); Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War*; Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Hapsburg Empire*.

⁵⁸ Roper, “Maternal Relations”; on the epistolary tradition in France, see Martha Hanna, “A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I,” *AHR* 108, no. 5 (December 2003): 1338–1361, and Hanna, *Your Death Would Be Mine: Paul and Marie Pireaud in the Great War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006).

of aggression.⁵⁹ Thomas Kühne goes further still, arguing that comradeship was “coded feminine,” a “camouflage” for the “male” violence that was the norm of front-line fighting. The “myth” of a caring and supportive comradeship, Kühne writes, “served to smooth over symbolic contradictions, social differences, and emotional tensions” in a violent all-male world.⁶⁰ In the heightened aggressiveness of World War II, the “femininity” expressed in comradeship became the “fundamental pillar of being a man,” as well as a basis for empathic understanding on the part of mothers, wives, and sisters. Nonetheless, Kühne concludes, this comradely femininity only balanced the tensions between a sublimated homosexuality and the heterosexual norm; it did “not question the hierarchy of the sexes, but stabilized it.”⁶¹

War thus both sharpened and blurred the lines between the sexes. Military masculinity could not consistently remain a monopoly of the front-line soldier, even in the hell of the trenches; women and noncombatants on the home front experienced vicariously, and sometimes very directly, the dangers and miseries of combat.⁶² The war also narrowed the gap between masculinities of class, according to Joanna Bourke, and there is reason to think that the home-front experiences of the Second World War, when the war was truly brought home for most Europeans, blurred the lines further still.⁶³ Nonetheless, as Susan Grayzel concludes in her study of Britain and France in World War I, despite the instability of “home front” and “war front,” and the need to see them along a continuum rather than divided in space and experience, women were encouraged “to see their roles as mothers, particularly as producers of future soldiers, as central to their identities.”⁶⁴ Similarly, the memorialization of masculine heroic sacrifice after the world wars perpetuated the hegemony of military masculinity over all other kinds. Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur note the “exclusively masculine” construction of heroism after the world wars in Eastern Europe, and other scholars have affirmed the power of the sacrificial and masculine “myth of the war experience” that has shaped memories of war up to the present.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Robert L. Nelson, “German Comrades—Slavic Whores,” in Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, *Home/Front*, 72–73, 81.

⁶⁰ Thomas Kühne, “Comradeship: Gender Confusion and Gender Order in the German Military, 1918–1945,” in Hagemann and Schüler-Springorum, *Home/Front*, 236.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 245–249. Alon Rachamimov has recently explored the sexual and gender liminality of World War I prisoners of war: “The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1920,” *AHR* 111, no. 2 (April 2006): 362–382.

⁶² See Melissa K. Stockdale, “‘My Death for the Motherland Is Happiness’: Women, Patriotism, and Soldiering in Russia’s Great War, 1914–1917,” *AHR* 109, no. 1 (February 2004): 78–116.

⁶³ Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, 251–252; Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, “The Alienated Body: Gender and Identity and the Memory of the Siege of Leningrad,” in Wingfield and Bucur, *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, 221–223; Rose, “Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain,” in Dudink, Hagemann, and Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War*, 177–198. See also Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939–48* (London, 1999).

⁶⁴ Grayzel, *Women’s Identities at War*, 245–246.

⁶⁵ Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur, “Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe,” in Wingfield and Bucur, *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*, 10; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Daniel Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago, 1999).

TWENTIETH-CENTURY WARS PROVIDE US with the best examples of the constructedness and variability of military masculinities in the citizen-soldier. On the one hand, although conscription has persisted in many European nations, the evolution of the rights and duties of citizens and the gender-inclusiveness of modern societies have inevitably influenced the nature of military service and the ideals of military masculinity that they favor. The United States and Great Britain, on the other hand, have reverted to their peacetime traditions of professional armed forces and have been able to partially insulate traditional conceptions of military masculinity, despite the incorporation of women into the ranks in noncombatant (though still dangerous) roles. The end of the Cold War and the lessened need for mass armies in Europe have placed conscription itself in doubt, not to mention the wisdom or fairness of excluding women from service. Although debate over these issues has raised serious questions in Europe about the social utility or the morality of combat masculinity in the old mold, the U.S., notwithstanding the anti-war movements of the 1960s and early 1970s, continues to embrace ideals of masculine military valor.

In Germany and Russia, where conscription preceded the granting of full political and social rights, the financial and civic benefits of service eventually caught up with its obligations. In Russia, this did not occur until the mid-1920s, after the Red Army had defeated its rivals and the regime was able to expand material benefits and political rights. It is unlikely, however, that the successful "nationalization" of masculinity that took place in the decade after 1917 could have happened at all without the ideological and class appeals used by the Bolsheviks, along with the traditional exhortations to defend womenfolk and display courage. As Joshua Sanborn has written, many Soviet citizen-soldiers were sympathetic to Bolshevik ideology, but those less sympathetic may have fought as valiantly because they had learned that to become members of the political community "entailed becoming hard, courageous, and strong. They had to become masculine to become citizens."⁶⁶

In Germany, the absence of conscription in the interwar period briefly afforded the opportunity for a variety of alternative masculinities to flourish, especially sport, but by the time Adolf Hitler resumed the draft in 1935, German youth had already been exposed to years of indoctrination in Nazi racial ideology in the schools, the Labor Service, and Hitler Youth. According to Omer Bartov, who has reviewed the relevant literature, this ideological component served to authorize soldiers' participation in the mass slaughter of civilians and the outright shooting of prisoners. The *Kamaradschaft* of soldiers on the eastern front was composed of equal parts fear of retaliation by a dehumanized enemy, and a belief in "the united strength of the group and the 'iron' will of the individual," which produced a kind of "youth gang" that was a "powerful combination of total revolt and total submission, of destructiveness and obedience."⁶⁷ For her part, Ute Frevert emphasizes the success of Nazi propaganda in instilling in fighting men a genuine contempt for gentleness and sensitivity and a belief that sacrifice for the *Volk* was the highest ideal. "Under Hitler," she writes, "the 'liberally-predetermined' term 'citizen' was frowned on, replaced by the national comrade (*Volksgenosse*)."⁶⁸ Once again, future historical work would

⁶⁶ Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*, 42, 163.

⁶⁷ Omer Bartov, *Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), 26.

⁶⁸ Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks*, 247–250.

profit from exploring the process by which fighting men embodied this murderous combat ethos, which seems on its face a monstrous exaggeration of even the most aggressive types of military masculinity.

Determined to break with the Nazi past, the Federal Republic (West Germany) decided to reauthorize the draft in 1956 and create a "new kind" of "citizen in uniform." A strong undercurrent of pacifism in postwar German society made the non-military form of state service nearly as popular as the military one, and as Frevert notes, the martial images of the past were sufficiently distrusted that by the 1960s, soldiers on leave chose to dress in mufti, grow beards, and wear their hair long in the style of the era.⁶⁹ The effort to reconfigure masculinity did arouse fears, especially in the Federal Republic, of men who would be too weak, effeminized by consumer culture, and dominated by women, who, conversely, would be too strong.⁷⁰ The POWs who returned from internment in these years seemed utterly unmanned by the experience, and much care was taken to ensure their remasculinization and reintegration into civilian life. However, as Frank Biess has written, this process was not a "restoration but a recasting of masculinities," a new set of "tamed masculinities" that corresponded to the "tamed militarism" of the new German army.⁷¹

A selection of books on postwar American masculinities at least partly explains why the United States has not followed the course taken by many of its NATO allies. The lion's share of responsibility for defending the West in the late 1940s and 1950s required a continued American military readiness that was obliged to be compatible with full-bore industrial productivity and consumerism, which has proven to be a formula for contradictory tensions. Conscription, of course, was a casualty of the Vietnam War, when potential draftees and their parents resisted this unpopular engagement. The politically necessary retreat to an all-volunteer fighting force seems to have contributed to maintaining a public consensus for armed interventions and protected the prestige of military masculinities in the years since 1974. However, civilian society has also generated multiple examples of masculinities in the Cold War years that have sustained the image of American men as latent soldiers.

The economic boom and buoyant "victory culture" of post-1945 America permitted a rapid return of consumption and the end of wartime privations. The joys of domestic life were celebrated widely, marriage rates increased, average age at marriage declined, and marital fertility went up in what Stephanie Coontz has called "the golden age of marriage in the West."⁷² But doubts soon emerged in the form of worries about the stability of marriage, despite divorce rates lower than at any time in the previous half-century.⁷³ There were also concerns about the materialism of the consumer culture, the suburbanization and growing conformity of American society, and the increase in Cold War tensions. In *Men in the Middle*, James Gilbert explains

⁶⁹ Ibid., 263–276.

⁷⁰ Ute Poiger, "A New 'Western Hero': The Reconstruction of German Masculinity in the 1950s," in Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1945–1968* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 412–413.

⁷¹ Frank Biess, "Survivors of Totalitarianism: Returning POWs and the Reconstruction of Masculine Citizenship in West Germany, 1945–1955," in Schissler, *The Miracle Years*, 63–72.

⁷² Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: From Obedience to Intimacy, or How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York, 2005), 226.

⁷³ On the worries about marriage, see Miriam Reumann, *American Sexual Character: Sex, Gender and National Identity in the Kinsey Reports* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005), 131–142.

how these anxieties took the form of a critique of mass culture in which a crisis of masculinity played a central role. Gilbert does not actually discuss male behavior; instead, he explores the ways that high and low culture dramatized the dilemma of how postwar men could remain manly individuals in an era of feminized consumption and conformism. Philip Wylie, David Riesman, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., William H. White, and others asked whether “other-directed” men could resist the blandishments of emasculating “momism” and the hollow security of being an “organization man.”⁷⁴ Among other examples, Gilbert shows how the dramatist Tennessee Williams portrayed men in his plays as performing their masculinity and creating themselves against fathers, women, and other men.⁷⁵ Gilbert’s point is that Americans in the fifties were learning to think about gender as a role that was more loosely tied to sex than had previously been believed.

Masculinity and femininity had been rooted in biological sex in scientific, medical, and popular discourse for the previous 150 years, but gender was gradually being separated from sex as the result of an array of social scientific and medical findings, including the synthesis of the “sex” hormones and transsexual surgery. John Hoberman has written in *Testosterone Dreams* about the “rhetoric of enhancement” connected to hormone therapies that flooded postwar America in men’s efforts to achieve sexual and functional “normality.”⁷⁶ The fifties were also the era of Christine Jorgensen and Alfred Kinsey: Jorgensen was a deeply convincing performer of her new sex, and Kinsey famously popularized a continuum of sexual “outlets” that narrowed the distance between exclusively heterosexual men and the surprisingly high percentages of men who had experimented with homosexuality.⁷⁷

All this news about labile sex, constructed gender, and elective sexuality was received with conspicuous anxiety. The U.S. and its valiant soldiers seemed on shaky ground, and the reaction to this uncertainty took paths that are well known to us because some are still present in American culture as reruns, “classic” films and literature, or popular icons. Various forms of “tough guy” masculinity emerged. They took the form of wandering “road” poets such as Jack Kerouac, soldiers of fortune, and film re-creations of war heroism, frontiersmen and cowboys, or rebellious youth. In an imaginative study of postwar photography titled *Shooting from the Hip*, Patricia Vettel-Becker demonstrates how the camera was discussed and used as a male instrument that focused a male gaze on male objects of interest. She argues that war photography favored “masculine” detachment over “feminine” sympathy, reveals how urban landscapes were notable for their realism and fascination with male gangs, and writes that sport photos were shot “with an eroticism that denies it is erotic.”⁷⁸ James Gilbert argues that the “spectator masculinity” inspired by such popular images was more fantasy than real, but their availability as scripts for narrative self-

⁷⁴ James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago, 2005), 34–80.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 106–134.

⁷⁶ John Hoberman, *Testosterone Dreams: Rejuvenation, Aphrodisia, Doping* (Berkeley, Calif., 2005), 7–12, 17.

⁷⁷ Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*, 81–105; see also Reumann, *American Sexual Character*, 54–85, 165–198; and Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002).

⁷⁸ Patricia Vettel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip: Photography, Masculinity, and Postwar America* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2005), 122.

fashioning and identification is clear enough, as is their ability to function as military subtexts.⁷⁹

Gender crises of this kind have the capacity to both scramble relations between the sexes and reestablish sexual norms. Hugh Hefner began *Playboy* magazine and his bunny empire in 1953, promoting not only heterosexuality and female nudity but, equally importantly, a style of masculine consumerism and taste-mongering that assimilated the objectification of female flesh to the accumulation of commodities.⁸⁰ In the realm of high-fashion photography, Arthur Penn and Richard Avedon were photographing their models as though they were bestowing upon them a type of porcelain-doll femininity. Nude and fashion photographers alike aimed at a detachment that would allow them to represent "the qualities inherent in *all* women."⁸¹ Of course, all this gender fashioning also contributed to the first manifestos of feminism in the 1960s, which permitted women to contest these images of a feminine mystique created by men; only a few years later, gays and lesbians began to lay claim to non-heterosexual sexualities and identities.

While white America was arguing over gender, black American veterans were returning from a war in which they had played mostly supportive roles to find that military service had not earned them full citizenship rights. Black men had always been obliged to mask their manliness and their sexuality in a largely segregated society, but as Steve Estes argues, it was the indignation of black veterans that fueled NAACP activism in the late 1940s, giving black men a setting in which to construct a new civil masculinity.⁸² Until the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., the men who led the civil rights movement forged a kind of masculine courage based on the moral imperative of nonviolence that had been built on the legacies of W. E. B. DuBois and Mahatma Gandhi. Women played front-line roles in civil rights battles, but within the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee they experienced both "liberation *and* oppression" as supernumeraries to the male leadership.⁸³

The next generation of black leaders and organizations adopted a more violent style of masculinity in their drive to achieve recognition as men. Women remained in inferior positions, and the men who urged a more moderate course or nonviolent resistance were ridiculed as unmanly. But manliness of any kind can be a lived masculinity only if it is acknowledged by others, and the publication of the Moynihan Report on the pathologies of the Negro family in 1965 simply reinforced the assumption that the problem with black people was the failure of their men to grow up and take responsibility. Indeed, Moynihan himself believed that black men needed to be inducted in great numbers into the armed forces so that they could become a part of "male, American society."⁸⁴

What happens to masculinity in a "cold" war? *Imperial Brotherhood*, Robert D. Dean's study of Cold War foreign policy, is a major effort to explain the role that masculinity and sexuality played in the great foreign policy initiatives of the postwar

⁷⁹ Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*, 26.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 199–214.

⁸¹ Vettel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip*, 109.

⁸² Steve Estes, *I Am a Man! Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), 35–37.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

period. In Dean's scenario, between the world wars, elite prep school boys played sports, endured hazing, and were readied by fathers, teachers, and coaches for their future roles as leaders of a great military power. When Pearl Harbor occurred, the youngest of these men felt obliged not only to enter the service, but to seek out its most dangerous branches—as paratroopers, on PT boats, in the special forces—and leadership positions within them. They were constructing “serviceable identity narratives,” according to Dean, which required the repression or erasure of aspects that did not meet the image of athletic, valorous, and heterosexual manhood. Since the early part of the twentieth century, this image had served as the ideal that would ensure the future reputations and leadership of elite men.⁸⁵

In the 1950s, the “patricians” who led the State Department in the Truman and Eisenhower years ran full-tilt into the “primitive” red-baiting senator from Wisconsin, “Tail-Gunner Joe” McCarthy. In McCarthy's mind, elite men were tainted by their class and cosmopolitan origins, and many gave off more than a whiff of sexual unorthodoxy. Dean has tracked the persecution of State Department and other government bureaucrats in detail and shown that suspicions of homosexuality were as significant as connections with Communist front organizations in leading to dismissals or resignations. The conflation of a “red scare” with a “lavender scare” is at least in part a consequence of the great publicity that had been given to Kinsey's sexual identity rating system, which reinforced fears that any man, not simply an effeminate one, might be a homosexual and thus eligible to blackmail by foreign agents.⁸⁶

However much the “patricians” and the “primitives” fought with one another, it is Dean's point that both believed that masculine forcefulness was required in domestic and foreign policy if the United States was to retain Cold War leadership. In his inaugural address in January 1960, John F. Kennedy invoked William H. Whyte's “organization man,” television, and precooked meals as signs of a conforming flabbiness that could best be remedied by the example of masculine courage and sacrifice.⁸⁷ At least initially, the Peace Corps was an attempt to implement this sentiment. U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War was a fight that first Kennedy and later the “primitive” Johnson and his many “patrician” advisors refused to back away from, for fear of being thought “weak,” even as the cause became increasingly hopeless.⁸⁸

The invention in the postwar era of the national security state has ensured that domestic and foreign policy is conducted in secret by trusted insiders who have used less than transparent criteria to decide the grounds for America's foreign policy adventures. Military experience and a particular style of masculinity were often highlighted in electoral contests to head up the Cold War apparatus. The years since September 11, 2001, indicate that this standard of measure is far from extinct. The presidential campaign of 2004 featured one prep school and Ivy League candidate who was accused of shirking combat in the National Guard, while another, who followed a potentially more perilous course from prep school to Ivy League to “swift

⁸⁵ Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst, Mass., 2001), 6–7.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 67. See also on this matter David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago, 2004), 53–55, 62.

⁸⁷ Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood*, as quoted on 169.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 210–240.

boat" service in Vietnam, was confronted with charges that he had exaggerated his combat achievements. Has anything changed?

The end of the Cold War and the passing from the scene of the last warriors of World War II has obliged the Western democracies to rethink conscription and the role of the citizen-soldier. Conscription is clearly on the wane, but it seems unlikely that volunteer armies will transform the historic social contract between the citizen-soldier and the state, or end the characteristic representation of the soldier's body as the image of the nation, no matter how unrepresentative that soldier might be of the nation's class and ethnic identity. The reciprocity that was established between fighting men, civil rights, and the defense of the state in the era of the Atlantic Revolutions still operates to place military masculinities at or near the top of the gender hierarchy. However, the tacit admission that gay men can be good soldiers, the breaching of the wall around the all-male military world by women, and a widespread willingness to train women in the use of arms means that these gender identities may be increasingly available to everyone. This development, together with a new willingness, at least in Europe, to conceive of alternative forms of military masculinity, will further illuminate the historical and conventional nature of our inherited image of the hard, sacrificial, heterosexual male soldier.

Historians should continue to explore the ways in which this image of the citizen-soldier was constructed and maintained in historical societies. As the works analyzed here reveal, even in wartime the masculine warrior is never sealed off from women or from the feminine in himself or his comrades. The construction of a soldier willing to sacrifice himself for his country has thus been a more or less permanent activity, operating in war and in peace to fix in his body masculine traits that appear natural to him and others and that are continuous with the gender ideals of civilian life. We need a better understanding of how this process of embodiment has worked and a clearer sense of why it is so successful that soldiers will sometimes fight to the death against impossible odds and other times show the white flag.

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Review Essay

Whither Family History? A Road Map from Latin America

NARA MILANICH

FAMILY VALUES ARE BACK with a vengeance. As pundits pontificate and spin doctors strategize, historians of the family have periodically joined in the fray. Scholars have appeared in the popular media offering historical perspectives on marriage and divorce, childhood, cohabitation, working mothers, child custody, and same-sex unions. The family is an institution peculiarly subject to mythification, and more often than not, historians have sought to set the record straight about “the way we never were.”¹ Meanwhile, historical perspectives on the family have found their way into legal reasoning. In *Halpern v. Canada*, the landmark 2005 decision that paved the way for same-sex marriage in Canada, both sides marshaled historical evidence in an effort to bolster their claims.² Prominent historians of gender, sexuality, and the family have also filed amicus briefs in cases involving same-sex marriage in U.S. state courts and in *Lawrence v. Texas*, the 2003 Supreme Court case that struck down Texas’s anti-sodomy law.³

If family history reverberates in public discourse, its resonance in contemporary

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¹ The phrase is Stephanie Coontz’s, from *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, 1992). Examples of historians’ interventions in the popular media include Coontz, “Historically Incorrect Canoodling,” *New York Times*, February 14, 2005, 21, and Coontz, “Our Family Myths,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, March 26, 2006, 1MS; Steven Mintz, “A ‘Golden Age’ of Childhood?” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 28, 2005, 9; Joan Ryan, “Ignore the Rules, Spoil the Child,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 13, 2000, 1/Z1; Julian Sanchez, “Marriage Has No ‘Essence,’” *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 2, 2006, B3.

² *Halpern v. Canada* (A.G.) [2002], O.J. No. 2714 (Ont. Div. Ct.).

³ Same-sex marriage cases in which historical briefs were filed include *Goodridge v. Department of Health* (Massachusetts, 2003), *Hernandez v. Robles* (New York, 2005), *Lewis v. Harris* (New Jersey), and *Anderson v. King County* (Washington). The latter two cases are currently on appeal in state supreme courts. Briefs are available at Lambda Legal’s Marriage Project, <http://www.lamdalegal.org>. The *Lawrence v. Texas* brief is available at <http://hnn.us/articles/1539.html> (accessed February 4, 2007). Meanwhile, scholarly debates about family, childhood, and affectivity have at times spilled out of academic journals and into the popular media. See Emily Eakin, “Did Cradles Always Rock? Or Did Mom Once Not Care?” *New York Times*, June 30, 2001, B7; Stephen Metcalf, “Farewell to Mini-Me: The Fight over When Childhood Began,” *Slate*, March 11, 2002, <http://www.slate.com/?id=2062917> (accessed February 4, 2007); Joan Acocella, “Little People: When Did We Start Treating Children like Children?” *The New Yorker*, August 18, 2003, http://www.newyorker.com/critics/books/articles/030818crbo_books?030818crbo_books (accessed February 18, 2007).

historical scholarship is by contrast muted. Once upon a time, in the early 1980s, historians of the family could describe the field as a “growth industry” undergoing “spectacular expansion.”⁴ They could argue, as one of the field’s founders, Lawrence Stone, did, that “there is scarcely any . . . major dispute about the nature of change in the past, upon which family history does not somehow impinge.”⁵ Twenty-five years later, such bold assertions strike one as a bit overwrought. From “spectacular expansion,” the field has settled into a much more modest productive rhythm. If family history has had some bearing on major historical debates in recent decades, it has not been a particularly outspoken interventor in them. From its dynamic youth, the field has lapsed prematurely into a quiet senescence.

Meanwhile, among self-identified practitioners of the field, breathless enthusiasm has given way to a certain restless frustration. In a review essay on the history of childhood in this journal in 1998, Hugh Cunningham acknowledged the significance of Philippe Ariès, one of the field’s founding fathers, but declared that the scholarship he inspired “has now run its course; it is time . . . to shift the agenda.” More recently, Cissie Fairchilds asserted that family history “badly needs a new interpretive paradigm.” “Where,” she lamented, “is the next Ariès or Stone who will write a personal, idiosyncratic synthesis of the field which will provide one?”⁶

Yet these scholars would probably agree that family history, while enervated, is hardly moribund. There is no better evidence for this than *The History of the European Family*, published by Yale University Press and edited by Brown University anthropologist and historian David Kertzer and University of Bologna sociologist Marzio Barbagli.⁷ This three-volume work provides an opportunity to take stock of the current state of the field. A brief review of the volumes can serve as a springboard for a broad assessment of what ails family history.

Moving beyond the paths charted by European historiography, colonial and post-colonial societies heretofore marginal to family history suggest new directions for scholarship. In Latin America historically, family and kinship have been fundamental cultural categories, central to political power and economic production, elite domination and plebeian survival, honor culture, the agrarian order, labor systems, entrepreneurship, and migration, among other social formations.⁸ Latin America is, moreover, a region whose historical development has been characterized by some of the most persistent and yawning inequities of color and class in the world. Considering these two features of Latin American history in tandem and examining the

⁴ “Growth industry”: Daniel Blake Smith, “The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems, and Prospects,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (January 1982): 3–28, 3; “spectacular expansion”: Lawrence Stone, “Family History in the 1980s: Past Achievements and Future Trends,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12, no. 1 (1981): 51–87, 51.

⁵ Stone, “Family History in the 1980s,” 87.

⁶ Hugh Cunningham, “Histories of Childhood,” *AHR* 103, no. 4 (October 1998): 1195–1208, 1199. Philippe Ariès’s classic work was *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1962), originally published in French in 1960 as *L’enfant et la vie familiale sous l’Ancien Régime*. Cissie Fairchilds, “Review of *Family Life in Early Modern Times, 1500–1789*,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 523–525, 525.

⁷ David Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli, eds., *The History of the European Family* [hereafter *HEF*], 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 2001–2003).

⁸ Elizabeth A. Kuznesof and Robert Oppenheimer, “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: An Historiographical Introduction,” *Journal of Family History* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 215–235, especially 220. On the enduring significance of family and kinship in Latin America, see Kuznesof, “The House, the Street, Global Society: Latin American Families and Childhood in the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2005): 859–872.

role of family, kinship, and household in the production and reproduction of social difference may pose a new agenda for family history.

THE HISTORY OF THE EUROPEAN FAMILY (HEF) consists of three chronological volumes, containing twenty-nine essays by thirty contributors. In more than a thousand pages of text, these scholars explore family change in Europe from 1500 to the present. The series is at least the sixth in what must surely qualify as a cottage industry of multi-volume histories of private life, women, childhood, and family in the West.⁹ That *HEF* joins such a crowded genre raises the obvious question: what could there possibly be left to say? The project is distinguished by its comparative, comprehensive thrust. For its purposes, "Europe" refers to "all the land from the Atlantic Ocean on the west to the Ural Mountains on the east, from the Arctic Sea in the north to the Mediterranean in the south." In a field that originally derived its insights from local parish records and village census manuscripts, such a broad-ranging perspective is no mean feat. In contrast to other multi-volume syntheses of family and private life, each essay seeks as comprehensive a comparative reach as possible. To facilitate this enterprise, the volumes are purposefully organized thematically rather than by geographic area.¹⁰

The contributions vary widely in focus and approach, and in so doing, implicitly raise the question, what is family history? The series gives significant weight to "classic" approaches, including demographic analysis, household economics, and the relationship between families and macro-level economic change.¹¹ But other approaches are also represented. Essays on material culture explore the relationship of clothing, diet, housing, and spatial organization to family life.¹² Several contributors examine changing family law and social policy.¹³ Cultural history, while un-

⁹ Others include Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès, eds., *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1987–1991); Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, *A History of Women in the West*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992–1994); André Burguière et al., *A History of the Family*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), first published in France as *Histoire de la famille* (Paris, 1986); Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds., *A History of Young People in the West*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1997–1999); and Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia, eds., *Histoire de l'enfance en occident*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1998). More recently, the European series have inspired parallel efforts in Latin America. To date, multi-volume histories of private life exist for Argentina, Brazil, and, most recently, Chile. Ricardo Cicerchia, *Historia de la vida privada en la Argentina*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1998–2001); Fernando A. Novais, ed., *História da vida privada no Brasil*, 4 vols. (São Paulo, 1997–1998); and Rafael Sagredo and Cristián Gazmuri, eds., *Historia de la vida privada en Chile*, 2 vols. to date (Santiago, 2005–2006), with a third volume still to come.

¹⁰ Marzio Barbagli and David I. Kertzer, "Introduction," *HEF* 1: ix–xxxii, ix. In contrast, several of the series mentioned above—*A History of Private Life* and particular volumes of *A History of Women in the West*, for example—are unabashedly Franco-centric. Meanwhile, *A History of the Family* boasts global coverage but is organized by geographic or cultural unit—China, Japan, Africa, Scandinavia, the Arab world—a schema that leaves it to the reader to discern cross-cultural comparisons. Finally, the Latin American series are all squarely nation-based.

¹¹ Karl Kaser, "Serfdom in Eastern Europe," *HEF* 1: 24–62; Ulrich Pfister, "Proto-industrialization," *HEF* 1: 63–84; Pier Paolo Viazzo, "Mortality, Fertility, and Family," *HEF* 1: 157–187; Angélique Janssens, "Economic Transformation, Women's Work, and Family Life," *HEF* 3: 55–110; Jay Winter, "The European Family and the Two World Wars," *HEF* 3: 152–173; Theo Engelen, "A Transition Prolonged: Demographic Aspects of the European Family," *HEF* 3: 273–308.

¹² Raffaella Sarti, "The Material Conditions of Family Life," *HEF* 1: 3–23; Martine Segalen, "Material Conditions of Family Life," *HEF* 2: 3–39; Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Material Conditions of Family Life," *HEF* 3: 3–54.

¹³ Lloyd Bonfield, "Developments in European Family Law," *HEF* 1: 87–124; Bonfield, "European Family Law," *HEF* 2: 109–154; Paola Ronfani, "Family Law in Europe," *HEF* 3: 113–151; Chiara Sara-

derrepresented from the perspective of North American scholarly trends, also makes an appearance.¹⁴ Finally, a number of essays are informed by anthropological and sociological perspectives.¹⁵

Amid this diversity, one leitmotif that emerges is gradual evolution over rupture and persistence over change. This theme informs essays on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; material culture, parent-child relations, and marriage patterns in the nineteenth century; and the impact of migration on kinship networks and peasant households.¹⁶ If there is a watershed in European family life and structure, the essayists would probably place it in the early twentieth century. Contributions on the last hundred years place greater emphasis on change, in such contexts as household structure, women's roles, the material conditions of domestic life, and the "quiet revolution" of demographic patterns. Here the watchword is historical convergence: across geographic, cultural, political, and class divides, the essayists argue, families in Europe looked much more similar at the close of the twentieth century than they did at the dawn of the sixteenth.¹⁷ Yet even in recent times, persistence persists. In Eastern Europe, for example, "the geography of family structures" in 1989 retraced centuries-old patterns.¹⁸ *HEF*'s emphasis on long-running continuities, gradual evolution, and the endurance of family forms in the face of profound historical change is an argument with older interpretive paradigms, which posited a stark contrast between "traditional" and "modern" families.

The continuity leitmotif also has implications for more recent historiographic trends. Much of this scholarship has examined top-down projects to regulate and reform family, gender, and sexuality. The *HEF* essayists, however, tend to argue that such efforts have limited impact on family behavior. As Alain Blum asks in "Socialist Families?," an essay whose title is pointedly interrogative, "to what extent does the political decision to transform the foundations of society . . . actually modify the forms that families take . . . ?" His answer, for the case of twentieth-century Eastern Europe, is very little. Insofar as political attempts to alter families "did not have any genuine impact on deep-seated behavior patterns," there is no such thing as a "socialist family." Other contributors reach parallel conclusions about the limits of bourgeois attempts to engineer working-class family norms and about the inefficacy

ceno, "Social and Family Policy," *HEF* 3: 238–269. These contributors tend to emphasize the content of law and policy rather than their social effects. An exception is Rachel Fuchs's essay on charity in the nineteenth century, which explores how families engaged with welfare initiatives; "Charity and Welfare," *HEF* 2: 155–194.

¹⁴ In a particularly insightful essay, Mary Jo Maynes explores bourgeois constructions of domesticity, family, and gender roles, arguing that "the highly charged processes of dissemination across social and spatial boundaries of competing models of family life and household are a central component of nineteenth-century family history"; "Class Cultures and Images of Proper Family Life," *HEF* 2: 195–226, 196.

¹⁵ Georges Augustins, "The Perpetuation of Families and the Molding of Personal Destinies," *HEF* 2: 322–347; François de Singly and Vincenzo Cicchelli, "Contemporary Families: Social Reproduction and Personal Fulfillment," *HEF* 3: 311–349; Engelen, "A Transition Prolonged."

¹⁶ Jeffrey R. Watt, "The Impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation," *HEF* 1: 125–154; Segalen, "Material Conditions of Family Life," 5; Loftur Guttormsson, "Parent-Child Relations," *HEF* 2: 251–281; Josef Ehmer, "Marriage," *HEF* 2: 282–321; Caroline Brettell, "Migration," *HEF* 2: 229–247.

¹⁷ This is true of household structure, fertility and mortality patterns, marriage behavior, gender and generational power dynamics, as well as family law, housing, and domestic environments. Marzio Barbagli and David I. Kertzer, "Introduction," *HEF* 3: xi–xliv, xxxvii–xliv; Ronfani, "Family Law in Europe," especially 113; Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Material Conditions of Family Life," especially 30.

¹⁸ Alain Blum, "Socialist Families?" *HEF* 3: 198–237, 220.

of the Great Dictators' pro-natalism. Even the impact of the Protestant Reformation and the Counter-Reformation is downplayed.¹⁹

In the end, the implicit common denominator that informs the essays of *HEF*, and perhaps the project's most important contribution, is a commitment to take the family seriously as a social institution of intrinsic importance. That may not sound like much of a contribution, given that "family" is hardly absent from historical scholarship at the turn of the twenty-first century. Postcolonial scholars, for example, have directed attention to what Ann Laura Stoler has called "the domains of the intimate," the realm of "sex, sentiment, domestic arrangement, and child rearing." Yet in this approach, which is particularly concerned with the gaze of moral arbiters, family is a category of interest not on its own terms but in a narrower sense as a site of regulation (and resistance). Such a framework is not misconstrued, but it is not, and does not seek to be, family history. As Lara Putnam has argued in her study of family and community in Caribbean Costa Rica, "practices surrounding gender, kinship, and sexuality at times became central to class struggle and state formation. But it was not always so, and the legitimacy of these practices as objects of study should not rest on this claim alone."²⁰ The *HEF* essays take the family and its internal dynamics to be of intrinsic significance. They ask how families are affected by particular social, economic, demographic, or political processes, and how in turn kinship, household structures, and domestic practices mediate those processes. Implicitly, some essays also address how, in particular historical contexts, these spheres of social life ("family," "society," "economy," "state," "public," "private") are delineated in the first place.²¹

On the other hand, what *HEF* has to tell us about the family is not necessarily new. Hewing to familiar topics, the essays provide solid overviews of the demographic transition, a reprise of the long-standing comparison between Eastern and Western European family forms, and a collective rejection of older assertions about an abrupt transition from a "traditional" to a "modern" family. Taken as a whole, the series is more an exercise in consolidation than in advancement, of stock-taking rather than envelope-pushing. It showcases what European family historians have accomplished and the diversity of their efforts, but it offers few clues as to where the field is going.

AND WHERE IS IT GOING? In light of the frustrations expressed by practitioners of family history, a blunt assessment of the field's current condition is warranted. And alas, the diagnosis is grave. Whatever the accomplishments of the *HEF* project, it

¹⁹ Ibid., 198, 233; Maynes, "Class Cultures"; Lawrence-Zúñiga, "Material Conditions of Family Life"; Paul Ginsborg, "The Family Politics of the Great Dictators," *HEF* 3: 174–197, 189–190; Watts, "Impact of the Reformation."

²⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829–865; Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002).

²¹ For example, David Gaunt's exploration of the myriad ways of "reckoning blood ties and family relationships" in the early modern period explores the criteria used to determine who counted as kin and who did not, the language used to express these associations, and the meanings that accrued to them; "Kinship: Thin Red Lines or Thick Blue Blood," *HEF* 1: 257–287. Meanwhile, Mary Jo Maynes traces the development of the bourgeois public/private dichotomy in "Class Cultures."

will likely be read mostly by specialists. Today more than ever, family history has become a ghettoized area of study disengaged from broader spheres of historical inquiry. A comparison with a related field, women's history, is telling. Both family history and women's history emerged as dynamic areas of inquiry during the new social history boom. Today, women's history and its offshoot gender history are well established, productive, and vibrant. History departments routinely have several specialists of women and gender on their rolls, courses in these fields are standard curricular fare, and specialized professional meetings and multiple journals provide space for scholarly exchange. Perhaps most telling, scholarship on women and gender has had reverberations far beyond the work of those explicitly identified as practitioners.

Not so family history. Some scholars still self-identify as historians of the family, of course,²² but the field is hardly a requisite departmental fixture. At least two journals publish work in the field, but there is no professional conference dedicated to the study of the family historically.²³ This is not, of course, to imply that important, innovative, and award-winning work on the family by self-identified family historians is not being produced. It is to say that the field as a whole is rather less than the sum of its parts.

It may be that this state of affairs reflects less marginalization than annexation. Arguably, much of the intellectual terrain once claimed by family history has been appropriated by other fields of inquiry. Once again, reference to women's history and gender history is telling. These two fields have tackled many research topics that might otherwise be associated with the history of the family. In Latin American historiography, for example, a number of monographs have explored subjects that are, ostensibly, the quintessential stuff of family history: how agrarian politics were refracted in marital conflicts among Chilean campesinos; racialized practices of respectability in turn-of-the-century Puerto Rico; the "modernization" of household patriarchy in Brazil; honor, virtue, and gender in republican Peru; virginity and sexual honor in early-twentieth-century Brazil; conflicts between bourgeois models of family and working-class domestic practices among Chilean copper miners.²⁴ Yet all of these works are oriented toward and around the historiography of women and gender (and to fruitful effect). That is, the interpretive debates they engage with, the questions that motivate them, and the theoretical frameworks they employ derive from women and gender history. Family is neither the central subject of inquiry nor the principal category of analysis. In this sense, none of these works constitutes "family history."

²² Indeed, I consider myself one of them.

²³ These include the *Journal of Family History* and *History of the Family: An International Quarterly*. The closest approximation to a conference on family history might be the "Family/Demography" section of the Social Science History Association.

²⁴ Heidi Tinsman, *Partners in Conflict: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Labor in the Chilean Agrarian Reform, 1950–1973* (Durham, N.C., 2002); Eileen J. Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Susan K. Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780–1854* (University Park, Pa., 1999); Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, N.C., 2000); Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities: Class, Gender, and Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904–1951* (Durham, N.C., 1998).

Such dynamics of annexation and blurring are surely in one sense a positive development. The topics once associated with family history have not fallen off the historiographic map; they have just been taken up by other subfields. Perhaps this is simply because, in a classic Kuhnian paradigm shift, family history's interpretive frameworks and methodological tools have been superseded by other, more powerful interpretations and methods. Yet as Louise A. Tilly pointed out back in 1987, the history of women is not the history of the family.²⁵ The two fields may overlap or intersect, but, driven by different intellectual questions and political concerns, they are hardly coterminous. The explosion of gender history, which postdates Tilly's thoughtful rumination, has only accentuated this distinction. As feminist scholarship has long labored to show, "women" and "gender" cannot be reduced to "family."

Nor, it may be added, can family be reduced to women or gender. As Tilly noted, in feminist scholarship "'family' is distributed across other concerns rather than being an independent category," whereas family history takes the family as the principal unit of analysis.²⁶ Family history is in part concerned with understanding the internal dynamics of that unit. Those dynamics certainly include gender, but may also be, for example, generational. Thus, certain topics of interest to family historians, such as childhood and kinship, may not logically appear on the radar of these other fields.

We cannot, then, re-diagnose family history's malaise as a case of fortuitous annexation. The malaise remains, but to what might we attribute it? Part of the problem surely lies with the fact that family history is still associated (sometimes justifiably, sometimes not) with certain methodological and theoretical orientations that marked the field's emergence and have since fallen out of favor. It is worth identifying some of these foundational problems in an effort to assess how they might be overcome.

In its earlier incarnations, family history suffered from several serious false starts and interpretive oversights. For example, some early scholarship was characterized by what in retrospect seems an ill-considered flirtation with psychohistory. In this rendering, the field's analytic contribution would be to show how, for instance, child-rearing practices in a given society gave rise to particular psychic structures and, by extension, distinct social and cultural forms. Thus, for example, the argument that infant swaddling explained Russian authoritarianism.²⁷ In retrospect, the logic seems specious, the causality spurious, the essentialism obvious. Psychology's appeal to universal psychic structures or stages, even dressed up in different cultural guises, sits uncomfortably with prevailing notions of social constructedness.²⁸ Yet rejecting psychohistorical approaches meant reopening the problem of the relationship be-

²⁵ Louise A. Tilly, "Women's History and Family History: Fruitful Collaboration or Missed Connection?" *Journal of Family History* 12, no. 1/3 (1987): 303–315.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 310.

²⁷ The so-called "swaddling hypothesis" is associated with Geoffrey Gorer and John Rickman, *The People of Great Russia: A Psychological Study* (London, 1949). Gorer was in fact an anthropologist, and Rickman a psychoanalyst.

²⁸ For early psychological and psychoanalytic approaches, as well as critiques of these approaches, see Lloyd deMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York, 1974); John Demos, "Developmental Perspectives on the History of Childhood," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2, no. 2 (1971): 315–327; Clifford S. Griffin, "Oedipus Hex," *Reviews in American History* 4, no. 3 (September 1976): 305–317.

tween the “private” domain and social, cultural, political, or economic change. This issue is ultimately crucial to family history.

An even more serious flaw of early family history is that it was woefully unattuned to power dynamics within domestic units, treating family and household as homogeneous institutions whose members harbored common interests. Gender analysis and an attentiveness to women’s position within family and society challenged that assumption, and with it notions of the family in the past as a “haven in a heartless world.”²⁹ It is on this score that family history has witnessed perhaps its most dramatic transformation, evident in the pages of the *Journal of Family History*, where women’s status, gender roles, and gender cultures are ubiquitous themes. And while gender is not an analytic focus of *HEF*, it is addressed by a number of essayists.³⁰

Psychohistory may have died a quiet death even as gender was embraced, yet other interpretive and methodological habits die hard. The field was and often still is associated with empirical methods—especially quantitative demographic analysis—that have fallen out of favor. To some extent, the rejection of family history’s empiricism is the predictable prejudice of postmodernism. But it is also true that practitioners at times set themselves up for such criticism. In its most heavy-handed incarnations, demographic analysis dissolved into a systematic but futile counting exercise. Peter Laslett’s *Bastardy and Its Comparative History* compared illegitimacy rates across time and place but treated illegitimacy as an objective fact that could be abstracted from cultural context and meaning.³¹ In some *HEF* essays, the richness of data similarly substitutes for an explanation of its relevance. An analysis of a widowed spouse’s prospects for remarriage, parsed carefully according to age, gender, and urban versus rural residence, is of limited value without an interpretive framework that justifies why widowhood and remarriage are significant social facts in the first place.³²

Disembodied empiricism thus remains a challenge for family history, perhaps because the field continues to lack analytical paradigms. Indeed, this dearth of interpretive frameworks—or more accurately, the stubborn persistence of inadequate frameworks in the absence of better alternatives—is perhaps the central problem facing family history. The most troublesome culprit on this score is surely modernization theory. Born under the sign of modernization, family history continues its enduring and ambivalent relationship with this concept. Early practitioners advocated the value of “modernization as a concept for understanding changes in family behavior.” They asked, “what effect . . . did modernization in the broadest sense of the word have upon family life or family life upon modernization?”³³ The implica-

²⁹ One classic statement of this critique is Heidi Hartmann, “The Family as the Locus of Gender, Class, and Political Struggle: The Example of Housework,” *Signs* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1981): 366–394.

³⁰ E.g., Watt, “Impact of the Reformation”; Fuchs, “Charity and Welfare”; Maynes, “Class Cultures”; Janssens, “Economic Transformation”; Ronfani, “Family Law”; Saraceno, “Social and Family Policy.”

³¹ According to Laslett, since illegitimate birth exists in “all times and places,” contrasting rates cross-culturally is an exercise in comparing “like with like.” Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith, eds., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

³² Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, “Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce,” *HEF* 1: 221–256, 242.

³³ Tamara K. Hareven, “Modernization and Family History: Perspectives in Social Change,” *Signs* 2, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 190–206, 203; Stone, “Family History in the 1980s,” 83.

tions of this mode of analysis are, first, that there exists a series of social, economic, and cultural processes that can be grouped together under the shorthand “modernization,” which the family mediates; and second, that families themselves undergo a specific sequence of changes (that is, they “modernize”) in response to these stimuli.

Few scholars today would argue that the history of the family is characterized by a simple transition from tradition to modernity, or even that these categories are particularly useful for understanding family change over time. On one interpretive level, *HEF*’s vigorous case for continuity over change constitutes a ringing refutation of normative ideas about “traditional” versus “modern” families.³⁴ Taken collectively, these essays assert that families did not become smaller, more nuclear, more affective, less patriarchal, more isolated—in short, more “modern”—in some unilinear or inexorable fashion.

And yet, there remains a certain ambiguity on this score. Barbagli and Kertzer assert that the history of the nineteenth-century family “is the story, in some respects, of the emergence of the modern family, at least as seen from the vantage point of scholars writing at the dawn of the twenty-first century.”³⁵ The idea of a modern family—of modern behaviors within the family and modern attitudes toward it—is referenced in a number of essays. In others, modernization is a bogeyman that encroaches inexorably on “traditional” ways.³⁶ Thus, in a series devoted to refuting notions of stark change and unidirectional progress, that pesky apparition the Modern Family materializes repeatedly nonetheless. Its presence is hardly unique to *HEF*—nor, indeed, to scholarship on Europe.³⁷

FAMILY HISTORY’S EQUIVOCAL BUT ENDURING embrace of modernization is part of the field’s broader interpretive orientation, which has tended to seek out metanarratives of unidirectional change and continuity: families became more emotive and affectionate over time, or they were always thus; extended households progressively shed extended members, or else they were always more or less nuclear; families were once private havens that became subject to the heightened interventions of a heartless world, or they were previously open to worldly welter and have more recently co-cooned inward; childhood was discovered at some felicitous moment in history, or else it has always existed.

One of the most persistent of these narratives concerns the evolution of sentimental relations within the family. Debates about familial affectivity were initiated in the 1960s by Philippe Ariès. In his seminal *Centuries of Childhood*, Ariès posited

³⁴ As Barbagli and Kertzer note, “it is wrong to think that any simple passage from a ‘traditional’ to a ‘modern’ family took place in this period [the end of the eighteenth century]”; *HEF* 1: “Introduction,” xx.

³⁵ Marzio Barbagli and David I. Kertzer, “Introduction,” *HEF* 2: ix–xxxviii, xxxviii.

³⁶ E.g., Blum, “Socialist Families?,” 274, on “modern” fertility; Guttormsson, “Parent-Child Relations,” 251, 252, on the “forces of modernization” and the “persistent weight of tradition”; and Fauve-Chamoux, “Marriage, Widowhood, and Divorce,” 255, on the relationship of romantic love to secularization, individualism, and social mobility—processes often glossed as modernity.

³⁷ Peter N. Stearns has noted how scholarship on globalization and children may echo older modernization paradigms. Stearns, “Conclusion: Change, Globalization and Childhood,” *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (2005): 1041–1046, especially 1042–1043.

that it was only in the early modern period that childhood was discovered as a distinct life stage, children became valued as children, and the sentimental family emerged. The book's provocative contentions catalyzed a protracted scholarly debate. Some supporters extended Ariès's findings, arguing not only that children were not recognized as such, but that they were undervalued and even widely mistreated in the past. Skeptics countered that families in the past shared affective relations much like those today. *HEF* itself has been interpreted as a decisive intervention in the sentiment debate. The Yale University Press editor who sponsored the books observed, "The bottom line of the project is to show that while history has molded the family unit across the centuries, there are many continuities . . . Lives in the past were very similar to our own in terms of emotions, relationships and ambitions."³⁸

The debate's staying power is understandable, for the issues at stake are of profound humanistic significance. Were our forebears fundamentally like us? Is our tendency to believe otherwise just another iteration of the "enormous condescension of posterity" about which E. P. Thompson warned? Or is the lesson instead that practices and values we may wish to think of as innately human are in fact profoundly dependent on particular material or demographic conditions that have, historically, proven relatively circumscribed? Buried at the heart of the debate is a question about what ultimately defines our humanity.

These are weighty considerations indeed, but ones that have arguably grown stale. Scholars engaged in this debate continue to recapitulate familiar arguments, devoting an inordinate amount of intellectual energy to the questions that Ariès posed almost fifty years ago.³⁹ What is more, framing inquiry about the family in terms of sentiment and affectivity risks leading us down a conceptual dead end. This is so to the extent that it implies a focus on psychological relationships at the expense of social relationships.⁴⁰ Unless we are willing to accept the psychohistorical contention that child-rearing practices shape social and political forms—that swaddling inspires political authoritarianism—such an approach risks turning us away from a consideration of the family's social context and political significance. It is then all too easy to dismiss the family as a purely "private" institution, of little "public" relevance. Whether parents have always loved their children may have profound

³⁸ The quote is from Eakin, "Did Cradles Always Rock?," B7.

³⁹ Well-known recent reiterations of the sentiment debate include Steven Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, Conn., 2001). See also Robert Woods, "Did Montaigne Love His Children? Demography and the Hypothesis of Parental Indifference," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 33, no. 3 (2003): 421–442; Adriana S. Benzaquen, "Childhood, Identity and Human Science in the Enlightenment," *History Workshop Journal* 57 (Spring 2004): 5–57; Benjamin Roberts, *Through the Keyhole: Dutch Child-Rearing Practices in the 17th and 18th Century—Three Urban Elite Families* (Hilversum, Verloren, 1998); Rudolf Dekker, *Childhood, Memory and Autobiography in Holland: From the Golden Age to Romanticism* (London, 2000); and Louis Haas, *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence, 1300–1600* (New York, 1998). As Carol Bresnahan Menning writes in a review of the latter, "some of what Haas seeks to prove"—namely, that parents loved their children—"is, literally, already textbook knowledge." She then goes on to cite a Western civilization textbook that incorporates the same arguments as the monograph. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 2 (Autumn 2000): 276–278.

⁴⁰ My critique parallels that of Rayna Rapp and Ellen Ross on the history of sexuality: "a focus on the psychoanalytic," they write, "holds the social world at bay, awarding it only minimal importance in the shaping of consciousness and sexuality." Rapp and Ross, "Sex and Society: A Research Note from Social History and Anthropology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 1 (January 1981): 51–72, 53.

humanistic ramifications, but as typically framed, it is the sort of question that engages family historians to the exclusion of others.⁴¹

Arguably, many of the meta-questions that have animated family history—Have family members always loved each other? What form did the household take at a given time and place? When did childhood emerge?—have been approached in similarly self-referential ways. Feminist scholars have succeeded in establishing the public import of “private” life and the social and political import of gender, but family historians have been less successful at making this claim. Consequently, family history has morphed into a relatively self-contained subfield disengaged from scholarship beyond its immediate thematic purview. The central challenge facing the field is to link the family to broader narratives of historical change.

WHERE ARE WE TO SEEK INSPIRATION for such an endeavor? Hugh Cunningham has suggested that “a history of childhood . . . must be a global history.”⁴² His comment serves as a reminder that the histories of children and the family have been overwhelmingly dominated by scholarship on the United States and Western Europe. The three *HEF* tomes showcase the extraordinary accumulation of knowledge about the family in the European past—and highlight how little we know about such topics in other parts of the world. Perhaps to an even greater extent than in other historical fields, the Western experience has set the agenda in terms of the themes, questions, and approaches of family history.

This situation may be changing. The expansion of world history has inspired growing interest in global perspectives on family and childhood.⁴³ Meanwhile, scholars of non-Western history have long engaged with the history of the family, though there remain huge swaths of unexplored territory.⁴⁴ Could a greater engagement with global and historiographic peripheries revitalize the history of the family?

The practice of family history beyond its traditional terrain is certainly a promising development. Nevertheless, non-Western perspectives will not in and of themselves necessarily lead us to ask new questions and pose alternative paradigms. One reason is that a “global perspective” may in practice mean incorporating non-Western societies and cultures not on their own terms, but as living tableaux of Europe’s past. This is the perspective that, for example, takes child labor in contemporary South Asia as a Rorschach test for nineteenth-century England. In reviewing a book on education and child labor in contemporary India, Cunningham refers to “the most

⁴¹ I emphasize the caveat “as typically framed” in family historiography since, as anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes has shown (see below), a consideration of sentiment does not necessarily imply neglect of the social.

⁴² Cunningham, “Histories of Childhood,” 1206.

⁴³ Examples include Göran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900–2000* (New York, 2004); Ann B. Waltner and Mary Jo Maynes, “Family History as World History,” in Bonnie G. Smith, ed., *Women’s History in Global Perspective*, 2 vols. (Urbana, Ill., 2004), 1: 48–91, as well as other essays in this work; Paula S. Fass, ed., *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, 3 vols. (New York and London, 2003); Fass, “Children and Globalization,” *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 963–977; and *Globalization and Childhood*, special issue, *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (Summer 2005).

⁴⁴ Dated but still useful overviews of this scholarship for Latin America include Kuznesof and Oppenheimer, “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,” and Silvia M. Arrom, “Historia de la mujer y de la familia,” *Historia Mexicana* 42, no. 2 (1992): 379–418.

fundamental shift in the experience of childhood” in the West as the transition from children as producers to children as consumers. The work in question, he notes, “aims to show why this vital transition has not occurred in a particular non-Western culture.”⁴⁵ Yet such a perspective takes non-Western historical trajectories as deviations in need of explanation, flattening the cultural and historical specificity of other parts of the world into shadows of Europe’s former selves (and in so doing, demonstrating yet again the incredible staying power of modernization theory in discussions of family). Equally important, even as it turns to new cultural contexts (South Asia), it poses old themes and questions originally formulated in the European context (about the disappearance of child labor). If the “globalization” of family history implies this sort of recapitulation, it is unlikely to guide the field out of its intellectual rut.

Indeed, Euro-American historiography has often set the agenda for family history in other parts of the world. An example is the literature on child abandonment in Latin America, one of the better-researched topics in the history of childhood and family in the region. With a few exceptions, such studies look remarkably like those in Europe. Based on documentation from foundling homes, which became common in Latin American cities in the late eighteenth century, these studies address such familiar questions as how many children were abandoned, who these children were, and whether honor or poverty explains the practice. Noted historian Maria Luiza Marcílio’s study of abandoned children in Brazil is illustrative. Marcílio explores the plight of orphans through the prism of the institutions that succored them. But buried halfway through her book is an intriguing observation. In Brazil, Marcílio notes, institutional structures for assisting poor children were circumscribed; instead, “the informal or private system of rearing foundlings in the homes of families was the widest system of protection . . . and [it was] present throughout the whole history of Brazil.” She concludes that this practice “renders the history of assistance to abandoned children [in Brazil] original.”⁴⁶

But even as Marcílio identifies extra-institutional mechanisms as the defining characteristic of Brazilian child welfare practices, the orphanages remain her thematic and methodological focus. She thus misses the chance to develop a potentially fruitful line of inquiry into labor systems, conscription, slavery, race, and class, and how a focus on children, household, and family might illuminate these topics. This missed opportunity speaks to the way that the Euro-American frameworks around which family history has developed can distract us from the potentially illuminating specificities of other cultural and historical contexts.

Ultimately, it is these specificities themselves that suggest alternative historical questions about the family. One of the most conspicuous themes running through the history of gender, sexuality, and family in Latin America is the pervasiveness of “deviant” popular practice in the face of strident but largely ineffectual dominant prescription.⁴⁷ That prescription mandated the formation of patriarchal families

⁴⁵ Cunningham, “Histories of Childhood,” 1206–1207. One can imagine a parallel “globalization” of the sentiment controversy in which attitudes toward infant mortality in impoverished communities of the contemporary world are marshaled as evidence of one or another position in the debate. See Nicholas Tucker, “Boon or Burden? Baby Love in History,” *History Today* 43, no. 9 (September 1993): 28.

⁴⁶ Maria Luiza Marcílio, *História social da criança abandonada* (São Paulo, 1998), 136.

⁴⁷ This theme runs throughout much of the literature on family, gender, and sexuality in Latin Amer-

based on formal, indissoluble marriage, endogamy, legitimate procreation, and careful control of female sexuality. Multiple authorities, from the Catholic Church, to capitalists, to colonial, liberal, developmentalist, and welfare states, have strenuously propounded some version of this model. Yet Latin American families have historically exhibited little relation to it. So-called “non-marrying” behaviors have been so widespread in the region as to cast serious doubt on the conventional demographic assumption that nuptiality is the “basis of the family.” Illegitimacy rates, commonly accounting for 25 to 40 percent of births, and sometimes more, have exceeded by many orders of magnitude those in Europe. Female headship, rare enough throughout most of European and North American history that it was not even recognized as a modal form by family historians, has accounted for 25 to 45 percent of households in some late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century communities, from Brazil to Chile to Venezuela to Nicaragua. Historians have invoked the term “matrifocal” to characterize families from seventeenth-century Lima to nineteenth-century São Paulo.⁴⁸

Ultimately, the conformity/deviance framework does little to elucidate these patterns. For one, the notion of deviance seems ill-suited to describing socio-sexual practices that are endemic. Moreover, the framework reduces certain behaviors to simply deviations from a norm, rather than exploring the possibility that they are, as Steve J. Stern has suggested, “symptoms of a distinctively patterned culture.”⁴⁹ And this is to say nothing of the framework’s normative valence.

If the deviance/conformity binary does not adequately describe family patterns in Latin America, nor can evolutionary visions of family change account for them. In other words, the persistent coexistence of popular realities and elite prescriptions poses a powerful counterpoint to modernization theory. The “modernization” of the family implies the progressive subordination of popular norms to such bourgeois values as privacy, individualism, hygienization, heightened affect, greater maternal investment, and the emotional rather than economic valuation of children. But as

ica. Sueann Caulfield provides a succinct overview of the relevant historiographic debates in “The History of Gender in the Historiography of Latin America,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 81, no. 3–4 (2001): 449–490, 478–480.

⁴⁸ By “non-marrying” behavior, I refer to low rates of formal marriage (whether civil or religious) and widespread consensual unions. As Göran Therborn has colorfully put it, “Iberian colonial America and the West Indies were the stage of the largest-scale assault on marriage in history. Its heritage was carried into the twentieth century, and it has not (yet) been overtaken by the recent Western European turn to informal coupling, even in Scandinavia”; *Between Sex and Power*, 157. By contrast, following a sharp increase in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, illegitimacy rates in Europe around 1870 ranged from a low of between 4 and 7 percent (Switzerland, England, Spain, and Italy) to a high of 11 percent (Denmark) and 13.5 percent (Austria). David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston, 1993), 21–22. On illegitimacy in Latin America historically, see Nara Milanich, “Historical Perspectives on Illegitimacy and Illegitimates in Latin America,” in Tobias Hecht, ed., *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society* (Madison, Wis., 2002), 72–101. On female headship, see Kuznesof and Oppenheimer, “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,” 224; and Elizabeth Dore, “The Holy Family: Imagined Households in Latin American History,” in Dore, ed., *Gender Politics in Latin America: Debates in Theory and Practice* (New York, 1997). On matrifocality, see María Emma Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos: La ilegitimidad en Lima, siglo XVII* (Lima, 1993); Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1995).

⁴⁹ Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 19.

Claudia Fonseca has pointed out for Brazil—and the same could be said of most Latin American societies—the history of such values is less one of progressive adoption than of contentious coexistence: “the popular [working-class] family . . . far from being a mere antecedent to the modern family, grew and was consolidated simultaneously with it.” In the absence of effectual public policies, such as the family wage or universal schooling, or the requisite material conditions, the values and practices of an elite minority have remained just that.⁵⁰

There is no better illustration of this point than Nancy Scheper-Hughes’s deeply evocative ethnography of infant mortality and maternal love in a Brazilian shantytown. Scheper-Hughes reaches the controversial conclusion that poor mothers’ neglect contributes to the deaths of their ill infants. But her “political economy of the emotions” shows with great nuance that infant mortality and maternal attitudes are rooted in a context of profound material deprivation and political indifference. Her work is important to family historians for two reasons. First, it demonstrates that when an analysis of sentiment is contextualized within “the micropolitics of class and power relations,” it transcends the psychological to take on broad social and political relevance.⁵¹ Second, the emotional practices she describes are hardly “traditional” cultural survivals; they are products of an immediate material and political context. If, following Fonseca, they coexist with the diverging values and sentiments of a dominant culture, indeed are continually produced in dialogue with that culture, then progressive models of family change (i.e., modernization theory) do little to elucidate them.⁵²

These divergent family cultures hold lessons not only for Latin Americanists but for family historians in general. They hint at the importance of examining how marriage, filiation, child rearing, kinship, and household structure articulate with social hierarchy. Latin America’s “family system” emerged in, and was sustained by, a social order riven by stark distinctions of color and class. Patterns of elite prescription and popular practice, indeed the very definition of norm and transgression, have often been mapped onto the fissures of class, race, and ethnicity. Demographic research has long demonstrated marked differences in family practice and structure among different social groups in Latin America. Not surprisingly, marital and sexual “nonconformity” has been concentrated in (though not limited to) particular socially and racially marginalized populations. Meanwhile, the hierarchical social order itself generated “nonconformity.” Marriage was often logistically and economically inaccessible to the poor, and social and legal norms of endogamy have been a major factor in encouraging consensual unions and illegitimacy. In this context, familial practices became enmeshed with other markers of difference in structuring social hierarchy. Colonial elites’ claim to *limpieza de sangre*, or blood purity, a cultural concept that referred to ethnic, racial, and religious origins but also to a bloodline untainted by illegitimate birth, captures this conceptual linkage.

⁵⁰ Claudia Fonseca, “Pais e filhos na família popular (Início do século XX),” in Maria Angela d’Incao, ed., *Amor e família no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1989), 124–125.

⁵¹ The phrase is from Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Daniel Hoffman, “Brazilian Apartheid: Street Kids and the Struggle for Urban Space,” in Scheper-Hughes and Carolyn Sargent, eds., *Small Wars: The Cultural Politics of Childhood* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 360.

⁵² Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

These observations suggest the need to reflect on the relationship between family and broad cultures of inequality. A brief survey of scholarship on Latin America that does so can suggest, however cursorily, one alternative framework for analyzing the family historically.

THE IMBRICATION OF FAMILY AND HIERARCHY is hardly a new idea. It lies at the heart of a foundational, if deeply problematic, work of Latin American social thought: Gilberto Freyre's 1933 classic *The Masters and the Slaves: The Development of Brazilian Civilization*.⁵³ Freyre was concerned with the evolution of Brazilian society, a process he located in "the Big House," the slave plantation household in colonial northeast Brazil. That is, he contended that the development of Brazilian civilization could be traced through what he called a "domestic history" of the sugar plantation. A chief architect of theories about the benign nature of Brazilian slavery and the myth of racial democracy, today Freyre is the object of (a justified) skepticism, when not disdain, in academic circles. Yet in the course of his racialized, and racist, meditations on Brazilianness, Freyre implicitly recognized the social and historical resonances of gender, generational, and racial hierarchies within the household, and he identified the significance of children's social roles in these hierarchies. It is in this sense that his work is potentially relevant to family historians.

In Freyre's rendering, the household was a site for interaction and exchange between the three groups whom he identified as the cultural-racial basis of Brazilian society: Amerindians, Europeans, and Africans. Children and youth were integral to the domestic history of intercultural exchange in that they operated as cultural and linguistic interfaces, as "points of contact," between these groups. As in other colonial societies, native children were the subjects par excellence of evangelization efforts. They also served as reverse conduits "through which there flowed a precious portion of the aboriginal culture," as when young Amerindian catechists taught European padres the Tupi language. Meanwhile, Freyre asserted, white children became ciphers of African cultures and languages through their nurses. Thus, relations across race, sex, and generation—"the alliance of Negro nurse and white child, of slave girl and young mistress, of young master and slave lad"—were constitutive of relations between the Big House and the slave hut.⁵⁴

If Freyre keenly intuited the intimate operations of racial patriarchy, he also unabashedly celebrated it as the quintessence of that which is unique and valuable in Brazilian civilization.⁵⁵ But we do not need to accept his nostalgic rendering of these relations as benign or harmonious to agree that they were formative. Freyre was an armchair historian, and his assertions—based on anecdotal evidence and filtered through his own thick cultural lens—certainly require cautious scrutiny. These vigorous caveats notwithstanding, there is something to be gleaned from his

⁵³ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: The Development of Brazilian Civilization*, 2nd English ed. (New York, 1956). The book was originally published in Portuguese as *Casa grande e senzala* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933). The first English edition appeared in 1946. For a compelling intellectual biography of Freyre, see Jeffrey D. Needell, "Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre's *Oeuvre*," *AHR* 100, no. 1 (February 1995): 51–77.

⁵⁴ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, 136, 344–345.

⁵⁵ Needell, "Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity."

analytic approach. Freyre identified households as key sites of transculturation, and children as important agents in these processes. He demonstrated the links between socialization, the ways cultural knowledge is transmitted and transformed, and the exercise of social power. On a broader plane, he showed how family relations, “private” spaces, and children are implicated in the making of social and racial hierarchies at the heart of Brazilian society. Today Freyre is considered a scholar of race and slavery. He is rarely considered a historian of the family or childhood. Yet more than three decades before Philippe Ariès, Freyre pioneered a very different sort of “intimate history,” one that, cautiously approached, suggests a model for the field’s contemporary practitioners.⁵⁶

The way in which domestic arrangements are constitutive of societal hierarchies has been explored in other scholarship as well. It was the subject of Verena Martínez-Alier’s 1974 classic *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba*. Martínez-Alier’s study examined interactions across social and racial boundaries, and how these boundaries are drawn in the first place, through the prism of family and sexuality. Interracial marriage was illegal in nineteenth-century Cuba, and social and racial endogamy was the norm, but interracial unions were extremely common. The central contention of her work was that kinship, marriage, household structure, and “sexual values” in Cuba reflected and reinforced hierarchies of color and caste. Specifically, she argued that widespread concubinage, matrifocality, and the “sexual marginalization” of non-white women were produced by “the hierarchical nature of the social order.” Her study pointed to the significance of marriage as a means of reinforcing social difference, and of family origin as a marker of status. The analysis concerned the interactions of race and gender, but also marriage mores and kinship practices. Moreover, she was concerned with social practice, not just prescription. Martínez-Alier is of course not the only author to explore the causes and effects of socio-racial endogamy, but she did so particularly clearly.⁵⁷

One issue deserving further exploration that is alluded to, but not necessarily treated in, works on marriage, sexuality, race, and caste is the place of children in preoccupations about, and attempts to manage, social and racial mixing. Because the most tangible consequence of interracial sex is mixed-race progeny, it seems likely that racially stratified colonial and postcolonial regimes will pay particular attention to these children. Certainly the experience of post-conquest Cuzco bears this out.

⁵⁶ Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, xliii. Kuznesof and Oppenheimer suggest that Freyre was “the first major academic influence in Latin American family history,” yet this influence was arguably truncated; “The Family and Society in Nineteenth-Century Latin America,” 221. His model of a patriarchal extended family proved initially influential, particularly as it seemed to establish “the” elite family. But as scholars uncovered the existence of other household forms—nuclear households, female-headed households—Freyre’s rendering of the plantation household was revealed as something of a caricature. At any rate, I am interested less in engaging with his empirical conclusions about the nature and diffusion of the elite patriarchal extended household than in using Freyre as a model for how to discuss the nexus of kinship, household, race, and hierarchy. As Jeffrey Needell has noted, Freyre apparently did contemplate writing what he variously termed “a history of the Brazilian child” or a “Social History of the Brazilian Family,” an idea he discussed in journals and correspondence dating from the 1920s. Needell, “Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity,” especially 56, 58, 65.

⁵⁷ Verena Martínez-Alier [Stolke], *Marriage, Class and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1974), 122. Another important work dealing with similar themes in a Spanish colonial context is Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

During the turbulent first years of the conquest, the Spanish town fathers directed their energies toward an unlikely enterprise: founding a cloistered nunnery for their mestiza daughters. They did so, according to Kathryn Burns, because the success of Spanish hegemony rested on Spaniards' ability to reproduce their own culture and religion. In the absence of Spanish women, mestizas—the illegitimate daughters of Spanish fathers and Andean mothers—would be socialized as nuns, wives, and servants, and as Christian and Spanish, in the protective confines of the convent. Meanwhile, mestizo males were regarded as a danger to the colonial order as a result of their “unsatisfying, interstitial position” within it.⁵⁸ It is noteworthy that efforts to root mestizos and mestizas in colonial society focused squarely on socialization, and hence on children. To the extent that this is true of other societies founded in ethno-racial and cultural mixture and stratified by hierarchies of color, class, and caste, children and childhood will constitute a fruitful focus of analysis.

The case of late-nineteenth-century Chile, a society whose salient characteristic was its caste-like distinctions between social classes, supports this assertion. Here, as in nineteenth-century Cuba, illegitimate unions of lower-status women and higher-status men were common. But hypodescent—the principle that offspring acquire the group membership of the inferior parent, regardless of sex—was not operative as in interracial unions in Cuba. Illegitimate children's future status was never predetermined, as they could go on to acquire the status of either their mothers or fathers. Yet this very contingency presented a problem: for how in a society organized around “natural,” categorical social distinctions could there be individuals without an unequivocal social classification? Paternity suits implicitly addressed this problem. Courts considered paternal recognition to be proven only when illegitimate plaintiffs could show that they had been incorporated into their father's social status. Thus, judges determined filiation not by investigating illegitimate individuals' biological origins, but rather by “reading” their social class through testimony about upbringing, education, and social environment. The process by which children of socially “mixed” unions acquired a social status shows particularly vividly how the logic of kinship was inseparable from everyday practices of social class. An illegitimate person's assimilation into the maternal or paternal kin group and social station was never a foregone conclusion; it involved a thoroughly contingent, even fortuitous, process early in the child's life. In other words, caste was acquired through socialization. The myriad domestic arrangements that characterized child-rearing practices in nineteenth-century Chile are therefore fruitful terrain for exploring the reproduction of social hierarchies.⁵⁹

Such observations point to the ways in which an analytic focus on children, child rearing, and socialization can illuminate the politics of racial, ethnic, class, linguistic, religious, and other categories of difference. Children may expose hidden vulnerabilities of the social order, how differences formally deemed innate and immutable are in practice reflexively treated as acquired and precarious. As Ann Laura Stoler observes of European and Eurasian children in the multiracial Dutch Indies, “at

⁵⁸ Kathryn Burns, “Gender and the Politics of Mestizaje: The Convent of Santa Clara in Cuzco, Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (February 1998): 5–44, 15.

⁵⁹ Nara Milanich, *The Children of Fate: Families, Social Hierarchies, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930* (Durham, N.C., forthcoming), chap. 2.

issue was the *learning* of place and race. A focus on children underscores which elements of difference were considered necessary to teach—and why agents of empire seemed so convinced that the lessons were hard to learn.”⁶⁰ Bianca Premo’s study of child rearing and colonial politics in Lima is a vivid illustration of “the learning of place and race.” She demonstrates that social reproduction was the business of a broad swath of colonial society: not just biological mothers and fathers, but wet nurses, nuns, priests, and the masters and mistresses of slave and servant children. Such a rendering of social reproduction requires a flexible notion of family—one that extends beyond affinal and consanguineous relations (to include kinship born of fostering relations, or *crianza*, and ritual kinship, or *compadrazgo*) as well as beyond the category of the household (since it could take place in convents, for example).⁶¹ Premo’s work dissects the social mechanisms by which children and youth learned their place in the color-class order—and how these mechanisms belie a characterization of child rearing as a “private” function.

Even as children must learn difference, as Freyre noted, they are often uniquely positioned as “points of contact” at the interface of those differences. This social location, which implies a distinct capacity to traffic across social, cultural, and linguistic boundaries, to adapt and to interpret, may be regarded from the point of view of adults as inherently dangerous. If children are adaptable and receptive, they are also vulnerable to “outside” influences, prone to disregarding social boundaries or being spirited across them. As myriad historical examples can attest, when such boundary crossings occur, they can make for explosive encounters between social groups. They can also make for unique vantage points on the boundaries themselves. The racialized struggle surrounding the custody of Irish orphans adopted by Hispanic families in turn-of-the-century Arizona is one example. The case of Edgardo Mortara, the clandestinely baptized Jewish boy whose kidnapping by papal authorities in nineteenth-century Italy touched off a showdown between religious and secular forces, is another.⁶² It is striking that children—social beings who at least in the cultures referenced here are associated with private spaces—can simultaneously inhabit far-flung social frontiers. This seeming paradox serves to illuminate how societies’ outermost boundaries in fact run right through their innermost sanctuaries.

These observations raise an important possibility: could the history of childhood, a field elided here with the history of the family, represent a distinct, and analytically superior, alternative? Certainly the history of children and childhood, with its focus on the roles of children in a variety of institutional contexts (in schools, orphanages, and courts; at work; in the street), points to one conceptual strategy for linking “private life” to “public” contexts. Yet viewing childhood through the lens of public institutions does not necessarily make for more broadly relevant history.⁶³ What is

⁶⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 112; italics in original.

⁶¹ Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

⁶² Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999); David I. Kertzer, *The Kidnapping of Edgardo Mortara* (New York, 1997).

⁶³ See Judith Areschoug et al.’s vigorous critique of the Society for the History of Childhood and Youth’s 2003 conference, “Childhood and the State—The State of Childhood.” The reviewers contend, “The conference theme marks a willingness to relate research on the history of childhood to a broad spectrum of historical change. However, these lofty ambitions were not fully realized,” in part because

more, in some cultural contexts, it may be that the most important institutional context of children's lives is, in fact, the family. Marcílio's finding about the relative importance of private households in the rearing of orphans alludes to this fact for the Latin American case. And as studies have shown, family is a central reference for "homeless" street children in the region.⁶⁴ Fields that have emerged out of family history and have begun to develop identities of their own—and here we might mention, in addition to the history of childhood, the history of marriage—may lead us to develop new interpretive frameworks. But it seems unlikely that they will dispense with the family as a category of analysis, nor even that we would want them to. Messy and analytically imprecise, "family" is also capacious and flexible. A globalized or comparative history requires such a concept to accommodate the full range of cross-cultural and historical variation.⁶⁵

THE EXAMPLES CITED ABOVE illustrate just some of the ways in which family and caste have been imbricated historically. Language provides further evidence. The term *mestizo* referred to a person of mixed, usually European and indigenous, descent, but in many colonial Iberian societies, it was also a synonym for "illegitimate." That is, it denoted an ethnic category but also a filiation status, an elision that, of course, reflects the association of the two categories in social practice. The term *criado* had a similarly revealing double meaning. Derived from the Spanish or Portuguese *criar*, "to rear," a *criado* was (and is) a servant or household dependent, particularly a young one. The term references the widespread practice of fostering and its relationship with servitude, since fostered children were often reared as domestic servants or slaves. In both instances, the language of familial status and domestic practices coincides with that used to designate ethnicity or social station. The linguistic interconnections of family and hierarchy have ancient origins. As David Herlihy has noted, the Latin root *familia* originally designated a band of slaves, and the Latin *pater*, or father, denoted "not a biological parent, but a holder of authority." Language thus reflects how authority—not consanguinity or marriage—"was at the core of the ancient concept of family."⁶⁶ And of course the language of kinship also obfuscates domination. Idioms of masters as fathers, mistresses as mothers, and ser-

of a tendency to focus narrowly on specific institutions ("a Pennsylvania child care institution") and "local historical experience" without linking the analysis to the larger framework.

⁶⁴ Tobias Hecht, *At Home in the Street: Street Children of Northeast Brazil* (Cambridge, 1998). These empirical observations are seconded on theoretical grounds by Miguel Angel Centeno's suggestion that the most salient disciplinary institutions in Latin American society are not schools, the military, or the penitentiary, as in Europe or North America, but rather the family and the household. Centeno, "The Disciplinary Society in Latin America," in Centeno and Fernando López-Alvez, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 304. Indeed, this may be true outside of Latin America as well. Carole Shammas has compellingly argued that the household was the crucial political institution throughout much of U.S. history. Shammas, *A History of Household Government in America* (Charlottesville, Va., 2002).

⁶⁵ The history of marriage as an alternative framework is additionally problematic for the Latin American context given that, as noted above, nuptiality has not historically been "the" basis of family life in the region. In many societies, formal marriage was largely restricted to elites. It follows that a focus on the institution will unwittingly narrow our range of social vision—and obfuscate the alternative domestic forms commonly practiced by other classes.

⁶⁶ David Herlihy, "Family," *AHR* 96, no. 1 (February 1991): 1–16, 2.

vants, slaves, and captives as sons and daughters mask power relations by naturalizing them. Such filial idioms have been common in Latin America, as elsewhere, historically.⁶⁷

The interpenetration of family and hierarchy may be especially obvious in Latin American societies, and in colonial and postcolonial settings generally, yet the dynamic is by no means unique to them. "We all of us distinguish those who are of our kind from those who are not . . . by asking ourselves the question, 'Do we intermarry with them?'" observed British anthropologist E. R. Leach.⁶⁸ As with marriage, so too with kinship: if kinship denotes a special propinquity to some, it must denote distance from others. Slavery itself is in part defined by family—or more accurately, by the absence thereof, as in Orlando Patterson's notion of "natal alienation," in which the slave is epitomized by his or her isolation from kinship networks.⁶⁹ The interconnections of family and hierarchy are myriad, and their diverse manifestations across time and space suggest ample terrain for exploration. Yet family history as a field has paid surprisingly little attention to these issues.

A globalized history of childhood and family must address "the gulf in life experience separating the children of the wealthy from the children of the poor," across societies and within them.⁷⁰ The Latin American experience further suggests that childhood, domestic arrangements, and familial ideologies may be constitutive of these differences in the first place. Family produces and reproduces, demarcates, mediates, and elides social difference. Analysis of these complex dynamics can illuminate family practices, social order, and the connections between them, and in so doing, pose a new research agenda for historians of the family.

⁶⁷ See, for example, James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002); and more generally, Elizabeth A. Kuznesof, "A History of Domestic Service in Spanish America, 1492–1980," in Elsa M. Chaney and Mary Garcia Castro, eds., *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 1989).

⁶⁸ E. R. Leach, "Characterization of Caste and Class Systems," cited in Martínez-Alier, *Marriage, Class and Colour*, 9.

⁶⁹ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

⁷⁰ Cunningham, "Histories of Childhood," 1208.

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Featured Reviews

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS. *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2006. Pp. 435. \$30.00.

Natalie Zemon Davis has spent part of her long and distinguished career exploring the relationship, and testing the boundaries, between storytelling and history. This was first evident in her widely read study *The Return of Martin Guerre* (1983), in which she reconstructed the fascinating tale of a man who successfully passed himself off as a long-missing inhabitant of a village on the western edge of Languedoc, until after some time his masquerade was revealed, with disastrous consequences, at least for the impostor himself. In *Fiction in the Archives* (1987), she explored more directly the uses of storytelling by individuals seeking pardons in sixteenth-century France. Many if not most historians recognize the importance of narrative in the writing of history. But storytelling brings us closer to fiction, and that proximity makes some historians nervous. Consequently Davis's approach has engendered controversy, most notably in an exchange with Robert Finlay in the *AHR* in 1988.

In this book, Davis turns her attention to a fascinating episode from early sixteenth-century Italy, a story that resonates with much larger implications for the Mediterranean region as a whole and, even more broadly, the history of Muslim-Christian relations. The principal figure in the story is Leo Africanus, who was born al-Hasan al-Wazzan to a Muslim family in Granada a few years before it fell to Spanish Christians in 1492. Al-Hasan's family fled to Morocco, a biographical detail that sets up one of the principal themes of his life and especially of Davis's reconstruction of it: the ambiguity and transitional character of Muslim-Christian relations in the Mediterranean region on the cusp of modernity. Having received an education in the religious and legal sciences common not just to jurists but to Muslim professionals generally, al-Hasan served the sultan of Fez in a variety of diplomatic capacities. In 1518, as he was returning from a mission in the eastern Mediterranean, he was captured and enslaved by Christian pirates, and eventually was presented as a gift to Pope Leo X (Giovanni, son of Lorenzo de' Medici). Having been persuaded to convert to Christianity, al-

Hasan was baptized in St. Peter's and given the name Joannes Leo de Medicis, after the pope, although he became better known to posterity as Leo Africanus, Leo the African, in reference to his Moroccan roots. For such an individual, even determining which of his many names to use is a choice fraught with meaning. For the most part, Davis refers to him as he referred to himself in his Arabic writings, with the Arabic form of his baptismal name: Yuhanna al-Asad, "John the Lion."

The story of Leo Africanus is well known, and has been told many times before, by scholars and also in a novel by the Lebanese journalist Amin Maalouf (*Léon, l'Africain* [1986; Eng. trans., 1988]). Davis's account, however, will stand out among other reconstructions of Leo's story, not least because her extensive knowledge of early modern European history allows her to contextualize her hero's adventure. The detail provided is extraordinary, and brings the subject to life in mesmerizing ways, as when she provides a list of Arabic books provided to Leo from the Vatican library while he was imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome before his conversion and baptism. (At first he was mostly fed a diet of the lives of early Christian saints and anti-Islamic and anti-Jewish tracts, although eventually he was allowed to feast on works by the great Muslim theologian al-Ghazali [d. 1111].) Davis is a historian of Europe, but to prepare herself for the telling of this story of cultural crossings she has read widely in the literature on premodern Islam. There are a few places where her reconstruction of the Muslim context of Leo's story trips over details, as for example when she identifies the "Malikite and Hanabalite" schools of law as dominant in Cairo (pp. 140–141). (The Maliki school—forms such as "Malikite" are a throwback to an earlier layer of European scholarship on Islam—was prominent in Cairo in the early medieval period, but had been largely eclipsed there by the Shafi'is and Hanafis for several centuries before Leo visited the country. The Hanbali school has never been especially strong in Egypt.) But such moments are rare. Leo/Yuhanna/al-Hasan moved

back and forth between the Muslim and Christian worlds, between his own personal Muslim and Christian identities, and the story of Leo who was once al-Hasan—and who in fact apparently became al-Hasan once more after almost a decade of living in Italy—could only be told in full by a historian willing and able, as Davis is, to bridge the cultural divide. This is trans-cultural history at its best.

Contextualization is especially important for reconstructing Leo's life and significance because the narrative framework of the story is so sparse in certain important respects. The contextualization that Davis provides, in other words, is not simply a digression, but a discursive strategy: it is essential to the telling of Leo's story. Put another way, it is another example of the creative blending of storytelling and empirical analysis that has been a hallmark of Davis's brand of history. At the outset of her account, Davis acknowledges that the story she will tell is a conditional one, even "speculative" in nature (p. 13)—and indeed, the reader cannot help but notice how frequently terms like "might have" and "probably" or "possibly" pepper the text. Sometimes this results simply from lacunae in the sources. Leo left Rome, probably right after the sack of the city by imperial troops in 1527, and he appears to have returned to North Africa, and presumably to the Islamic faith. There is some evidence that he may have settled in Tunis, but after that the historical record is silent. As a result, Davis's account of Leo's "return," of his presumed reversion to his earlier identity as al-Hasan al-Wazzan and to the faith of his childhood (pp. 245–260), is almost entirely speculative in nature.

But sometimes the speculation is a necessary response to the character of the questions she poses—as, for example, in her chapter on sex and women, what she calls "curiosity and connections." "Erotic connections are a well-known channel for cultural crossings" (p. 196), but unfortunately Leo left behind virtually no evidence concerning his intimate relations with women—a silence perfectly consonant with the cultural values Leo would have carried with him from his North African home. From a stray reference in a 1527 Roman census to one "Io. Leo," head of a household of three persons, Davis speculates that, while in Italy, Leo took a wife (or possibly a concubine) and fathered a child—an intriguing possibility previously raised by Maalouf in his novel. But the chapter is not really about Leo and his love life. It is, rather, a comparative study of the anthropology of love, sex, and gender relations in sixteenth-century Italy and the Muslim world from which Leo came. For such a purpose, Leo's reticence about his personal life is not an obstacle. It is, rather, an opportunity to explore the parameters of the possible and the probable. This makes it difficult to say with certainty "what really happened" in the personal life of Leo the African. But the story surrounding the silence makes for very satisfying history.

Let me give one further example of how Davis's willingness to speculate completes and enlivens the otherwise frugal story of her subject. Throughout the lit-

erary legacy which Leo left, she finds a "reticence in regard to Christianity" (p. 187), a hesitation concerning some of the fundamental propositions of the faith he had formally embraced at the altar of St. Peter in Rome. Davis cannot of course measure the sincerity of Leo's conversion, but she can and does explore and elucidate the difficulties someone in Leo's position would have had negotiating the differences between his natal and adopted faiths, translating words and ideas from one world to the other. How to avoid the obstacles to free and open dialogue raised by faith traditions that, to a very large degree, defined themselves in opposition to each other? How, for example, might Leo the former Muslim deal with the Christian idea that Jesus was the son of God? To a Muslim, no tenet of Christian faith is more absurd. "O people of the book! Do not exaggerate in your religion, nor utter anything concerning God except the truth. The messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only a messenger of God . . . Say not that God is 'three'—surely he is only one. Far is it removed from his transcendent majesty that he should have a son" (Qur'an 4.171). On this question, the historian finds that Leo himself is, once again, silent. But there is a possible answer that Davis the storyteller explores, one that draws on the ideas of the famous and controversial Muslim mystic Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240), about the ongoing revelation of God in the lives of the prophets (of whom Jesus in Muslim eyes was one), which made those prophets, although certainly not incarnations of the deity, nonetheless in a way manifestations of divinity. Her conclusion that "mystic teachings helped to ease Yuhanna al-Asad's life between two worlds" is perhaps a bit too unequivocal, given that he "displayed little mystical sensibility in his writings" (p. 227). But for a Western audience her speculation casts the dilemma that Leo the African must have faced in a new light, one that opens the door to a more nuanced understanding of Islam and of Muslim-Christian relations.

And that, really, is why Leo's story, as told by Davis, continues to fascinate. Much of Leo's life after his capture and conversion constituted an act of "translation," both literally—he collaborated with a Jewish scholar on a Latin-Hebrew-Arabic dictionary—and figuratively. In his relatively brief time in Italy, Leo became a literary figure, the author of, among other things, a famous *Descrittione dell'Africa*. In her careful analysis of his writings, Davis discerns an individual moving "back and forth between Europe and Africa, between the different cultures and politics of Africa, and between Islam and Christianity" (p. 109). He set out explicitly to compare, to explain one to the other, observing, for example, that while European table manners were more civilized, North Africans were more generous and hospitable. But as acts of translation, his own life and attitudes were ambivalent. So, for example, while Muslims in Italian were known as "Macomettani" or "Mau-mettani" (with the same subtle derogatory connotations as the English "Mohammedan"), Leo adopted the idiosyncratic form "Mucamettani," which to Davis represents "a fabricated spelling that perhaps was a device

to ease his own discomfort at the suggestion of deification" (p. 158). Similarly, his translations of the letters of St. Paul were composed in a style reminiscent of the Qur'an. It would be easy to see Leo engaging here in what Muslims—Shi'is especially, but also in some cases Sunnis like al-Hasan al-Wazzan—refer to as *taqiyya*, necessary dissimulation, in order to protect his true and secret identity as a Muslim, an identity which he reclaimed after fleeing Rome. Indeed some contemporary Muslim scholars have evaluated Leo and his literary legacy in this light. Davis acknowledges the possibility, but finds it insufficient. A better approach, she says, would be to perceive in Leo and his writings an act of *hila*, an Arabic word meaning "trick" or "ruse," "ingenious means to get oneself out of a difficult situation" (p. 113). Such tricks have a storied role in Islamic literature, which Davis invokes and explores, but they also played an important role in certain areas of Islamic law, where they enabled the jurists to avoid judgments that would follow the letter of the law but would have unfortunate or inequitable consequences. For Leo, such tricks allowed him not simply to dissimulate, but to negotiate between the claims of his Muslim past and the reality of his Christian present.

Leo Africanus lived at a transitional moment, one in which the Muslim and Christian worlds were coming into closer contact, and at the same time growing further apart. Through his experiences involuntarily crossing and then voluntarily recrossing the cultural and religious divide, Leo more than anyone understood the tensions between those worlds. As a boy he and his family fled from Granada after its conquest by Spanish Christians, a conquest that put a definitive end to the pluralist culture of Muslim Andalusia. As an older man, he may have been on the receiving end of Charles V's expedition to Tunis, which the Christian monarch himself understood as a new crusade. In formal terms, both the Spanish *reconquista* and the Holy Roman Emperor's expedition looked back to a medieval ideal. But in reality they set the stage for a new world of sharpened identities, religious, cultural, and national, and of the persistent conflict that is their legacy. The story of Leo Africanus as recounted by Davis offers a fascinating example of how one individual managed to straddle those sharpened and competing identities.

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ARISTIDE R. ZOLBERG. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation with Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 658. \$39.95.

The politics of immigration control thrives in a milieu of crisis. The belief that new forms of immigration bring unprecedented challenges to social welfare, national identity, and security and thus demand new forms of regulation has framed immigration debates in the United States for well over two centuries. But beneath the tumultuous surface, the most striking feature of any historical account of migration politics is the untiring monotony of the arguments. No matter how sophisticated the econometric methods, sociological models, and cultural critiques have become, the basic positions remain numbingly familiar. Urgency and newness is the leitmotif of these debates. But it is a leitmotif that erases rather than recalls past themes, making possible an infinite succession of high dramas that neither build on nor resolve past conflicts.

Aristide R. Zolberg has written what will probably stand for many years as the most comprehensive account of immigration politics in the United States since the colonial era. It is largely a synthesis of secondary literature, but only the most diligent reader of that literature will recognize all of the themes brought together here. While much of the book acknowledges the ever-recurring debates, crises, and political tactics, Zolberg still manages to invest the story with a sense of historical development by plotting the narrative along two themes: the creation of institutional trajectories

that shaped the possibilities of later policies and enforcement, and an analysis of the shifting political coalitions of "strange bedfellows." This latter theme helps to reframe the repetitiveness as a story of the complexities of interest politics and debates over national identity in a liberal state. It also provides an excellent hook from which to explain the origins and effects of certain policies in their historical contexts.

A third and less successfully developed theme is the attempt to place U.S. immigration policy in a "global perspective." In a series of articles, Zolberg has promoted an "external perspective" that understands the history of migration control as part of an international system rather than merely from the perspective of a single nation. But that is not a project undertaken in this book. The global perspective is largely framed in familiar terms of foreign policy and unilateral concerns about national status and security. And even these issues are mentioned only occasionally over the course of the book rather than as an integral part of the narrative. This is very much a nation-centered history.

In the broadest sense, this book is an assertion that politics matters. It matters both in the sense of long term structures and institutions and in the contingent choices and struggles of day to day politics. Unfortunately, this perspective is not explicitly articulated and its significance may well elude the casual reader. In

other articles, Zolberg has argued against sociologists and economists who insist that politics and border control have little impact on the organization of migration and may even be epiphenomena of more fundamental socio-economic processes. In this book, those debates are relegated to the footnotes and a few stray comments. The only secondary literature that Zolberg directly addresses is writings from the 1950s on nativism and mass psychology. In contrast to the "psychopathological" approach to understanding anti-immigrant legislation, Zolberg insists that immigration policy and attitudes must be placed in a concrete context of institutions and political processes (p. 7). This choice of an outdated foil mirrors some of the limitations of this book. Zolberg does not offer the kinds of systematic comparisons and multivariable analyses that will convince sociologists and economists of the relative importance of politics over structural processes. Even from a softer analytical perspective, he often overreaches in his claims about the effects of politics and policy. But this book nonetheless remains an unparalleled account of the ebb and flow of migration politics that must be taken into account if a sophisticated understanding of the relationship of migration and control is ever to be achieved.

The first half of the book is the most successful both analytically and stylistically. As a contribution to the historiography it offers the first synthetic account of migration politics and policy before the 1880s, pulling together material from scattered articles and monographs as well as from the document collections edited by Edith Abbott in the 1920s. It also most effectively weaves together public debates, legal and institutional changes, political tactics and events, contemporary demographic analysis and international context into a single narrative. Starting with an account of the regulation of migration to colonial America through indenture, emigration companies, convict transportation and local poor laws, Zolberg effectively makes the case that attempts to fashion a nation through migration policy has always been a feature of U.S. politics. This becomes especially clear in the writings of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, who not only articulated influential critiques of European exit restrictions but also developed the basic rhetoric of immigrant selectivity and cultural assimilation that can still be heard in the words of Pat Buchanan and Samuel Huntington (both criticized in the conclusion). Naturalization and the desire for federal revenue through land sales were also key aspects of migration policy in the early republic. From there, Zolberg takes the reader through passenger laws, the first "immigration crisis" of the 1840s and 1850s, the complex relations of migration control to states' rights and slavery, federal pro-immigrant policies of the 1860s, anti-Asian agitation, and the concentration of power over immigration under the federal government in the 1870s and 1880s. Along the way, he demonstrates the institutional and intellectual contexts that produced the basic tropes and trajectories that continue to shape immigration politics and policies today.

Zolberg treads more familiar ground in his account of immigration politics from the 1880s until the quota laws of the 1920s. But, with the help of some extra research into contemporary social science journals, he adds a welcome and less-familiar dimension of the social scientific underpinnings of restrictionism. After the 1920s, however, the narrative becomes more episodic, allowing the winds of politics to overwhelm the social and intellectual perspectives that added richness and continuity to the earlier narrative. Many of the episodes still retain some analytic bite. For example, Zolberg convincingly argues that the rejection of Jewish refugees in the 1930s was largely shaped by institutional trajectories that severely limited the range of possible responses. And the discussion of the postwar era until the early 1960s deftly interconnects three themes of the "front door" of formal immigration policy, the "side door" of administrative decisions about refugees, and the "back door" of tolerated extralegal Mexican immigration. Starting with the immigration act of 1965, however, the narrative increasingly retreats into to a blow-by-blow account of political tactics in Washington. Other themes are diluted if not lost as the narrative is subsumed under a relentless parade of current events. This approach helps illustrate the theme of "strange bedfellows" in the shifting political coalitions surrounding immigration, and how special interests and compromises mitigated and diffused restrictionist policies in the 1980s and 1990s. But such an interpretation is already quite familiar in both journalistic and scholarly accounts of the period. The broad ranging syntheses that made the earlier sections of the book more innovative are lost.

Most significantly, the tropes and trajectories of migration politics that were established in the first half of the narrative seem to have been forgotten by the end. Although he resists the vocabulary of crisis, Zolberg does not resist the cult of newness that shapes most discussions of immigration. The last chapters resonate with the claims of many contemporary political scientists that the recent institutionalization of liberal values and civic rights has created an unprecedented transformation in the creation, enforcement and decreased effectiveness of immigration laws. The strongest effect of any assertion of newness is to erase the past in the service of a history of progress. In this case, progress is lodged in the power of liberal institutions to overcome the prejudices and exclusions of the past, freeing us from any contemplation of how those same institutions may have produced those prejudices and exclusions in the first place.

Zolberg grounds his assertion of newness in a distinction between the complex situation of contemporary enforcement and the relatively straightforward laws before the first half of the twentieth century that, "once decided upon . . . were easily implemented by ordinary administrative procedures" (p. 439). A more careful history of the actual enforcement of earlier legislation would create a much different picture of complex international and domestic forces that severely un-

dermined the enforcement of immigration laws, challenged the self-determination of liberal states over their own membership and set the terms of enforcement that persist to this day. For example, Zolberg argues that the 1868 Burlingame Treaty with China that guaranteed the inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance was the actual cause of a burst of Chinese immigration, an assertion that is quite implausible given the lack of enforcement mechanisms (although the related discussion of federal pro-immigrant policies is quite significant for understanding the formation of political discourse about immigration). Similarly, the Chinese exclusion laws were effective at limiting total numbers but almost entirely ineffectual in the more demanding tasks of assigning identities concerning occupation, family relations, and citizenship, tasks that have become the centerpiece of contemporary selective migration laws. And although Zolberg can take much credit for coining the phrase "remote control" and having recognized the importance of the consular enforcement of migration laws, no evidence supports the contention that consular jurisdiction ever operated in a self-evident way as the implementation of ordinary administrative procedures. This, and many more possible examples, amount to something other than a "nation by design."

The absence of history is felt most keenly in the last fifteen pages of the conclusion where Zolberg formulates his own position on border control ethics. His stance is not grounded in the previous 450 pages of his book but in abstract liberal political theory (and a brief

reference to Herman Melville) about rights of exit, entry, and free mobility. From there, he largely confirms liberal-leaning status quo ideals by arguing for a semiporous border regulated by ever more rational methods of positive selection that balance multiple interests while also accommodating human rights and projecting a positive image of the United States a leader in world democracy. In more general terms he confirms that, "the Westphalian system still has a lot going for it . . . [but] must be updated in light of contemporary conditions" (p. 458). Such a position could easily have been staked out without an understanding of 300 years of history. By putting it at the end of such a history, Zolberg in effect resituates the contingent story of a single nation as the unfolding of liberal progress.

Zolberg convincingly demonstrates that politics does matter in shaping immigration and the nation. He also digs beneath the repetitiveness to offer good explanations of when it matters. But he leaves open the questions of how and how much it matters. Answering those questions will require more attention to the nexus of politics, enforcement, and the organization of migration. It will also require more attention to the global context that has framed the possibilities of identity and legislation. The very idea that border control is an integral part of the "Westphalian system" can not be taken for granted, but must be understood as the product of institutional structures and political decisions around the world over the past two centuries.

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YURI SLEZKINE. *The Jewish Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 438. \$29.95.

This book by Yuri Slezkine eludes ready summary. Erudite, erratic, savage, and capacious, it has garnered much praise and also criticism, and it has won several awards. It is the rare academic book to make its importance felt, solidly, beyond the university world. It seeks to speak with authority, and also definitive judgment about matters rarely spoken about so concretely: the nature of Jewish singularity, the origin of Jewish genius, the Jewish communist romance. It manages to give the impression that it unsettles regnant Jewish notions of specialness while also, quite dexterously, masaging them. It is a curiously hermetic academic exercise that, on the whole, looks past what has previously been done by Jewish historians, culling from it data but rarely insights. And it is a book too acutely aware of its own audacity: it seeks, for example, to tease readers, to excite them by calling the most catastrophic of all Jewish centuries the best of all times; even those with a passing acquaintance with the recent Jewish past easily acknowledge that it was, arguably, both.

The book is made of four chapters: the first seeks to provide an overall theory for minority/majority rela-

tions throughout the ages; the second offers an explanation for Jewish mobility in modern Europe since the eighteenth century; the last two, by far the longest and most original, concentrate on revolutionary and post-1917 Russia.

At its core, however, Slezkine's book is something of a knotted love letter to one much-misunderstood pocket of Soviet life, one that its author (as he tells us repeatedly) knows intimately. By this I mean those Russian Jews whose hunger for a larger, more compelling, and more just world meshed, in time, with their gratitude to Joseph Stalin, and whom the author sees as among Soviet society's first, fiercest partisans.

Slezkine was born in the Soviet Union, and he is now a distinguished historian of twentieth-century Russia. He loathes the Soviet regime but also feels an admiration for the beliefs or, better said, the impulses of its Jewish defenders. (This is, unabashedly, elitist history, and it concentrates only on the most upwardly mobile, the most professionally adept Soviet Jews.) They, as he sees them, were far superior to those in contestation with it: the millions who because of mostly economic

preoccupations poured into the United States, and also those so moved by parochialism as to embrace “the most eccentric of nationalisms,” which is what he calls Zionism (pp. 2, 102). True, the Jews who remained behind to build Soviet Russia lost in the end, but when compared with the fate of their coddled American cousins or their Spartan-like colonial relatives in the Middle East, who, asks Slezkine, is to say their choice was the wrong one?

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this book is its juridical voice, one engaged in a declamatory scholarship fixed on a discrete cluster of central points, uninhibited by equivocation, free from the tics that tend to paralyze academics, especially historians in the face of statements too large, too unsupportable, too global. (“The principal . . . religion of the Modern Age is nationalism . . . The Age of Nationalism, in other words, is about every nation becoming Jewish”; p. 1.) One enters this book in much the same way that one stumbles into the midst of a prolonged familial argument, one whose basic contour need not be defined because it is so familiar to all those most concerned with it. This self-avowed assault on parochialism is itself an emphatic expression of its hold.

The book’s extra-academic inspirations are what inspire it, above all. On one level, it attempts to do no less than reinterpret—with the use of huge vats of material culled from an impressively wide swath of sources—the experience of all Jews in modernity and, perhaps, to provide the fundamental key to understanding modernity as a whole. But this it does playfully, ruefully even, with a combination of swagger and aggression, with the use of an epigram-packed harangue rather reminiscent of old-style Marxism; it is hard to know how seriously the author himself takes the claim that all humanity may be divided, blithely, between those dubbed Apollonians and Mecurians.

But elsewhere the book takes itself deadly seriously. In his retelling of post-1917 Russian Jewry, Slezkine is, he insists, providing a corrective to the failings of Soviet Jewish historiography, a claim he makes despite the simple fact that there is, as yet, very little Soviet Jewish scholarly literature with which to debate. To date—and because mostly of restrictions on archival research lifted only with the implosion of communism—no critical, scholarly book exists on any of the following themes: Jews and the Russian Revolution, Jews in Soviet cities (except Leningrad), or Jews in small towns, or in the Soviet professions, or the military, or the Communist Party, or the KGB and its institutional analogues. Slezkine complains that the Jews of twentieth-century Russia have remained obscure—“forgotten or patronized by the emigrants and their historians” and beyond “the canonical Jewish history of the twentieth century” (p. 205)—because of bias, but this chapter of modern Jewish history remains mostly unwritten because the Soviet authorities made it impossible, in effect, write about and scholars are just now beginning to sort through unfiltered mountains of archival material suddenly available.

Slezkine’s target is not historiography but collective memory. Russia is, as he puts it, “the cradle of much of modern Jewish mythology” (p. 212), and this is his primary focus, a mythology that puts, above all, the Israeli state and its founders, “more martial than Apollo himself” (p. 37), at the center. Israel intrudes repeatedly on this narrative; the Jewish state represents, as Slezkine seems to see it, the prime example of what it is that small, timid, parochial minds can produce, the grim price paid for an embrace of tribe over humanity. There is a memoir-like quality to the book—often Slezkine speaks of his extended family—and no other sector of contemporary Jewish life has been as singed, as idolized, as sought-after by Zionism as has Soviet Jewry. This book may be seen, in its respect, as an antidote to the memoirs of Natan Sharansky, and no less unequivocal in its sense of redemption.

Slezkine evokes powerfully the eagerness of significant numbers of Russian Jews to embrace first radical politics and then the building of communism, the least equivocal and, for a time, the most receptive of all universalistic creeds. And he offers a vivid set of portraits of Jews besotted by a Russian culture where Pushkin was their Schiller, and where Dostoevsky was an albeit problematic but still immensely powerful emblem for cultural, even moral emulation. The point Slezkine makes in this regard is not new, but he makes it with singular force, and with generous (if also sometimes curiously aborted) citations from Soviet Jewish memoirs. The book’s insistence on the crucial role that Jews—very loosely defined to include not only Kameny but also Lenin—played in Soviet life until the post-war years raises intriguing issues about the relationship between collectivity and talent, hunger and mobility, and these questions are, indeed, puzzling and significant.

This book is an extended essay; it is a think piece, and it should not be expected to do what a scholarly monograph must. But it must be criticized when it fails at what it claims to do. Where it is weakest is precisely in its inability to wrestle in anything but the most binary terms with the issue of Jewish modernity in Russia. Repeatedly, its portraits of Russian Jews and their choices are overdrawn, or too stark, or simply inaccurate. This is especially odd since, as Slezkine admits, he relies—even for the book’s title—on Jewish literary scholar Benjamin Harshav’s superb study *Language at the Time of Revolution* (1999), whose ninth chapter is entitled “A Jewish Century.” Harshav argues with reference to Jews and the impact on them of modernity in Russia precisely the opposite of what Slezkine contends: namely, how the fullest range of Jews, Zionists and Jewish Socialists, Hebraists and Yiddishists, as well as devoted readers of Russian (of course, many devoted Jewish readers of Russian were themselves Zionists and Jewish Socialists) were inundated, and defined by modern concerns, how intimately Russia was part and parcel of Jewish political and cultural preoccupations across the Jewish spectrum. “The debates between the trends [in Russian Jewish life],” writes Harshav, “were often

extremely bitter, the alternatives seemed unbridgeable, but they were hewn out of the same quarry" (p. 52).

For Slezkine, whenever a modern Jew attempts to write, or paint, or dream on a transparent Jewish canvas the result is cramped, and small. Where, and how, to fit into this schematic a modernist deeply influenced by Dostoevsky like Yosef Hayyim Brenner (who wrote mostly in Hebrew), or Isaac Babel (whose wartime diaries reveal intense Jewish preoccupations excised from his published fiction), or the dramatist and folkloristic and revolutionary S. Ansky (who recast his famous play "The Dybbuk" into Russian and then in to Yiddish at the more or less same time as he labored as a Socialist Revolutionary and negotiated with hasidic rebbes in the name of Jews caught in the web of the war)? Babel, to be sure, merits a chapter in the book, but here he is shorn of so much of what it was that made him so deeply

intriguing as a Russian and a Jewish writer. This complex interplay is flattened, rendered almost invisible in Slezkine's breathless account but this is what helped make Russian Jewish life, at the cusp of the 1917 revolution, so rich, so immensely contradictory, and also so ideologically influential that Slezkine, rightly, feels its influence still today. The contrast was not, simply, between the dark, clammy confines of the tribe and the uninhibited glare, the promise of a new, nationless world. This, however, is how some saw it, and this essentialist view of things Jewish and Russian, parochial and cosmopolitan, has never been articulated in recent years with the relentless force that one encounters in Slezkine's book.

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TONY JUDT. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin. 2005. Pp. xv, 933. \$20.00.

When the paperback edition of a book opens with three pages of media praise, the expectations of a reader are raised high indeed. Adjectives such as "brilliant," "truly superb," "masterly and exhilarating," "elegant and provocative," as well as "compelling and fluidly written" are rarely bestowed on a work of almost 900 pages. No doubt, the popular style of presentation, the knack for a telling phrase, and the authoritative manner of interpretation set a certain tone. But such qualities also tend to induce skepticism in scholars who might well ask: does the actual content justify all this hype?

One of the strengths of this massive overview over European development during the second half of the twentieth century is the unique background of the author, which endows him with a rare Euro-American sensibility. Born of Jewish parents from Eastern Europe, Tony Judt grew up in Great Britain and trained as a French historian. Subsequently, he moved to New York, and acquired an American following with his insightful essays in the *New York Review of Books* and his directorship of the Remarque Center at New York University, which he made into a transatlantic meeting place.

This varied experience inspires Judt to an uncommon breadth of vision that tries to encompass Europe as a whole. In contrast to the Western provincialism of much American scholarship, he fearlessly strikes out to Eastern Europe, thereby obliterating the Cold War barrier. He has a particular fondness for some smaller countries like Belgium or neglected cases like Italy but also comments competently on more remote places like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or Poland. This broad perspective transcends the conventional divide between victors and vanquished, sometimes to its own peril. Thus the book presents a fuller and more complex account than other surveys of the postwar period.

Another appealing feature is the problem-centered approach that emphasizes developments cutting across political frontiers. This moves the presentation beyond a traditional juxtaposition of parallel national histories and opens up comparative possibilities which enrich the discussion of overarching problems. Even if nation states remain the most frequent unit of narration and analysis, Judt's approach puts his book in tune with the current discussion on "transnational history." As a result, broader patterns can emerge that emphasize common challenges as well as different national responses.

Judt's ideological commitments lie clearly on the Left, sympathizing with intellectual projects to provide a better life for the masses. Nonetheless, the author is unabashedly anti-Stalinist, mincing no words about the repressive features of Soviet-style communism. At home in the various Western Marxist debates, he treats the transition from Old to New Left with an insider's sense of disillusionment in the failure of Socialist aspirations. Therefore he remains rather ambivalent about the cultural revolution of 1968 and becomes quite caustic when dealing with postmodernism, decrying cultural studies as "narcissistic obscurantism" (p. 481).

These characteristics make for a number of strengths that justify some of the accolades. Unlike the mere recounting of textbooks, this synthesis addresses a central question: namely, the shattering impact of World War II on the half-century that followed. In contrast to the disastrous consequences of the less drastic effect of World War I, the book seeks to explain the more benign results of the greater suffering the second time around. If 1918 led to civil war and revolution, why did 1945 restore stability? Looking at the long-term consequences, its temporal scope not only extends to the peaceful collapse of the Soviet Empire in 1989 but also

covers the subsequent travails of the postcommunist transition.

Another positive feature is the author's attention to the division of Europe, which is rarely appreciated in comparable accounts. In a somewhat antirevisionist mode Judt blames the brutality of Stalinist Sovietization in Eastern Europe more than the American pressures to establish free market democracies through the Marshall Plan for the split. By emphasizing the common features of interwar Europe and the shared suffering under Nazi domination, he is able to narrate the Cold War as process of separation and its end as an effort to overcome four decades of estrangement in 1989. Although the East tends to recede in the presentation of the 1960s and 1970s, it is never completely absent.

The result is a series of impressive essays on individual issues and interpretative insights on surprising topics. Judt's description of the human flotsam at the war's end is chilling, his discussion of communist antisemitism sobering, and his evocation of the decolonization process captivating, just to mention a few of the themes. The broad range of topics addressed, such as almost an entire chapter on the democratic transition in the Mediterranean, gives the book a certain encyclopedic quality. Moreover, Judt draws unexpected connections, such as the saving of Finnish independence due to the negative repercussions of the communist putsch in Prague during 1948. On balance, his interpretations are generally judicious, displaying acerbic common sense in heated debates like on the origins of the Cold War or the effects of Thatcherism.

Nonetheless, there are also a number of problems overlooked by the accolades. One striking weakness is the title, which overstates the influence of the war on subsequent developments. While the first quarter of the book, devoted to the immediate postwar era, naturally deals with the direct consequences of the war of annihilation, already in the second quarter, devoted to the 1960s, the effects of this conflict recede into the background and new issues, stemming from the rebuilding, Cold War, etc. take over. And during the last half the distance grows even greater, so that the presentation hardly refers to World War II any longer. Therefore the title, playfully attributed to the author's son, is somewhat of a misnomer.

An academic reader will, moreover, regret the lack of engagement with the scholarship. Not to include footnote references may be a marketing strategy of appealing to a general audience, but the failure to address some of the crucial debates also misses a chance for a more explicit argumentation. For instance, the caesuras that structure the text are not justified. One can only guess that taking 1953 as end of the immediate postwar period refers to Joseph Stalin's death, which affected Eastern Europe, while for the West the Paris treaties and Messina Conference of 1955 might have been more compelling. Similarly, 1971 marks the end of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, but the exposition uses 1973 more often as a reference point, be-

cause it signals the end of the postwar boom through the first OPEC oil shock.

In many places, the text has also almost a doughnut quality, since the narrative presents a Europe with its center of Germany curiously slighted. The author shows much empathy for Britain, drawing on his own experiences; for France, considering Paris as European capital; and for Eastern Europe, recalling its forgotten past. Though he engages smaller countries like Austria imaginatively, on Germany his prose becomes wooden, only coming to life when there are intellectuals to write about. Judt even misspells the name of the GDR leader Egon Krenz. This German tone-deafness fails to explain the most dramatic postwar transformation, namely the country's metamorphosis from an accomplice to Adolf Hitler's horrible crimes to a stalwart of democratic stability.

At the same time, the epilogue's discussion of Europe as a memory landscape remains troubling, because it projects an American preoccupation upon the continent. The author's warnings against nostalgic myth-making and his insistence on critical history can only be applauded. Yet in this transatlantic division of labor it is not peaceful Venus who stands for Europe while militant Mars connotes America, but Lethe, forgetting and living in the past that characterizes the continent, while the United States becomes emblematic of the future. The Holocaust cannot serve as a distinctive moral standard for a united Europe, because it has become universalized as yardstick of civilization through its Americanization. Moreover, the competing traumata of communist crimes need to be addressed as well, since their suffering tends to dominate recollections in the East.

These shortcomings raise some general issues for the writing of contemporary European history that have yet to be resolved. Following Judt, historians ought to be wary of jumping on the European integration bandwagon, providing, like some political scientists, a retrospective justification for the establishment of the European Union in Brussels. But such a reluctance to repeat the fallacy of nationalist preaching on a broader European level poses the question of how to narrate a development without a clearly defined subject. If Europe is not described as a "polity in becoming," what are its boundaries, what its common features, what its central themes? It is easy to repeat the political slogan of "unity in diversity," but this book shows how difficult it is to tell such a decentered story, unless one makes its indeterminateness the subject.

A related issue concerns the criteria for selecting what is significant in the immense mass of material that constitutes European development after 1945. Alone the inclusion of smaller countries beyond the storylines of the bigger nations poses problems of what to mention and why, because the vast majority of what could be talked about needs to be excluded. A similar predicament is the relative weighting of what is actually included in the discussion: how does one justify giving eleven pages to the third industrial revolution and stag-

flation while devoting thirteen pages to the terrorism of the 1970s? While autobiographical reminiscences can add insights, they sometimes lead to a lapse in critical scrutiny like in the discussion of the End of Old Europe (p. 226).

Yet another question revolves around the coherence of the interpretation presented. In the introduction, Judt presents six themes that structure his account, such as the decline of Europe, the collapse of traditional master narratives, the inadvertent emergence of the European model, the misunderstood relationship to the United States, the multiple silences about the victims, and the need for a multicultural future (pp. 7–9). Taken individually, these threads are interesting, but considered together they are somewhat additive and do not amount to a grand design. This reluctance points to the problem of deciding which development ought to be considered the overriding one of the past half-century. Without such an interpretative choice the account, however rich regarding individual issues, remains somewhat tentative and disappointing.

A final quandary concerns the underlying evaluatory perspective, which touches on transatlantic identity politics. In an interview with the Historical Society of Boston University, Judt claims “the historian’s task is not to disrupt for the sake of it, but it is to tell what is almost always an uncomfortable story and explain why the discomfort is part of the truth we need to live well and properly.” This stress on the critical potential of historical scholarship is certainly appropriate, but how

is it to be implemented in regard to the recent European past? Would it not require a double distancing from the neo-conservative militarist and neo-liberal capitalist temper of many American policy elites as well as from the welfare statist and pacifist diplomatic illusions of most European decision makers? Should the point of telling the postwar European story to an Anglo-American audience not be the vindication of the possibility of a compromise between the competing ideals of individual freedom and social solidarity?

A critical reading of this book therefore yields respect for a considerable achievement, but it also reveals a series of problems that belie its advance billing. Judt has presented a readable synthesis of a staggering amount of disparate material and mostly gets his judgments right such as on the rescue of the nation state by the European Union. Doing more justice to European diversity than other overviews, he is best on the British, French, and East European experiences but weak on the German-speaking heart of the continent. His passages on intellectuals and film are captivating, but those on politics, diplomacy, and economics remain more conventional. He has raised the bar for potential competitors and yet left room for more conceptual analyses, which dare to propose bolder interpretations of the recovery of the European model as a compelling alternative to the American way of life.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

BEVERLEY SOUTHGATE. *What Is History For?* New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiii, 214. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.95.

Beverley Southgate examines the purposes and uses of history, starting with Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, in a broad and erudite sweep leading up to the period of modernity, which according to him ended in the later twentieth century. Somewhat disingenuously he avoids the complexities of the definition of this term by declaring that it "simply denotes an historical epoch—the one that comes after 'modernity'" (p. 86). Summarizing postmodern criticism, Southgate sees a sharp break between the postmodern period and everything that came before it and concludes that real events in the twentieth century have made it imperative to rethink the functions and uses of history. He offers, in the last third of his book, his own rationale for the centrality of history to the humanistic enterprise in a postmodern age.

In his historical overview Southgate discusses various justifications given by historians for their intellectual claim to leadership and power: history for its own sake; finding the Holy Grail of Truth; history as the breaker of myths; history in defense of the status quo; history as the story of progress; therapeutic history as a prop for nationalism. He dismisses history for its own sake, and sharply criticizes historians' claim to objectivity and to their ability to describe the "truth" of the past. Following the postmodern critique, he shows that the past was as multilayered and complex as is the present, and that the best historians can hope for is to present various truths about the past, and various interpretations of such truths. He shows that history "is seen to be not a naturally existing entity at all, but something that's been constructed by human beings for their own purposes—something that's been developed over time, and with particular agendas in mind. Those agendas . . . often have much to do with power" (p. 30). He gives a sharp critique of nationalistic history and history in defense of the status quo. He touches quite lightly on the omissions of history in regard to the poor, the colonized, or the racially different. He touches even more lightly on the omission of women, half the world's population, from historical consideration until the most recent past.

Southgate exposes, with several examples, historians' propensity to define the past by regulating what evidence is deemed acceptable and professionally sanctioned, and what evidence is to be marginalized and denied validity. Having thus carefully argued the contingency of historical scholarship Southgate offers a postmodernist critique of present-day society. Life now is characterized by loss of order, by the absence of a center or of accepted reference points, by pervasive instability and disruption. Present and future seem out of control and the possibility of imminent chaos is in everyone's mind. This leads to a crisis of identity, not only of the individual, but of nations, and a felt need for altering the sense of life's meaninglessness. This is the postmodernist project that Southgate assigns to a new history: to help alleviate the postmodern condition.

Up to this point in the book, Southgate has been highly skeptical and critical of each claim made for history. But he seems to accept uncritically postmodern critiques of the Enlightenment ideas of progress and human betterment. In his description of the new "therapeutic function" of history he adopts some of the same attitudes for which he criticized historians of the past. He wants history to articulate some moral goals and to provide stories of heroic men and women of the past who lived out their own moral code. He wants historians to reject any aspiration of telling a final or definitive story and to encourage questioning self-consciousness about the existence and foundations of our beliefs and customs. Above all, Southgate wants history to become an agent of change. He never spells out how that is to be accomplished or how historians are to become free of bias and hidden agendas. How is history to become an agency of moral uplift, hope, and self-empowerment without being instrumentalized and shaped by contemporary agendas and interests?

Throughout the book, Southgate grounds his arguments not so much in historical events or interpretations as in a mixture of quotations from anthropologists, sociologists, writers, and, most frequently, philosophers. His use of these quotations is often quite superficial: he simply throws in the quote and continues his train of thought, making little reference to the quote and not in any way engaging with it critically. But his arguments proceed logically and often persuasively, until the last third of the book, in which they are quite

incoherent, often vague, and seemingly without sound foundation. Even his language becomes more obscure and imprecise.

Southgate raises very important questions, but he does not answer them satisfactorily. Nor does he answer them in keeping with the principles he outlined. To have done so would have required a critical evaluation of the postmodernist critique of history and a forthright explanation of what approaches and useful methods it has to offer for the future.

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MICHAEL BENTLEY. *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism 1870–1970*. (The Wiles Lectures for 2003.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 245. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.99.

Michael Bentley seeks to account for the transition from “Whig History” to more modern and professionally self-conscious forms of scholarship. This proves difficult, first because it is never clear when one ended and the other began, and second because it is not clear that they ever could be called distinctive schools of thought in the first place. Bentley reckons that “Whig,” or “liberal,” explanations of the English past—that is, those described by their master exponent William Stubbs as the continuity of national life and purpose—might be said to have passed muster as a “school” from the middle of the nineteenth century. He thinks “modern,” or analytical, views might be said to have started with F. W. Maitland’s 1893 corrective to Stubbs’s interpretation of the Parliament of 1305. Not for the first time, Maitland found the evidence wanting. Medieval parliaments, it seems, were more king’s councils than gatherings of the people. Modern historiography took many forms—social, economic, numerological, *Marxissant*, and *totale*—but whatever the form it always showed a sharp taste for evidence and argument. The trouble is, for all their professional combativeness, the modernists have been no more forthcoming than the Whigs in talking about themselves and their methods. What Bentley says of the moderns having a “cast of mind” rather than a doctrine could equally be said of Stubbs and friends.

We have, then, a somewhat elusive quarry, and the more Bentley thrashes around in the undergrowth looking for it, the more elusive it becomes. Did not Whigs argue over evidence? Did not modernists have national stories to tell? Did not both sides carry ideological freight, and did they not trade methods and ideas for most of the twentieth century? In the end, of course, it was not the historians who settled the matter but history itself. External events (World War II, Holocaust, atomic bomb, Cold War, decolonization) killed liberalism, and it is external events (globalization, unreason, fragmentation) that are killing modernism. There is no *historical line* anymore—not even backward—and the postmoderns have yet to offer any shape at all except

perhaps the fissiparity that they advocate for everyone and everything else.

Bentley is a diligent historian in search of an equally diligent editor. He might have been advised to say a little more on the wider social and political world that produced these changes in history writing. He might have been persuaded to address something beyond English historiography: intellectuals in general perhaps, or the impact of structuralism. For long stretches, he writes in a high, glamorous style yet manages to stay in touch with his reader. But for equally long stretches, he does not. At best, one can explain this by seeing it as the work of a man who has got so close to his texts that he has forgotten his subject. At worst, struggling for effect, the writing takes on a gnomic quality. Asides gather, and meanings are left to hang. What, exactly, was “Rowse’s Oxford,” or Hugh Trevor-Roper’s “Gibsonian rant,” or Stubbs’s “subliminal music,” or A. J. Pollard’s “smoothing iron”? By chapter five, so inbred is the writing that instead of footnote 10 Bentley can offer his readers only a “Clue”: to wit, this person has a “history of dismissive, often ungrounded judgements; not in England when announcing this one. Yorkshire roots.”

Reading this book is like listening in on a conversation only half intended for you. After a couple of hundred pages, I thanked Bentley for his efforts and left high table. I will not be the only one.

ROBERT COLLS
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JOHN B. BOLES, editor. *Shapers of Southern History: Autobiographical Reflections*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 334. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$22.95.

CONSTANCE B. SCHULTZ and ELIZABETH HAYES TURNER, editors. *Clio’s Southern Sisters: Interviews with Leaders of the Southern Association for Women Historians*. (Southern Women.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 276. \$44.95.

These two autobiographical collections, interesting in their own right, are also important as primary documents, because they detail the personal impact of the civil rights and feminist movements and the cultural shifts they occasioned on a group of influential historians of southern history. Their personal stories are significant in showing the ways that individual scholars understood and reacted to the social changes taking place around them. The issues in one’s life and times, as postmodernists have made us profoundly aware, shape our understanding of the world, and these historians demonstrate how much personal history and changing times combined to dictate their issues and choice of topics for research. For most there was no epiphany; instead, their paths reflected a process, but one based on an enduring commitment to equality. Equality is their unstated yardstick; and when they found it lacking, they turned their attention to providing evidence and explanation for this deficiency.

History is more about change than continuity, and, because of their scholarship and activities, these historians represent an important break with the past. Their focus is more inclusive and their values more egalitarian. Their narratives are especially significant in the context of southern history, since the South, despite its genteel ethos, has been the epicenter of U.S. racism, sexism, and classism. One way of looking at these life stories is to see them as efforts to understand and hopefully help in the eradication of one or more of these isms, often the ones that had the most profound effects on individual authors. *Shapers of Southern History*, edited by John B. Boles, contains the reflections of John Hope Franklin, Jack P. Greene, Anne Firor Scott, Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Bill C. Malone, Dan T. Carter, Charles Joyner, Pete Daniel, Peter H. Wood, Anthony J. Badger, Drew Gilpin Faust, Darlene Clark Hine, Vernon Burton, Suzanne Lebsock, and Edward L. Ayers—not all of the “shapers” of southern history by any means but certainly a significant sampling. The essays are frank and engaging, demonstrating why their authors have been such successful writers. More than chronicles of their professional careers, these narratives explore the personal: they describe parental backgrounds, discuss their childhood likes and dislikes, delineate the serendipitous nature of their selection of the historical profession, name the scholars who influenced their lives, explain their choice of research topics, and provide their take on what was the significance of their scholarship. The only major influence not dealt with in much detail is their marital relationships, but perhaps this was due more to their interpretation of the questions posed by the editor. Nevertheless, this is an important omission.

Looking for some commonality in the experiences of these historians, this reviewer was struck by three things. First, they all exuded an unshakeable confidence in their own intellectual abilities (even on the rare occasions when their performances did not necessarily match their assessments). This does not appear to have been the result of looking back from the vantage point of successful careers. Rather, confidence in their innate intelligence was a deeply ingrained part of their identities from their earliest recollections. Second, they had the foresight to choose eminent scholars with whom to study even in those instances where they remained naïve about the profession generally. For example, Greene knew that Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Chicago had bad or nonexistent football teams but did not know that a doctorate from those institutions would be advantageous professionally. Finally, each of these scholars pursued a topic that was of passionate interest. As a consequence research was a driving force in their lives. There is a take-home message here for aspiring historians.

The commonality in *Clio's Southern Sisters* is that all of the women interviewed were founders or early leaders of the Southern Association of Women Historians (SAWH). With some help from the Public History Program at the University of South Carolina, interviews

were done, most in the 1990s, with A. Elizabeth Taylor, Anne Firor Scott, Barbara Schnorrenberg, Mollie Davis, Arnita Jones, Rosemary Carroll, Martha Swain, Judith Gentry, Carol Bleser, Elizabeth Jacoway, Jody Carrigan, Betty Brandon, Margaret Ripley Wolfe, Darlene Clark Hine, and Jan Hawks. All of them received their Ph.D.s before 1975, and most of them wrote their dissertations on topics other than women. Women's history was a new field, often considered “trendy” by men in the profession, and it was men who controlled fellowships, hiring, promotion, pay, prizes, and participation in historical conferences and organizations. These women were well aware that choosing to do women's history was not considered a good career move.

This gendered subset of “shapers” demonstrates the importance of organized action in shaping Southern history. Editors Constance B. Schulz and Elizabeth Hayes Turner open the collection with an excellent review of the influence of the feminist movement of the 1960s on women historians and, consequently, of the national organizations formed to promote women and women's history in the profession. The SAWH was founded in 1970 to provide networking opportunities and to document the status of women as a basis for advocacy. It has been highly successful in improving the status of women in the profession and in increasing women's participation in the Southern Historical Association. It has achieved both a national and even international identity.

This is remarkable, considering that the South requires ladylike behavior for a woman to be respected. Taylor, born and educated in the South, preferred “acceptable” women to “sensational” ones. Scott, although considering herself a southerner, had lived and trained in the North. Her approach, while not in the sensational category, was sometimes considered “feisty.” It would appear that most women tried to perform a balancing act as they pushed for equity and occasionally even found that the cultural imperative for males to be gentlemen could work to their advantage.

Unsurprisingly, most of the historians in these collections are primarily interested in issues that draw their inspiration from a category to which they have some personal identification. This is not in itself a bad thing, since personal experience can provide analytical insights, unless such identification makes other categories of people invisible. For example, some of Scott's early work omitted African American women. The SAWH, in choosing Darlene Clark Hine to be one of its early presidents, ensured that the organization would focus on minorities as well as the mainstream.

Most of the contributors to these volumes received their doctorates in the late 1960s and 1970s, long after John Hope Franklin, Anne Firor Scott, and A. Elizabeth Taylor had begun their professional careers. Their recollections provide fertile material (and in some instances meaningful silences) for comparisons involving not only the impact of gender, region, race, and class on these historians but also of more specific factors, like

time management, the impact of child rearing on careers, professional opportunities, and a myriad of other factors relating to professional influence and success. Additionally, these two volumes provide comparisons of their own between the influence of publications and organizations on the direction of a discipline. But most of all these collections provide an interesting read about the enthusiasms and challenges of being a historian in changing times. There are even instances in which each can be a page turner.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ARTHUR JAY KLINGHOFFER. *The Power of Projections: How Maps Reflect Global Politics and History*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2006. Pp. xv, 192. \$49.95.

This is a rather short book about a very large subject: the way in which maps have been used by those in authority to express their command of space. After the introduction and a chapter called "The Cartographer's Mirror," there are twelve chapters, grouped into the headings "Instruments of Power," "Worldviews," and "The Cartographical Revolution." The introduction insists on the "fluid and inventive nature of maps," drawing in a great variety of examples. This is indeed one of the strengths of Arthur Jay Klinghoffer's book: it ranges far and wide in the literature (provided that it is written in English).

The next three chapters, on "instruments of power," adduce a huge variety of examples to show government control of cartography in action. Some of these examples are particularly telling, and not widely known, like the way in which Chinese rulers of the third century B.C. are said (p. 27) to have buried maps in the tombs of high officials "as symbols of their authority that would ease passage to an afterlife." On occasion, the examples do not seem very accurate, as when we are told (p. 17) that "Europeans during the Baroque period (1550–1750) also stressed travel time and paid little consideration to surface area"; this assertion surely would have surprised Ortelius and his contemporaries. Klinghoffer ought not to find it remarkable that the Spaniards in 1523 appointed a Portuguese to be "Pilot Major," considering how many navigators of early modern times (John Cabot, Christopher Columbus, etc.) became famous outside their countries of birth. In general, this book adopts a curiously uncritical attitude toward the authors whom it cites, adducing the works of Samuel Bawlf and Gavin Menzies, for instance, without noting that the theories of these authors have not commanded general assent among specialists.

The chapters on "Worldviews" carry the argument forward chronologically, ranging from the early period of European expansion to the geopolitical theories of the nineteenth century, exemplified by thinkers like Alfred Mahan and Halford Mackinder. The author seems

much more at home in the discussion of these more recent theorists, and in his analysis of the geographical ideas of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Curiously, although he emphasizes Roosevelt's understanding of the importance of maps, he does not mention the three great globes which Roosevelt caused to be constructed in Chicago, shipping one each to Winston Churchill and to Joseph Stalin; he kept one himself, so as to ensure that the allied leaders could share the same geographical perception. The "Monroe Doctrine" often appears in this section of the book, though without commentary; it is as if Klinghoffer finds it quite normal for the United States to aspire to control the foreign policy of the states in the southern and northern part of the hemisphere.

The final section, on the "Cartographical Revolution," is in many ways the liveliest. J. B. Harley is described as a "leftist geographer," because he pointed out that some European maps of early times minimized the presence of native peoples, and insisted on the controlling nature of cartography. There are good, if short, critiques of some authors' attacks on "Eurocentricism" and "sexism," and an interesting analysis of the circumstances leading to the projection of Arno Peters (the "Peters Projection"). The author rarely offers any personal judgments on the phenomena he describes, but he does provide notes that are exceptionally full and wide-ranging for the last three chapters. It does not seem possible to find all the websites he quotes, but this seems a problem inherent in the system of citation that we have generally adopted.

DAVID BUISSETET
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NICHOLAS B. DIRKS. *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 389. \$27.95.

This is a robust polemic with which historians of the late eighteenth-century British state as well as the late eighteenth-century British empire will have to contend, not least because Nicholas B. Dirks convincingly argues that the two were inextricably linked. His main contentions are that the British Empire in India was founded on scandal, that the subsequent effort to reform what was purported to be "the private and indiosyncratic excesses of venality and corruption" (p. 31) in India legitimated and naturalized imperial domination, and that, as the nineteenth century progressed, "the principal scandals of Britain's global engagements . . . [were] expunged from the imperial record, and then shifted inexorably onto the colonized subjects of empire" (p. 34). The scandals perpetrated by the East India Company's servants were legion. Robert Clive, Paul Benfield, and a good many smaller fish, for instance, made off with fortunes amassed from bribe-taking, and extracted extortionate "presents" and interest on loans from rival contenders for supremacy in the Mughal successor states. While the Company frequently insisted

that it held its privileges on sufferance from the Mughals and the British Parliament, it unfailingly acted as a sovereign state that had full legal authority to wage war, aggrandize territory, and collect taxes, all of which it did at a prodigious rate. Finally, the Company's stakeholders took full advantage of its political domination to cash in on the inequitable and unfair terms of trade that the Company secured and enforced, not only within India, but across Asia by means of a "country trade" that was dominated by Company "servants" bent on carrying fortunes home with them.

More scandalous than the sins of the Company, Dirks argues, was the consolidation of an ostensibly "well-governed" empire that was predicated on political, economic, and cultural domination. This was a national endeavor made possible by the public cleansing of forms of corruption associated with Company rule, most notably through the lengthy impeachment trial of Warren Hastings, governor of Bengal, which ran from 1786 to 1795. One of the great political spectacles of the late Georgian era, the Hastings trial was the vehicle for Edmund Burke's celebrated attack on the excesses of Company rule. The articles of impeachment against Hastings were ultimately voted down. But the assault on him provided a good deal of the impetus for the reforms of the late eighteenth century that ensured closer parliamentary scrutiny of Indian affairs, sanitized the Indian bureaucracy, enhanced the efficiency of tax collection, created mechanisms for closer imperial control over local networks of political and economic power, and, in short, fostered a notion of British sovereignty that was based on the "justificatory logic that the good despotism that it provided was much better than the bad despotism India had known before conquest" (p. 207). Thus evolved a potent colonial fiscal-military state that over the next half-century conquered the Gurkhas and Marathas, gobbled up vast stretches of territory from Sind to the Punjab to Awadh, and exploited the subcontinent to British advantage far more systematically than the more venal but much less effective Company state had ever done. The scandal of Britain's imperial origins in India was quickly forgotten, and transferred to Indians themselves in the crusade of the 1820s and 1830s to suppress indigenous cultural practices that were obnoxious to British sensibilities, notably *sati* and the alleged "cult" of Thuggism. Nineteenth-century historians of empire from John Stuart Mill to J. R. Seeley took this process of transference even farther, suppressing the scandalous origins of the British presence in India while weaving "a narrative in which all abuses were blamed on the colonial other" (p. 279).

Dirks is right to suggest that it is past time for historians of late Georgian Britain to explore in appropriate detail the close relationship between the British metropolitan state and the colonial state in India, and the extent to which as early as the turn of the eighteenth century British nationalism was already informed by a keen awareness of empire and its putative claims and responsibilities. It would be unfair to expect Dirks to have plumbed the depths of these complicated issues

within the limits of this interpretive essay. Still, one might have expected him to pay rather less attention to the rhetorical flourishes of Burke and more to the policies of, say, William Pitt the Younger, Charles Cornwallis, or Richard Wellesley. "In the end," Dirks contends, "Burke's real legacy was the transformation of Company rule into British imperium" (p. 314). Surely this is claiming far too much credit for Burke's rhetorical assault on Hastings, and too little credit for the broader political and cultural setting in which the British presence in India came to be legitimated, broadened, and deepened. After reading Dirks's provocative book, however, scholars will be highly motivated to explore that setting in appropriate detail.

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FRANCIS M. CARROLL. *The American Presence in Ulster: A Diplomatic History, 1796–1996*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 281. \$29.95.

Francis M. Carroll opens this book with a clear and convincing premise regarding why the subject is important: that is, that between 1796 and 1996 relations flourished between the United States and Ulster, the region of Northern Ireland that in ancient times was an Irish kingdom. Those relations began with the newly independent United States being a major market for goods produced in Ulster, and the fact that by 1796 nearly a half-million Ulstermen had migrated to America. This volume covers the 200 years from 1796, the year when the American consulate first opened in Ulster, to 1996, when U.S. President Bill Clinton sought to move forward the Northern Ireland peace process.

Carroll describes at length how Ulster-American relations evolved, including noting that the first Ulstermen arrived in America in 1626, just six years after the Puritans. Ulster emigration to America took off between 1714 and 1720, and at least four Ulstermen were signers of the Declaration of Independence in 1776 (p. 9). The attraction, in Carroll's view, was that in America, whether Catholic or Protestant, once poor and non-Anglican Ulster immigrants could vote, enter various professions including law and the military, and move in high social circles, all of which were denied them in Ireland.

The main theme of the book is the establishment of the U.S. consulate in Belfast in 1796, encouraged by growing economic and political connections between Ulster and the United States. Carroll offers a detailed account of who the consuls were over time, and the importance of their diplomatic presence—and notes the difficulties presented to their work whenever British pressure was applied, as for example during the war of 1812. He also details the role played by the consuls in maintaining and expanding trade relations with Ulster. Nothing of significance that affected Ulster and U.S. views of Ulster is left out of this volume. For example, an entire chapter is devoted to the impact of the Great

Famine in Ireland in the 1840s. America sent large sums of relief money—including \$170,000 from the Choctaw Indian Tribe in Oklahoma Territory. Also, the American consuls published detailed information in Ireland concerning how Irish immigrants to America could arrange the safest passage.

Other subjects dealt with in detail include Belfast and the American Civil War, the ever increasing linen and farm machinery trade between America and Ulster, the impact of the sinking of the *Titanic* on the Ulster ship-building trade, the rising internal warfare encouraged by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the Irish Republican Army after 1916) aimed primarily at ending British rule in any part of Ireland, the postwar “troubles,” and finally, a detailed account of the efforts of the Clinton administration to bring an end to Catholic-Protestant violence in Ulster. This last item is especially significant. Carroll devotes sections at the beginning and the end of his study to the Clinton presence, concluding with an expression of hope that the peace process would have positive and permanent results. In the author’s words: “If the United States has successfully contributed to permanent peace and workable constitutional government in Northern Ireland, it will have returned a gift of equal measure. Truly the wheel will have turned full circle, and a bridge of common values will have spanned the Atlantic” (p. 244). And that, of course, would be the culmination of two centuries of close and positive American-Ulster ties.

This history is well written, well documented from both primary and secondary sources, and well argued regarding the key role played by American consuls in maintaining and expanding good relations between Ulster and the United States. It tells the complex story of how those relations evolved over 200 years, with ramifications for the southern Irish, the British, and other aspects of the international history of those two centuries. The book is a must read for historians and historical students interested in Irish and American history.

ROBERT COLE
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PAUL KRAMER. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 538. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$26.95.

Here is further proof that Philippine American history, once almost forgotten, has come of age. Paul Kramer’s ambitious book examines American colonial empire in the Philippines (but primarily the years 1899–1913) through the lens of race. Most modern accounts of the relationship discuss race, but Kramer finds them inadequate because they assume that race is essentially a static category instead of “a dynamic, contextual, contested, and contingent field of power.” The book is thus a “transnational history of race in the Philippine-American colonial encounter” (p. 2).

In lengthy chapters Kramer discusses the Spanish

background, the Philippine American War, the colonial state, the St. Louis World’s Fair of 1904, nation building, and the reaction to Filipino immigration. Race is central. His exploration of the Spanish background, for example, reveals that Filipino *ilustrados* wanted to be accepted as part of the Spanish elite by proving that they were as civilized as the Spanish—until Spanish racism ultimately persuaded them that that was impossible. One of Kramer’s numerous insights is that the *ilustrados*, wanting to be accepted as civilized, did not accept Muslims and mountain peoples as part of a common culture. An internalized colonial mentality thus developed that was analogous to Spanish perceptions of Filipinos in general as uncivilized.

Central to Kramer’s analysis is that the Philippine American War—the “foundational moment” (p. 28) in Philippine American history—was a “race war” (p. 89). A particularly insightful point is how the Americans delegitimized Emilio Aguinaldo’s Philippine Republic by reducing Filipinos to their alleged tribal affiliations. Kramer argues, less persuasively, that the war created “novel . . . racial formations” (p. 158). Kramer asserts that Americans waged “an exterminist war” (p. 139) sanctioned by racial concepts. That there were awful atrocities committed, with racial perceptions contributing to the atrocious behavior, is without question. But that the United States intended, or in general practiced, a war of extermination may be overstated. Kramer also implies that extreme tactics explain the American victory, while in fact Aguinaldo’s own political and military shortcomings contributed to his defeat.

In his discussion of the colonial state Kramer teases significant meaning out of the “cultures of collaboration” and William Howard Taft’s use of “fiesta politics” (pp. 185–186). But in some ways the chapter follows the analyses of Peter W. Stanley, Glenn May, Rodney Sullivan, and others. Kramer’s analysis of the world fairs, however, is particularly good when he takes us beyond the notorious Igorot village and examines the alleged sexual threat posed by Filipinos who consorted with American women. His analysis of the unhappy experiences of Hispanicized Filipino fairgoers is new and compelling.

Kramer’s final chapter covers the period from 1913 to the mid-1930s. He argues that Woodrow Wilson helped block attempts to confer independence. The Jones Act of 1916, which promised ultimate independence without setting a specific date, “sacrificed Philippine political independence to U.S. moral independence” (p. 363). The bill, and other successful Democratic efforts to Filipinize the government, were “highly effective hegemonic strategies” (p. 389). But it ought to be acknowledged that with the Jones Act the United States became the first country ever to declare its intention to free a colony. If these efforts were as essentially meaningless as Kramer implies, the Republicans would not have fought against them as hard as they did.

One of the best parts of the book is Kramer’s discussion of the Filipino immigrant experience. Many Fil-

ipinos were shocked at the racism they encountered, which culminated in the Watsonville, California "anti-Filipino race war" (p. 407) of 1929. Efforts were made in Congress to exclude Filipinos immigrants. Kramer's analysis of the anti-Filipino feeling in the country leads him to conclude that the drive toward a final promise of independence in the 1930s resulted "not from the politics of recognition but from the politics of exclusion" (p. 393). Watsonville, he states nicely, "was biology's spasmodic rebellion against empire" (p. 413). This is an important insight, although the idea that racism could be a basis of anti-imperialism is hardly new; but Kramer argues the thesis more forcefully, and with more evidence, than others. Still, the focus on racism may undervalue other factors in the decision to set the Philippines free, including a residual idealistic anticolonialism that was not without influence.

As with the Jones Act and Filipinization, Kramer diminishes the significance of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which set a firm date for Philippine independence, as "yet another moment in the unfolding of calibrated colonialism" (p. 424). Yet setting a specific date, even ten years hence, was something that Taft and the Republicans never envisioned.

In sum, this is a very important work, one based on prodigious reading of secondary works (which the author generously recognizes in his extensive footnotes) and published and unpublished primary sources. Though some of his insights may be questioned, and the book does not fully replace earlier works, it does approach its subject in a fresh and provocative way.

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LARRY G. GERBER. *The Irony of State Intervention: American Industrial Relations Policy in Comparative Perspective, 1914-1939*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. vii, 212. \$40.00.

The "irony" in the title of Larry G. Gerber's stimulating book refers to the passage of the Wagner (National Labor Relations) Act of 1935. How did it happen, Gerber asks, that laissez-faire America opted for so intrusive a state intervention into its industrial relations regime? Such an action, Gerber adds, "would have been inconceivable during the same period in Britain," America's companion in "having a 'weak state'" (p. 3). The comparative history that proceeds from these observations goes in two directions. On one axis Gerber posits three levels of industrial relations activity/policy: macro (national); meso (industrywide); and micro (firm or plant level). On a second, temporal axis he posits two nodes around which activity/policy cluster. One he calls, following Otto Kahn-Freund, "collectivist laissez faire," in which "the state is largely a referee between organized workers and employers who must still compete in the marketplace"; the other, in a variety of guises, corporatism, in which "organized interests cooperate with the state to produce outcomes designed to serve the public interest" (p. 8). The premise of Gerber's book is that

this particular analytical frame, applied comparatively, will yield an answer to the remarkable divergence of national labor policies in 1935.

At the opening of the twentieth century, Gerber writes, there was little to choose between in British and American trade unionism: not in structure, nor politics, nor relative power. Thereafter a gap opened on all these fronts, most importantly, in Gerber's view, regarding relative power, with union density in Britain rising to twenty-five percent by 1914 while remaining at ten percent in the United States. Collective laissez faire prevailed in both countries, but far more efficaciously for British labor. On both sides of the Atlantic, World War I up-ended the status quo, empowering unions, stirring rank-and-file militancy, and invoking state authority in unprecedented ways. It is this last, the induction into war-mandated corporatism, that most interests Gerber and launches his illuminating comparative analysis of corporatist impulses during the 1920s and into the Great Depression. Britain, already accustomed to meso-level labor-management relations by virtue of its industry-wide bargaining system, did a lot more talking, but it was the United States that, under the aegis of the New Deal, took the great leap into corporatism. Gerber is at his best explaining why the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) of 1933 happened in America. Its economic crisis was more severe; it had the benefit, in the person of FDR, of more daring leadership; antitrust restraints gave American firms a greater incentive to make a deal with the state; and the labor movement was far weaker. This last, in Gerber's view, was the clincher, because a bilateral arrangement, with labor substantially excluded, was the precondition for employer cooperation. And, indeed, Gerber's central claim is that, in comparative terms, anti-unionism was the key American difference.

Yet at this climactic point, Gerber's argument flags, or, more precisely, his comparative framework lets him down. The NIRA is passed; it fails, ignominiously; and what is left standing is the very antithesis of corporatism, a labor law intervening at the micro level and aimed at fostering collective laissez faire. It is a disjuncture that Gerber never quite surmounts. His difficulty is that the core principles animating the Wagner Act have a history independent of his corporatist subject. Gerber is too good a historian not to acknowledge this legal/doctrinal history, and too thorough not to cover all bases. So, among other explanations, he says that state intervention against employer anti-unionism derived ultimately from "political values that were widely accepted among the American people" (p. 137). But there is nothing in his comparative analysis to sustain that conclusion. Such a possibility has, indeed, been foreclosed by another, more far-reaching claim that Gerber makes.

In his view, "differing economic contexts, not differences in ideological or cultural predispositions, ultimately . . . made Britain, not the United States, the more congenial environment for . . . collective laissez faire" (p. 149). This is a provocative formulation, ex-

pressed most strikingly in Gerber's argument that, if American employers were antiunion, that was primarily because of the more advanced technology and managerial systems at their disposal. But it has the effect of leaving him with an analytical framework incapable of capturing the dynamics that extracted state-mandated collective *laissez faire* from the rubble of America's great corporatist experiment.

Still, Gerber has to be given credit. His book, a mere 150 pages of text, is a marvel of concision, deeply grounded, despite its brevity, in two formidable literatures and, for a work of comparative history, graced by a robust narrative. We have plenty of books that are drearily "definitive." Not many are bracingly provocative, in the best sense, and on that basis, Gerber's book is very much to be welcomed.

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MANUELA A. WILLIAMS. *Mussolini's Propaganda Abroad: Subversion in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, 1935-1940*. (Studies in Intelligence Series.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. xii, 238. \$120.00.

Manuela A. Williams has produced a competent and succinct survey of her topic. She splits her book into four segments: an introduction to interwar Italo-British relations in the eastern Mediterranean broadly defined; more precise focus on the situation successively in Palestine and Egypt; and, finally, an account of British reaction to Italian pushing, along with a last chapter examining Italian intelligence as a whole. Sometimes this division is strained. Williams delineates Nazi policy as well as the Fascist Italian line and, on occasion, records developments in places as far apart as Algeria, India, Thailand, and Italian immigrant "communities" in the United States.

On her first page, Williams remarks confidently that "during the last two decades there have been significant advances in the field of intelligence history and propaganda studies, which have been generally held to have revolutionized our understanding of the approach, outbreak and subsequent course of the Second World War." But her research, though useful, scarcely entails a "revolution." We learn that Italy was an ambitious and even wayward power in the diplomatic practice of the moment, and that its intrusiveness was greatest and at its most annoying between the attack on Ethiopia in October 1935 and the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. During those months Italy spent lavishly on its own information (or disinformation) services and was generous toward any Arab or other Islamic nationalists who sought its care (Williams produces her best character portrait in a book that is too brief to indulge much in such depiction in the case of the Syrian journalist, Shakib Arslan).

In response, the old imperial powers of the region, especially Britain, were troubled, all the more because they had scarcely reckoned with Italy as a serious po-

tential enemy in the past (Williams does not probe what may have been the ideological affinity between British spymasters and Fascism). An "Italian Peril" never made it to the front of the international stage. As Williams adroitly displays, one reason was that the simplicity of ideology fitted too uneasily with the complexity of fact in zone after zone. By late 1936, Italy was locking itself into an tightening alliance with Nazi Germany but the Nazis, until 1939 and beyond, tended to see the eastern Mediterranean as a proper British sphere of influence and, ironically, were ready to appease London over Palestine and Egypt. Nonetheless, despite reluctance in Berlin, Williams recognizes that "national socialist ideas had an electrifying effect" (p. 91) among young anticolonialists throughout the Middle East, but she adds that the dynamism involved was self-interested and self-defined and meshed erratically with Italian efforts to dominate.

Williams underlines in her introduction that "the contradiction between Italy's imperialistic ambitions and its anti-colonialist propaganda was clearly sensed by large sectors of Arab public opinion" (p. 4), and her book reveals confusion and contradiction as often as it does a thrust to power. Fascism, she concludes, produced an intelligence service characterized more by "duplication of functions, lack of communication and extreme competition" (p. 176) than by sleek totalitarian efficiency.

In general, Williams could do more to tease apart different currents of Italian ambition, some Fascist or Mussolinian, some nationalist, some Catholic and monarchist (these last two scarcely mentioned in her analysis) and some a curious medley. In Egypt, Ernesto Verucci Bey was court architect, a position that reflected an "Italian" cultural influence in the eastern Mediterranean that predated the *Risorgimento* and remained not wholly reconciled with the newish concept of a united Italian nation. Williams suggests that the British were probably wrong to worry too much about Verucci because he was "a Freemason and as such an antagonist of Mussolini's regime" (p. 127). But matters were less simple than that. Fascism had warred publicly against Masonry, but that campaigning did not mean that all Fascists were deathly enemies of all Masons or vice versa. What is most missing in Williams's book is a detailed and sensitive account of how "Italian communities" functioned in the eastern Mediterranean, who belonged to them (quite a number were Jews with no direct connection to the Italian peninsula), what complex of cultures they embodied, and how the combination expressed an "Italian mission" that was simultaneously old and new.

Williams's account, then, reveals something of the impact of a country that, despite Fascist dictatorship, never stopped being the least of the Great Powers in a region of its considerable interest. Implicitly at least, she also shows that those who heard its propaganda or accepted its largesse were as motivated by the ancient

principle that the enemy of my enemy is my friend as they were by anything modern and "fascist."

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CHRISTOPHER E. FORTH and IVAN CROZIER, editors. *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2005. Pp. ix, 273. \$90.00.

The threshold of historical studies has advanced far beyond the political, economic, and social domains favored in the first six decades of the previous century, even beyond the private and personal realms explored by historians of the family, gender, and women in the past fifty years. Christopher E. Forth and Ivan Crozier, a historian and a sociologist, have assembled thirteen essays by historians of culture, gender, and sexuality, as well as by specialists in religion, literature, and psychology from Australia, Britain, Europe, and North America. The essays examine body parts ranging from appendages like legs, visible features like braids and skin, and external/internal parts like biceps, bellies, breasts and bums, they but also penetrate the skin to probe internal parts like the anus and pelvis, corporeal fluids like blood, organic systems like the digestive tract, and physiological processes. Most of the essays are empirically based but theoretically informed, notably by French and feminist theorists on the body. In the aptly titled "Introduction: Parts, Wholes, and Peoples," the editors make the credible claim that the collection demonstrates that studying body parts reveals modern illusions about wholeness and how the body and its parts are implicated in individual and collective identity formation.

The essays are organized into two sections. The first and longer section, called "Classifying," includes four historical essays inspired by Michel Foucault's theories about biomedical discipline. The editors also reference Mikhail Bakhtin on the premodern body as grotesque, overflowing its boundaries, and Françoise Loux and Barbara Duden, whose work on premodern medicine and folklore posit a porous body, open to the world. These four essays track how biomedical specialists in evolutionary theory, forensics, gynecology, obstetrics, physiology, and sexology, often in combination with criminologists, lawyers and judges, used the presence or absence of blushing, characteristics of unnamable parts like bums (euphemistically called the fundament), the diseased rectum, and medical folklore about a "primitive pelvis" and racially based pain tolerance to detect criminal "types," draw parallels between cholera and homosexuality, describe a "homosexual anus" in a vain effort to identify sodomites/homosexuals, or withhold pain relief and otherwise mistreat African and especially African American women in labor.

The other three essays in "Classifying" move beyond the canonical Foucauldian mix of medicine, sexuality, and law. Although Fredrik Albritton Johsson's essay on manual dexterity is aligned with biodiscipline, he fo-

cuses on how ideas about manual dexterity were applied in the economy, as ideas about manual dexterity and the division of labor traveled from Adam Smith, to Erasmus Darwin, to the entrepreneur Josiah Wedgwood. Jay Geller's essay situates the poet Heinrich Heine's representations of the braid or *zopf* of German Jews as gendered and ethnic indexes of German-Jewish relations in the context of the European penchant for stereotyping and thereby distancing "others" by fixating on certain body parts, in this case the braid or *zopf*. Fiona Giles's essay on contemporary efforts to express "the integrated breast," meaning the maternal as well as the erotic breast, in the little-known but apparently thriving movement for adult nursing and equally unfamiliar but also flourishing phenomenon of lactation pornography is more closely aligned with the later Foucault as appropriated by feminist theorists. Giles cites Julia Kristeva's concept of the maternal body as a prelinguistic state. For readers who have not read Kristeva, the brief citation is insufficiently informative.

The six essays subsumed under the heading "Construction" treat transformations of body parts and what these transformations tell us about sexual and gender identity. Here there are some surprises for historians unaware of recent research on transsexuals, much of which queries just how subversive transsexuals are of a "two-sex" system. Although both are relatively contemporary in their content, they do reference historical work on sexuality such as Thomas Laqueur's important work on the shift from a one to a two-sex system. Dan O'Connor's "Potential Space, Potential Sex" finds that male to female transsexual autobiographies stress the absence of a penis over the addition of a vagina, a finding that bring attention back to the penis. In this connection, O'Connor quotes Luce Irigaray's contention that "masculinist discourse" defines the vagina "as a negative image" of the penis and her appropriation of Jacques Lacan's position on women as lack. Readers with little knowledge of Irigaray may miss the subtlety of the argument. Vernon Rosario's study of female to male (FTM) transsexuals insists that FTMs see the penis as a physiological—not a semiotic—signifier of sex and gender. Rosario further argues that the majority of female to male transsexuals are heterosexuals "most concerned about other men's perception of their penis" (p. 184). Once more we are back to the penis, which seems to suggest the persistence of the one-sex, male model with deficient variants, women/vaginas. Neither author wanders far down that speculative path, although Rosario cites feminist critics of Laqueur's thesis about the historic switch from the one-sex to two-sex model, noting that the change did not significantly alter hierarchical notions about men and women.

Two of these essays turn to less obvious markers of masculine sexuality than the penis. Forth's piece on "Guts and Manhood" tracks how the medical profession advocated improving digestion and excretion while physical culturalists emphasized building abdominal muscles as responses to the "crisis of masculinity" in late nineteenth-century France. While doctors held

that indigestion and constipation were symptoms of a sedentary and decadent lifestyle, and of the catchall medical condition known as neurasthenia, body builders promoted strong abdominal muscles, which they claimed were visible evidence of both digestive regularity and irreproachable character. Forth directly challenges the Foucauldian paradigm about the body as saturated with sexuality, positing instead a three-way relationship among brains, genitals, and the digestive tract. Ana Carden-Coyne's demonstrates how body-building ideologies, especially the repeated appeal to classical ideas of a harmonious masculine beauty, in the decade after World War I linked building biceps to rehabilitation of male bodies fractured by the war. She sees a direct relationship between bulging biceps and large penises, and between both of them and the image of the whole man.

The final two essays venture further away from the purely sexual aspects of identity. Maren Möhring's study of German nudism, 1890 to 1930, connects sunbathing and other aspects of skin care in nudism with thermodynamic theories of the body and, more generally, the "scientization of the body." The author also discerns a link between hardening the skin and putting on armor, or a militarization of the skin in the 1920s. Finally, Carolyn Ward Comiskey's essay on a famous legal case about a botched "calf reduction" in the 1920s correlates the case with the rising hemline of women's dress, but also with the professionalization of cosmetic surgery in 1930s France.

After reading this book, the skeptical historian may wonder about the breadth of the claims about parts of the body as indicators of identity, however defined, or as differently defined in the various essays. However, the open-minded historian will want to learn more, specifically whether these claims apply in other discourses, places, and times.

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ASIA

SARAH SCHNEEWIND. *Community Schools and the State in Ming China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 298. \$55.00

In this meticulously researched and eloquently written book, Sarah Schneewind unravels the myths concerning the institution of the Chinese community school (*shexue*) launched in the first decades of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). According to an imperial edict issued in 1375, every village in the empire was to build a school that any boy might attend to acquire basic literacy and moral improvement. The emperor responsible for the decree was the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang, considered by both contemporaries and later historians a despot, but also known as "an effective architect of state and society." It is this latter portrayal that the author convincingly demonstrates could not be "more questionable" (p. 8).

Using a wide range of local gazetteers, documentary collections, and writings by Ming scholar officials, Schneewind lays bare "the shaky foundations" of Zhu's directive, exposing the tensions between the power of central government and the authority of local society. She shows clearly that the original mandate was ineffective, and that it was really Zhu's successors on the throne who realized an empire-wide education system regulated by state-deputized attendants. In the course of time these schools became an asset of local society, centers of Neo-Confucianism that barred the influences of Buddhism, Daoism, and popular religion. By the mid-sixteenth century, the community school also became a site for social advancement where boys gained basic reading and writing skills, and knowledge of Confucian ethics and ritual, all essential to those wanting to enter the civil service examination track. In turn, their teachers, gentry patrons, and some ambitious officials with the aim of transforming local society, earned social capital for their support of this institution. The high point of community school establishment came during the reign of the Jiajing emperor (1522–1566) when some 183 schools were founded, out of a total number of 551 for the entire dynasty (p. 52). The Neo-Confucian "activist" administrators responsible for this burst of school-building were bent on controlling the local populace as well as promoting their own political and philosophical positions. By the final decades of the dynasty, however, the "localist initiative" to create community schools surpassed efforts by central government representatives. With the aim of bolstering the prestige of their native regions, local gentry backed by ordinary people (merchants, rich landowners, and so on) took the lead to erect schools, an enterprise that the author argues is indicative of a general late Ming movement by commoners to involve themselves in local projects such as community granaries or mutual security groups.

Aside from explicating how the schools worked, how they changed over time, and even how they compared to contemporaneous European education organizations, this book is useful too for understanding the historiography of the Ming dynasty. Schneewind counters the gravitational pull of the emperor-centered narrative with a dynamic exposé of the complexity of interactions between the local community and the community schools as state-sponsored institutions. She provides ample evidence to argue that "the Ming state was built from below as well as from above; as people colonized government institutions and documents for their own aims, they lengthened the reach of the state" (p. 5). She also traces how commentators from the imperial era to the present have manipulated the confusing historical record about community schools for their own agenda, from loyal contemporary Ming scholar-officials anxious to deflect any reference of the pre-Ming origins of *shexue*, to Marxist/Maoist scholars hostile to "traditional education," to late twentieth-century historians in search of the first signs of a civil society in late imperial China.

Although Schneewind takes to task modern histori-

ans for misinterpreting the long-term fortunes of the Ming community school in terms of “steady deterioration,” “transitori[ness],” or “failure” (pp. 31–32), she offers little information about the fate of this institution during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Instead, she whets the reader’s appetite with an all too brief comparison of the two kinds of state organization: that is, Ming-style “disunity” as opposed to Qing-style “tight control” (p. 168). Given the author’s purpose to help wipe out the idea of [imperial] China “as the homeland of despotism” (p. 1), one would have expected more than a few words about this matter in the conclusion. Unfortunately, the impression of “Ming autocracy” and “Qing tyranny” continues to dominate much comparative writing on China and Europe, and thus one feels there is a missed opportunity here to correct the historical record. But this is only one minor point of critique for an important book that will prove of great interest to China scholars and others interested in the history of education and state-society relations.

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BRETT L. WALKER. *The Lost Wolves of Japan*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 331. \$35.00.

This book by Brett L. Walker is a fascinating historical exploration of Japanese representations of wolves. The main thrust of the book is to explain how and why the wolf, which originally was seen as a benign animal protecting farmers’ fields against forest animals such as wild boar, deer, and hares, turned into a noxious animal. Walker gives three main reasons for this shift. First, people turned against wolves in the eighteenth century when violent, rabid animals killed many people, prompting both peasants and regional authorities to organize large wolf-hunting parties. Second, American expatriates introduced strychnine to exterminate wolves so that horse breeding and other agricultural development schemes could become feasible on Hokkaido. Third, a bounty system based on American models was implemented in most of Japan. The “success” of these schemes was total, leading to what has been regarded as the extinction of wolves around 1905.

It is Walker’s thesis that modernization—and by implication Westernization—brought about this radical shift in attitudes. The introduction of modern science prepared the ground and made the use of strychnine and bounty culturally acceptable. Chapter one offers a penetrating analysis of how modern science created the Japanese wolf. Where traditional species identification had been vague (allowing interbreeding between wolves and village dogs, among other things), the Linnaean taxonomy introduced new rigidities to Japanese perspectives, replacing local representations with a nationalistic one. It seems that the failure of the modern taxonomy to take the flexibility of local classification

systems into account forced a dualistic way of thinking into the Japanese mind.

Walker returns to science in chapter six, which discusses wolf extinction theories and the emergence of a Japanese ecology. Two hypotheses for the extermination proposed by folklorists and ecologists, respectively, are contrasted. The arguments are too complex to be summarized here, but Walker takes a middle-ground position, suggesting that it was the “intersection of cultural and ecological forces that created and killed the wolves in Japan” (p. 108).

The author has a second axe to grind: he claims that “nonhuman animals have complex mental lives and hence create cultures” (p. 15). It is here that I have one of my problems with the book. I am not provoked by his insistence; the author does not really venture into an analysis of emotions and cultures of Japanese wolves. On the contrary, I am surprised that he does not make more of this point as it is a widely held notion in Japan that animals have agency, experiences, and stories of their own. Japanese perceptions of animals are complex but in general animals and humans are seen as interacting in a state of reciprocity. Wolves continue to protect fields in return for farmers’ veneration but may turn malign if farmers fail to repay. In such a world view, rabid wolves might be interpreted as a sign of human infidelity. Rather than retaliate by mass hunting (as argued by Walker), farmers may perform rituals to restore the relationship, as indicated in passing by Walker himself (p. 211). John Knight’s *Waiting for the Wolves in Japan: An Anthropological Study of People-Wildlife Relations* (2003) will in this regard be a nice companion to Walker’s book.

Walker does an admirable job trying to document the importance of wolf images in Japanese culture. Yet, I feel that this book is more informed by current Western images of wolves than of Japanese ones. The author admits this. It was his experience with wolves in the United States that made him ask questions about wolves in Japan. In Western societies wolves may today be regarded as charismatic megafauna, species with special appeal to the public. William Cronon, in his foreword, suggests reasons for this, “not least, [the wolves’] close kinship to the domesticated dogs” (p. xi). In Western dualistic conceptions of the world, dogs and wolves have come to symbolize culture and nature (wilderness), respectively. Bringing these two sides together, as in hybridization, is seen a threat and frowned upon. In monistic worldviews, however, there is no such division between culture and nature. Dogs and wolves do not have the symbolic power in Japan they have in the West; they are neither man’s best friend nor worst foe. Hence they are, as the author clearly shows, allowed to mate.

The wolf is a significant animal in Western thought because of its strong association with wilderness, and it has therefore become a powerful icon in the environmental critique of modernity. In Japan, where modernity is closely connected to Westernization, the wolf can easily be given a chauvinistic twist and has come to sym-

bolize an original Japanese harmony with nature. I wish Walker had written more about how wolves have been used in nationalistic discourse.

Nonetheless, drawing on biology, history, and folklore, Walker has written a well-researched book with a message to all who are interested not only in our representations of wolves but in human-nature relations in general.

ARNE KALLAND

DONALD KEENE. *Frog in the Well: Portraits of Japan by Watanabe Kazan, 1793–1841*. (Asia Perspectives: History, Society, and Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 289. \$24.50.

Donald Keene's first book on Western studies in Tokugawa Japan, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe*, appeared in 1952. A half century later his first volume on Japanese art history revisits what scholars in that country knew of Western learning in the early nineteenth century and explores the works of a fine painter who is little recognized outside Japan.

Keene's lively narrative treats Watanabe Kazan as astonishingly inquisitive about the Western world from which Japan was largely cut off after 1600. Kazan was a son of a poor samurai retainer of Tahara, a minor fief in today's Aichi prefecture. Born and reared in Edo (old Tokyo), he took up painting as a youth to support his family and in his mid-twenties grew interested in Dutch studies, the only path to Western learning at the time. Eventually he was imprisoned for his devotion to foreign learning and his supposed support for a recent revolt in Ōsaka. Sentenced to house arrest the following year, he grew disheartened and killed himself in 1841.

In an essay written two years before the Opium War of 1839–1841, Kazan made plain his fear of Russian and British encroachment on Japan. "I wonder," he wrote, "how long we shall go on waiting with folded arms for the arrival of an invader?" (p. 160). As a knowledgeable Confucianist and loyal retainer, he defended Japan's entrenched policy of excluding Westerners apart from the Dutch, yet in 1838 "Kazan favored modernizing the Japanese military with the latest European weapons" (p. 167) to preserve national independence. Kazan's writings about the West, based mainly on books from Holland translated for him by others, seemed subversive to those officials in Edo who thought the West had nothing to teach Japan. He noted that the chief Dutch trader in Nagasaki ridiculed the large processions whereby fief lords made their ways to and from Edo. As Keene puts it, "he used the expression *seia*, or 'the frog in the well' (which is ignorant of the great ocean), again and again in his essays to characterize the Japanese" (p. 135). Although taught to regard foreigners who were unfamiliar with Confucianism as barbarians, Kazan understood that Dutch education was far from barbarian, and he doubted "the appropriateness of calling Christianity a heresy, in view of its being the established religion of most foreign countries" (p. 136)—even though

his curiosity about this religion, banned in Japan since the early seventeenth century, courted personal danger.

Kazan is remembered today less for his thirst for Western knowledge than as a paragon of loyalty and filiality, cardinal Confucian virtues for Tokugawa-era samurai. Yet, as Keene shows, Kazan's true fame rests in his remarkable paintings. Most were works in the approved *bunjin* (literati) style, produced for profit, but greater fame attaches to his portraits, especially that of Satō Issai, completed in 1821 and based on an almost unprecedented eleven preliminary sketches. This work uses techniques of shading and confers an individuality on its subject rarely seen in earlier Japanese art. Both his genre and his travel paintings reveal everyday life in the Tokugawa period as diverse and often humorous. Keene, ever frank to acknowledge his debt to Japanese art historians, emphasizes that by 1832, "realism had come to be the touchstone of [Kazan's] art. Although this attitude may have germinated spontaneously within Kazan, it is more likely to have stemmed from a new experience: his meeting with the West" (p. 89). By contrast, Keene examines four of his finest late paintings—Confucius portrayed as a samurai, a stripeless and toothless tiger, a geisha without makeup, and a subdued landscape—and finds in them "the absence of obvious influence from Western art" (p. 142). Kazan founded no school, nor did his works exert much pull on the next generation of painters. Just as his essays on the foreign dangers facing Japan fell short of a full embrace of Western knowledge, Kazan's techniques at times anticipated but did not lead directly to Japan's late nineteenth-century fascination with Western painting.

Keene's lively and enjoyable volume is enhanced by thirty-eight beautiful illustrations. The author broadens the usual dates for Japan's Bakumatsu era (1853–1868) to include the early nineteenth century (p. 33). When Keene writes that "the seclusion of the country was virtually complete" (p. 17) in the Tokugawa period, surely he means that Japan was isolated from the West, not from Asia. Readers may question the assertion that "if Western influence had been allowed to continue and grow, Japanese culture might have changed as decisively in the early seventeenth century as it did after the Meiji Restoration of 1868" (p. 25). But none who take up this smoothly written, instructive volume will fail to be edified by its portraits of the artist and his world of crisis and curiosity vis-à-vis the West.

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DAVID R. AMBARAS. *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan*. (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 297. \$49.95.

According to its author, this work "treats the policing of urban youth as a crucial arena for the development of new state structures and new forms of social power . . . in modern Japan." It is about "juvenile delin-

quency," construed "not as an objective social fact but a phenomenon constructed through particular modes of representation, analysis, and treatment in relation to power" (p. 2). Conflating "delinquency" with "deviance," David R. Ambaras acknowledges from the outset that early modern writers on childhood "provided no systematic analysis of juvenile deviance" but that there was a general notion by 1900 of what constituted *furyō* ("no-good") behavior in young people (p. 3). Focusing on the period from 1895 to 1945, Ambaras explores how the national education, employment, and military systems all tried to cope with perceived problems of adolescent misbehavior and to shape youth into docile, patriotic citizens within an expanding empire. He describes how training programs linked to the military-industrial complex gradually augmented and eclipsed the primary education system as venues for social and political conditioning, and how Japan's wartime regime from some point, "like its counterparts in Nazi Germany, the United States, and elsewhere" used "policies of 'enforced homogeneity' to foster national unity, overcome social conflict, and thus maximize social efficiency and productivity" (p. 7).

The analysis draws colorfully on popular fiction (Tanizaki Junichiro, Kawabata Yasunari, Hayashi Fumiko), sociologists' writings, laws, official reports, and newspaper columns. Ambaras begins with a chapter on "Unruly Youth and the Early Modern Polity," covering the Tokugawa period. I agree that the narrative should begin here, since as Ambaras notes later (p. 143) so much of his modern subject matter has deep Tokugawa roots. But here one begins to wish for some clearer definitions. He alludes (p. 12) to an instance of a *hatamoto* killing a manservant having learned he was a "deviant" (in this case, *kabukimono*) in 1612. I have myself compared the *yakko* or *kabukimono* gangsters of Genroku Osaka to modern American street gangs, and am always a proponent of comparative history. But so many of the "deviants" described later in the work have little in common with these seventeenth-century ones, aside from their youth (which is, of course, an evolving, demographically contingent category). It is one thing to be a teenager stabbing or robbing people in the seventeenth century; another to be a teenager frequenting coffee houses, indulging in "illicit" sex, or reading Karl Marx in the 1930s. All may have been seen as "no-good" by ruling elites, but I am not sure they constitute a single object of historical study and would have liked to find in this work a clearer definition of delinquency as a historical phenomenon.

Indeed this book would be best described as a broad history of youth in Japan from mid-Meiji to the end of World War II, with special attention to the "badness" very often attributed to youth, perhaps particularly in societies steeped in neo-Confucianism and in the concept that virtue must be cultivated in each child through ritual and indoctrination. (This is something Ambaras hardly touches on.) It is a gendered history, giving ample attention (for example) to state and private efforts to control young women's sexual behavior. But curi-

ously it omits discussion of the application of samurai morality to commoner society after 1868; this creates new categories of female *furyō* behavior. A commoner girl in Tokugawa Japan would have been judged very differently by state authority than a *moga* ("modern girl") in the 1920s indulging in comparable behavior. The latter was "delinquent," but was the former? And if not, does not the disconnect problematize the very construction of a history of delinquency?

Ambaras is certainly aware of the ambiguities of his subject matter, noting for example that the conflict between state authority and putatively wayward youth was not irreconcilable; Japan's imperial enterprise, he notes "had room for working-class punks" who could be usefully employed in Manchuria. The state could also use what was posited at any given point as "delinquency" for its own ends. Tolerated cultural figures in fascist Japan could sympathetically depict a "delinquent girl" as did filmmaker Mizoguchi Kenji in 1936 (pp. 152–153). Meanwhile the state could depict as wholly errant the most wholesome studious youth who happened to be attracted to communism. The "bad youth" (*rebel* youth?) of this book's title surely existed in people's minds, but as objects of historical inquiry, they are an amorphous lot.

References to juvenile delinquency and its handling—in Weimar Germany, turn-of-the-century Paris, the United States—appear here and there throughout the book (pp. 144–145, 188), although there are no systematic comparisons. In any case, Ambaras has written a compact, engaging book about young people in their complex confrontations with an emergent modern capitalist-imperialist state.

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SHELDON POLLOCK. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 684. \$75.00.

This is a tour de force, examining in detail the cultural and political worlds of Sanskrit and its related languages over two millennia. The book emerges from Sheldon Pollock's long-standing interests in the evolution of Sanskrit as an intellectual enterprise, its links to South Asian cultural forms and social and political power, as well as Sanskrit's relationships to the emergence of alternative, vernacular, modes of communication and culture. Pollock has written widely on these issues, editing books most recently on cosmopolitanism and the vernacular. He has also been at the forefront of an international, cooperative project entitled "Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism" (SKSEC), which aims to delineate the "structure and social context of Sanskrit science and knowledge" in the "pre-modern" era before direct European intervention. While this project has produced some controversy by virtue of its inherent claim (substantiated by Pollock in 2001) that Sanskrit effectively "died" as an important

medium of thought at the advent of British imperial rule, it has nevertheless served to elucidate very effectively the last intellectual "flowering" of Sanskrit ca. 1550–1750.

The present volume is, in many ways, far more ambitious than the SKSEC project, both in its chronological scope and its argument, and serves to tie together most of Pollock's intellectual interests of the last decade or so. In essence, the book constitutes a long-running (at some 600 pages) substantiation of the twinned hypotheses that at the beginning of the Common Era, Sanskrit was transformed from a solely religious language to a "code for literary and political expression," and that a millennium later, Sanskrit was itself gradually replaced in the worlds of culture and political power by "local speech forms." Pollock labels this first millennium the era of the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis," and the book examines the links of *kavya* (literature), *prashasti* (poetry that praises the king), and *vyakarana* (language analysis or grammar) to the cultural and political modalities of the kings and courts of southern Asia (and beyond). The case of *vyakarana* is especially interesting, given that this science has so often been characterized as arcane and obscure (not least by James Mill). Pollock convincingly reasserts the political relevancy of grammatical analysis, arguing that "correctness" of expression, and in the understanding of literature, was an important sociopolitical resource. Thus, Samudragupta (r. ca. 335–375 C.E.) is characterized in one *prashasti* as a truly learned king, "master of the true meanings of the *sastras*." From ca. 1000 C.E., according to Pollock's thesis, Sanskrit was gradually eclipsed in the political and social worlds of men by the vernaculars it spawned. Here Pollock presents the reader with a very interesting examination of the power of Kannada, in particular, spoken in an area approximating the present-day state of Karnataka. Drawing on a wide range of epigraphical and textual evidence, such as the *Kavirajamargam*, the first South Asian text on vernacular aesthetics, Pollock traces how Kannada emerged into the realm of the political as a powerful language largely by virtue of its regional, rather than cosmopolitan, character.

As with any sweeping synthesis of historical processes, there are inevitably inconvenient exceptions to Pollock's thesis. For example, it is argued that the language codified in Panini's grammatical treatise, the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* (ca. mid-first millennium B.C.E.), was confined to Vedic ritual and pedagogy, and was not in any sense a language of "this world," and Pollock also shifts Patanjali, famous commentator on the *Aṣṭadhyāyī*, from his commonly accepted date of 150 B.C.E. forward to 150 C.E. Moreover, the terms and findings of the SKSEC project itself stand as something of a disclaimer to the processes of vernacularization that Pollock describes. Indeed, the motif of disjuncture (and the accompanying emphasis on "newness") upon which the book's rhetorical force is based ultimately renders somewhat problematic any discussion of forms of continuity across the millennial divides Pollock theorizes,

most particularly between the Sanskrit/cosmopolitan and the vernacular/regional. The question that will engage scholars over the next years, therefore, will be whether such problems substantially undermine the theoretical framework and the detailed points that Pollock makes here, or whether they stand as minor qualifications to an otherwise impressive piece of scholarship.

Several chapters of the book also make comparisons between the South Asian experience and the trajectory of Latin in Europe, which should make the book of interest to those working outside the historical context of South Asia. But this is a book principally for historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and linguists of South Asia. It is a difficult book, both in terms of the content and often the way that content is presented. Nevertheless, the rich detail and the provocative argument presented here should be viewed as a call for historians of South Asia to engage their attention in more substantial ways on the importance of language in the subcontinent, as indeed it also serves as a call to Sanskrit scholars to utilize their own very substantial linguistic skills to further elaborate or qualify Pollock's historical analysis. This study is ample evidence of Pollock's wide-ranging and deep erudition, and it should serve to establish him at the very forefront of the historical and cultural study of Sanskrit and South Asian language.

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INES G. ŽUPANOV. *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)*. (History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 374. \$75.00.

The Jesuits were on the front lines of early modern Christian expansion around the world, growing in number from 1,000 at the death of their founder, Ignatius Loyola, in 1556 to more than 15,000 in the early seventeenth century. They left behind an extensive paper trail of letters, devotional literature, and rhetorical and polemical works. Drawing on these documents, Ines G. Županov has written an engaging account of the relatively neglected story of Jesuit mission work in the Portuguese empire in India. She begins with a definition of her use of the words "tropics" and "tropicality," metaphors for the unique character of the encounter between European Christians and India. She finds "tropicality" a better word than other anthropological terms such as acculturation, inculturation, or métissage.

Whether her terms are any better than the alternatives is not clear, but her attention to anthropological theory, especially in the works of Victor Turner and Michel de Certeau, sustains the most interesting part of her book, a series of essays on the development in India of a new form of Christianity. "Tropical Christianity" was fully Roman Catholic yet sufficiently local to appeal to the hearts and minds of non-Western converts. Her

focus is not on the non-Western Christians but on the Jesuits themselves as they organized hospitals, wrote Tamil grammars and catechisms, and trained Indian priests. Županov argues that the early modern Jesuit mission was fundamentally different from modern Christian missions, especially those in the British colonial era, because of the unique "porosity of cultures celebrated by the Jesuits" (p. 270). Yet her account of the Jesuit mission is striking precisely because of the extent to which the difficulties they encountered were directly analogous to those encountered by Protestant and Catholics missions alike in the high imperial age of the nineteenth century. When they ventured beyond the areas of direct Portuguese imperial rule in Goa, the Jesuits, like their Protestant successors, were forced to depend on voluntary rather than forced conversions. Like modern missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, they had to decide between cultivating influence with non-Christian elites and recruiting converts from among the non-influential poor. They had to develop mechanisms to control excessive and even self-destructive piety among missionaries, manage the effects of an unfamiliar climate on personal health, and deal with the crises caused periodically by conflict between the center and the periphery of the mission bureaucracy. Like modern missionaries, the Jesuits had to manage disappointment with the level of spirituality among indigenous Christian converts, chronic conflict with imperial rulers, and intermittent conflict with European traders. Many scholars continue to assume that the processes of Christianizing people and civilizing them were regarded as identical by missionaries, but the Jesuits, like every mission that succeeded them, debated this distinction intensively. Insofar as Jesuit missions were distinctive, it was because they were Roman Catholic, venerating the bodies of dead saints, maintaining the ideal of priestly celibacy, and using the practice of confession as a means of reinterpreting Indian beliefs in spirit possession.

The Jesuits also had to relate to a considerable number of non-European converts, who became Christians for reasons of their own. Despite Županov's interest in encounter and enculturation, the point of view of Indian Catholics is almost entirely missing from this book, with the exception of one poignant case study of the only Indian chosen to be a Jesuit. He ultimately became bitter about the contradiction between missionary anti-racism and racial hierarchy in the mission. This case only prefigures the chronic conflict between Western and non-Western mission staff that plagued every subsequent mission.

What did the Jesuit commitment to "porosity of cultures" mean to the great majority of Indian Catholics? Two of the most influential studies of nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries' relationships with converts—Jean and John Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (1991) and Catherine Hall's *Civilizing Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (2002)—both portray converts

as victims of false consciousness who uncritically embraced modern Western forms of capitalist individualism and/or patriarchy insofar as they adopted Christianity as practiced by the mission. Županov implies that the early modern Jesuits succeeded where their modern successors failed in developing authentic, indigenous non-Western forms of Christianity. Her inattention to the point of view of non-Western Christians leaves us without any means of evaluating her comparative argument.

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GEOFFREY A. ODDIE. *Imagined Hinduism: British Protestant Missionary Constructions of Hinduism, 1793–1900*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications. 2006. Pp. 374. \$32.95.

The title of this new book by Geoffrey A. Oddie fits perfectly with its central theme: how attitudes of Protestant missionaries changed toward Indian religious beliefs and practices during the heyday of British colonialism. However, Oddie's title reveals both the strength and the weakness of his book.

The author, who is an important historian of the Protestant missions in India, traces in a chronological and systematic way the emergence of the dominant missionary model of Hinduism. During the nineteenth century, Oddie claims, the missionaries were the first to invent the term Hinduism. Moreover, they more or less single-handedly determined the shape, scope, and importance of Hinduism in public debates and in the popular imagination of nineteenth-century British colonial and domestic audiences. Although the missionaries never completely agreed on all points at all times, the dominant paradigm that emerged in the middle of the century was based on the presumption that an all-embracing Brahmanical "system," founded on authentic sacred texts and administered by Brahmanical priestly hierarchy, was at the core of Hinduism. Having thus defined the religious landscape that they encountered in the colony according to a Christian model, they also postulated that it was a "national system" valid for all Indians who were not defined (according to the 1871 Census) as Muslims or belonging to other religious minorities.

Just as the dominant paradigm had lodged itself firmly into the missionary imagination and, as the author only hints, was accepted widely among the British and Indians, the tail caught up with head. Early nineteenth-century minority opinion, which had privileged religious diversity (such as the one explicitly articulated by Claudius Buchanan) and which had been sidelined by the dominant construction of Hinduism as a national system, returned in a new guise by the end of the century. The view from the regional missionary centers, especially in South India and in Maharashtra, and from the mission territories among lower castes and where Brahman informants were difficult to procure, began to question the unitary model of Hinduism. The indepen-

dence of the South Indian religious tradition of *Shaiva Siddhanta*, of *bhakti* (devotional worship), and the dissatisfaction with certain theological ideas such as pantheism incited the missionaries to rethink and revise the dominant paradigm.

While tracing the consolidation of what he also calls the "conventional" missionary view, Oddie connects the epistemological strands of missionary endeavors with their "evaluation" of the beliefs and practices they actually encountered. He assigns each actor in his history a place on a scale between "sympathetic" to "unsympathetic" to Hinduism, and diagnoses a rise in "sympathetic" accounts by the end of the nineteenth-century. There is, however, no satisfactory sociological explanation of how and why this transformation in missionary attitudes occurred except for a rather vague statement regarding the "changing climate of opinion" in India and in Europe (p. 345).

The problem with this book is that the author never strays away from a well-known Protestant missionary subgenre of historiography. The Protestant missionary "imagination" thus appears as being constructed *sui generis*, as an autonomous process of missionary cognition, while all other actors who are surely as important (Indians, converts, and other Europeans) in this history are relegated to footnotes, passing remarks or generalized under the category of "influences." This book is structured as a pedagogical manual. It follows a stiff straightforward line of reasoning that strings together causes and effects, and constructs an apparently "coherent" and uncomplicated framework for the events and concepts shaping the Protestant missionary view of Hinduism in the nineteenth century.

The author's didactic intention is clear from his strategy of asking numerous questions at the beginning of each new chapter or section, and then answering them point by point in the text that follows. The questions for each missionary, since most of the chapters contain short biographies, are the following: what did he (or she in the last chapter) inherit and thus already know while in Britain or India? What did he learn in the field? What did he do with it and why? How did he influence others? The answers subsequently provided are as clearly presented as the questions. For graduate students this may be a blessing, but a research scholar will pause and wonder what the scholarly value of such an exercise is meant to be.

Of course, every historian limits his or her subject to a manageable scope but, in this particular case, the silences of what is left out are all too eloquent. By choosing to write within a genre of a narrow (Protestant) missionary historiography without opening a dialogue with contemporary currents of social and cultural history (Subaltern, postcolonial, textual critique), Oddie overlooks some crucial and little explored topics. Others are presented in a cartoonish fashion, such as the role of Indians (Brahman pundits, converts, etc.) in the Protestant missionary construction of Hinduism. In this book, the question of what those who know only mis-

sionary history actually know about missionary history seems dead on target.

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TITHI BHATTACHARYA. *The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848–85)*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 272. \$35.00.

There is an excitement to this book. It is about education, and education, Tithi Bhattacharya believes (as do I), was the biggest concern of colonizer and colonized alike in nineteenth-century India. "Education and its handmaiden, reform, could make or break, the known universe" (p. 2). The palette is exciting—Calcutta *bhadralok*, or new middle-class society—and the author's ambition is large, too: to provide an "explanatory framework" for the "obsessive importance" (p. 3) given to education by this class. But in the first pages confusion arises. We are told that "education and culture" form the two explanatory axes of identity for this burgeoning class (p. 2). Culture? If not treated as an opaque term beyond usefulness, should it not at least be accepted by the author as a complex one? Bhattacharya moves on to argue, without irony or qualification, about how "the world of culture" (p. 2) works, how culture was related to social and economic power (p. 3), and how the world of culture is not to be taken as a "natural attribute of the *bhadralok* as a social group" (p. 3).

Culture is amorphous for Bhattacharya, and, apparently, for the postcolonial authors whom she critiques as well. Whereas one can grasp her objection to a concept that conflates premodernity and conservatism on the one hand, and colonial power and dominance on the other, her description of the problem is somewhat simplistic. In her actual study of the *bhadralok*, Bhattacharya is on stronger ground. She refreshingly shifts the locus of explanation about their identity from their "culture" to their economic base as a class with professional moorings. That they were a troubled class is explored throughout the book. In chapter one we are introduced to the question of their homogeneity. The answer is that the *bhadralok* came in two parts, a landed rentier class, and a petty bourgeoisie, and that education was of differential value to them. At the same time, as an incipient spokesman for the nation, the *bhadralok's* very identity lay in the dissolution of class interests. Pursuing this further in chapter two, Bhattacharya makes the interesting point that *vidya*, or knowledge, came to be associated in the mid-nineteenth century with private property. "The great advantage of *vidya* . . . was that it could be owned as property without risking the negative effects of ownership" (p. 70).

As private property, then, education could and should not be shared with all. The class of *bhadralok* was a troubled one because it had to be unified on the basis of education, while keeping other classes out, in

which it had the support of the colonial state; at the same time, it was divided within in terms of wealth and therefore social consciousness.

Bhattacharya uses data on books, their numbers, types, and patterns of circulation to show how books were a tool in the project of class formation. I find chapter two more interesting than three, which is devoted solely to books and print. Perhaps it is because the conclusion is: "Print had united spatially and contextually the ideological determinations of the *bhadralok*" (p. 152), and some newer questions needed to be posed? One that certainly might strike the reader is regarding the gendered nature of *bhadralok* identity. Bhattacharya mentions that a crucial consideration for *bhadralok* men was marrying into the right families, and that high on their list of reform issues was the banning of widow burning. What jumps out in many parts of the book and is never pursued is the explicit masculinity of the *bhadralok* and the production of a new kind of epistemological and literary masculinity. Even if the author had no interest in the women of nineteenth-century Bengal and wished to focus solely on the men, a large dimension of the picture goes missing when we do not talk of the gendered identities of men. This is even more striking when we hear about the body-building concerns of the middle class, and of their "informal networks" of solidarity (p. 190) in chapter four and elsewhere. "While the discourse on education emphasized democracy in opportunity, in actuality it was very much dependent on the individual's class background or gender" (p. 184). It is only the class that has merited scrutiny, not the gendered identity. In the next two chapters, the discussion of precolonial education as it was replaced by colonial education is interesting, and there is some new data in on the use of the Bengali versus the English language.

In sum, this book is an exciting addition to the slowly growing field of modern Indian social history. It uses some new and some old sources to weave a rich tapestry of *bhadralok* life between 1848 and 1885, taking up theoretical issues relating to class identity and grounding said identity in property, profession, and ideology. The book makes a convincing connection between the ideological frameworks of *bhadralok* identity and the symbolic-discursive utilization of education. It would have done well, in the interests of its own problematic, to complicate the category of "culture" as well as that of class, and to consider the category of gender alongside these.

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VEENA TALWAR OLDENBURG. *Dowry Murder: The Imperial Origins of a Cultural Crime*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 261. \$20.00.

Veena Talwar Oldenburg's interesting 2002 book focuses on the important and horrifying contemporary incidents of dowry murder in India. The title refers to the murder of young Indian brides by in-laws and/or hus-

bands. Such "bride burnings"—so-called because the murders often involve the burning to death of the wife in a kitchen fire—occur either as retribution for having brought an inadequate dowry into the marriage or as a means of enabling a second marriage and the acquisition of a new dowry. First reported in the 1980s in northern India, dowry deaths have since spread more widely through the country. In 2000 a UNICEF research institute reported the number of Indian dowry deaths at 5,000 a year.

The book—subtitled "the imperial origins of a cultural crime"—weaves together British colonial records from the late nineteenth-century Punjab, the author's personal memories of the conflicts of an early marriage, and observations drawn from ten months spent as a volunteer at *Saheli*, a women's center in New Delhi. Five out of the six chapters focus on colonial records and policies in the Punjab (a region now mostly in Pakistan). Here Oldenburg makes a convincing case that the Punjabi region's increasing preference for sons was a dual product of the commercialization of agriculture (with the resulting commodification of land) in the northwest and British legal and revenue practices that vested heritable rights to land only in sons. "By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Punjab would become a region where sons would be even more fiercely desired than traditional Hindu, Muslim, or Sikh brands of patriarchy had ever imagined or ordained" (p. 99). Thus it was British policies themselves—not excessive dowry expenses, as the British frequently claimed—that lay behind the low ratios of women to men in the Punjab and the widespread practice of infanticide.

Dowry, Oldenburg concludes, may also not be the sole (or even central) issue in twentieth-century Indian marriage conflicts. A final chapter explores Oldenburg's own memories (both personal and familial) of marriage conflicts and her observations during ten months as a volunteer at *Saheli*. There she was "surprised to find that only a small fraction of the women who came in were indeed newly married or had a 'dowry problem'" (p. 204). Rather wives of three or four years or women with children were the ones who sought help. Their stories suggest that a wider range of problems (aside from dowry alone) now beset Indian arranged marriages: the anonymity of urban settings allow fraudulent claims to remain unchallenged concerning the wealth and/or education of proposed grooms; the higher age at which girls marry in urban settings makes it more difficult for them to adjust to life in their in-laws' homes; and finally the sexual incompatibilities of couples and/or violence and abuse toward wives destroys marriages.

Overall, Oldenburg's project may have been too broad to be successfully accomplished. Even as late as the early 1900s Punjabi communities practiced at least three forms of marriage: those without "price" (that is dowry marriages), those arranged through bride price, and those arranged by exchange (where two brothers from different families married each other's sisters). Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth cen-

turies (as Oldenburg and others have noted), Punjabi communities shifted almost exclusively to dowry marriages. As Anshu Malhotra's *Gender, Caste, and Religious Identities: Restructuring Class in Colonial Punjab* (2005) shows, even as British officials criticized the deleterious practice of dowry, regional reformers (members of the Arya Samaj and others) expressed strong preferences for dowry marriages. Oldenburg's focus on British colonial records and writings may have hampered a full exploration of the complexity of these changes.

However, in my view, Oldenburg's study does complicate the issue of "dowry" in both nineteenth and twentieth-century India in ways that are only to the good. Her approach is a welcome counter to the oversimplifications of U.S. (and Indian) media accounts. Her merging of materials from the colonial past, her own past, and contemporary Indian society at its best encourages us to remember the multiple levels of significance at work in so-called "domestic" crimes.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

SUJIT SIVASUNDARAM. *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 244. \$80.00.

Sujit Sivasundaram presents an intriguing exploration of the intertwining of Christian missionary activity in the Pacific and the practice of science. He contends these ideological forces were so enveloped from the late eighteenth century that we should no longer view them as competing, let alone distinct ideologies. Sivasundaram's book is primarily concerned with the development and use of "theologies of nature" from the beginning of missionary endeavors in the region from the 1790s until the mid-nineteenth century. He overwhelmingly concentrates upon the London Missionary Society's (LMS) personnel and their writings. Their rich illustrations of missionary work take us from New South Wales, the early British settlement in Australia, to Tahiti, Raiatea and Huahine in present-day French Polynesia, Erromanga in present-day Vanuatu, and the Hawaiian islands; we also see glimpses of New Zealand, the Marquesas and the Cook Islands in our historical travels in the early contact years in the Pacific.

Sivasundaram set his study in the Pacific owing to the shared importance of nature as a medium to conceptualize spirituality for both the missionaries and their Pacific charges. Also, he argues that the newness of colonial contact between Pacific peoples and Europeans at this time reveals a clear measure of how missionaries attempted to influence indigenous thinking about nature and, conversely, how contact with Pacific indigenes, their ideas, and material cultures helped develop Christianized science. Sivasundaram shows that the de-

velopment of discourses of Christianized science was perhaps more for the benefit of Society members in England, strengthening their continued devotion and contributions of supporting funds, than as a means to advance the mass conversion of islanders.

The book's strengths lie in the presentation of the rich archive of myth and narrative about the mission's history and its more celebrated agents. Not least amongst this group is Reverend John Williams, clubbed to death on a beach in Erromanga in 1839, which eerily echoed of the demise of the greatest British navigator, James Cook, some sixty years earlier at Hawaiian hands. The book's other highlights are the stories of Pacific islander converts who, Sivasundaram shows, were sites of contest in this ideological tussle. They were trophies of missionary success on a spiritual level, as well as scientific experiments that measured their transformation from embodiments of nature into rational thinkers who were duly "collected" by the Society as souls for display like the more conventional material artifacts of missionary contact in the region (p. 115). In this respect, Sivasundaram successfully achieves the book's main stated aim: to "highlight how science and religion worked in unison in the colonial setting," thereby rendering the "distinction between men of science and missionaries" obsolete (p. 12). He shows that missionaries strove to develop a "theology of nature" as a pragmatic strategy, so as to remain both relevant in the age of science and also prevent the secularization of science (p. 39).

Given the book's stated purpose of exploring the interconnection of discourses of nature and science, there is a surprising absence of gender analysis throughout the book. This is especially surprising as innumerable studies on colonial missionaries have shown the centrality of perceptions of gender and sexuality to this enterprise, which is even more accentuated in studies on Pacific contact. Sivasundaram offers hints of the importance of these factors when he discusses the "temptations" of the region (p. 120), Joseph Banks's express suggestion to the LMS not to send women to the region (p. 96), concerns about women's dress (p. 194), or the *Bounty* voyage's purposes (pp. 97–98), where is virtually impossible *not* to mention the implications of gender and sexuality to colonial enterprises in their various guises.

There is also a problem with the book's imprecise details of Pacific history. This is especially the case with Tahitian rulers, where Sivasundaram is confused about the identity and dates of "kings" Otoo and Pomare I: they were one and the same person (p. 61). Moreover there was a lack of clarity throughout about which monarch "Pomare" he was referring to. These instances are symptomatic of a historical haziness about the colonial region in general and the LMS in particular. This is evident in the discussion about the work of LMS missionary Ebenezer Buchanan in Tahiti in 1841, which Sivasundaram characterizes as a personal "failure" (p. 87). The French had declared a protectorate over the islands in 1838 that culminated in their annexation in

1842. As these imperial moves also involved a direct attack on LMS operations owing to their political influence, it would be difficult to lay the blame for the LMS agent's failure at this time exclusively at his feet. Historiographically, Sivasundaram acknowledges his 'heavy debt' to Niel Gunson, but there are omissions in elemental readings such as works by Patricia Grimshaw, Colin Newbury, Margaret Jolly, Brij Lal, Jane Samson, and Paul De Dekker.

Finally, the book hinges on the premise that there was a new infusion of natural allusion into Christian rhetoric at this time. While it is undoubtedly the case that the Enlightenment and Romantic movements, coupled with colonial proselytizing, contributed to an accentuation of nature in Christian rhetoric, Sivasundaram needs to address preexisting uses of natural allusions that are, arguably, omnipresent, in order to make clear what had altered in the new era. Nevertheless, when this book is situated within the extant literature on Pacific missions, it adds depth to the field through its fresh reading of missionary publications and visual archives of this episode of Britain's world-wide evangelical push.

PATTY O'BRIEN
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JAMES C. MOHR. *Plague and Fire: Battling Black Death and the 1900 Burning of Honolulu's Chinatown*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 235. \$30.00.

On January 20, 1900, a fire roared through Honolulu's Chinatown, fanned by strong winds. By the time it had died down, one-fifth of the buildings in Honolulu were destroyed and more than an eighth of Honolulu's people had lost their homes and businesses. The fire was started by health authorities who wanted a controlled destruction of a site linked with the plague, which they were trying to contain, but unexpected winds caused it to rage beyond their control.

Hawaii had heard about the bubonic plague spreading through China to Canton in 1893, and then to Hong Kong in 1894. The plague appeared in Southeast Asia and crossed over to India in 1895, reaching the Middle East by 1896. Europeans were so concerned about the plague that they organized conferences to discuss ways of containing its movement. The Hawaiian government responded to the danger by having sanitary officers in China and Japan inspect and approve passage for ships headed for Honolulu. Moreover, in Honolulu itself, the Board of Health inspected and quarantined all ships that had come from ports known to have outbreaks of plague.

Until 1899, not a single case of the bubonic plague had appeared in the islands. According to this record, it appeared that the measures implemented by the Hawaiian government had been successful and effective. But all this would change in June of 1899 with the discovery that a passenger who had died on board the *Nippon Maru* in Honolulu harbor was probably a victim of the plague. In December, several other fatalities in Chi-

natown confirmed that the epidemic was spreading. As provided for in the constitution for the Republic of Hawaii, the government granted full emergency powers to the Board of Health to institute measures as necessary. This was an extraordinary situation, for the government had actually ceded complete control to the Board. It was aware that the islands were situated in the middle of the Pacific and that the dreaded plague could easily take a heavy toll on an isolated and trapped population. Leadership of the armed forces and control of the treasury were also turned over to the Board.

Fortunately, the three physicians who comprised the Board—Nathaniel B. Emerson, Francis Day, and Clifford B. Wood—were close friends who were able to work harmoniously as a team. Armed with their emergency medical powers, the triumvirate quickly stopped inter-island shipping and restricted travel within Honolulu. They quarantined the residents of Honolulu's Chinatown and cordoned off the area with volunteer guardsmen. To keep abreast of the situation, they mandated daily inspections of the houses in the Chinatown district and ordered a sanitation campaign to dispose of garbage and refuse in the sewers of the sealed-off area and Honolulu itself.

The measures implemented brought hardship to the residents, however. Because of the quarantine and travel restrictions, food shortages occurred in the quarantined area and elsewhere in the islands. As a result, relief organizations tried to get food supplies to the people stranded in Chinatown. Furthermore, the economy and the earnings of people were affected as workers were unable to leave or enter the quarantined area. Even commerce outside of Chinatown felt the effects, for workers in restaurants, businesses, and shipping were unable to leave the Chinatown district. Those isolated within Chinatown were also separated from their families if their homes were located elsewhere, and those who employed outside of Chinatown were unable to return to their households within the quarantined area.

As the crisis continued, criticism of the Board increased. From the beginning, the minorities in Hawaii—the Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiians—had feared that the quarantine was a pretext for discrimination directed at them. But medical politics, professional rivalries, commercial interests, and racial attitudes also surfaced. Some wondered if the deaths had really been caused by the plague, while others expressed doubts about the emerging science of bacteriology. Questions about the epidemic were debated: was it a problem of sanitation; was it spread by fleas, rats, air, or other agents; were certain ethnic or racial groups more susceptible to the plague? Should fire be used and, if so, should it be a controlled burn of a smaller site or a larger area? Matters came to a head, and the Board finally decided on a smaller fire that unfortunately destroyed Chinatown. Given recent fears about SARS and avian flu, this fascinating book by James C. Mohr gives a sophisticated and illuminating account of the diffi-

culties that are involved in coping with epidemics or natural disasters.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

DAVID G. MCCRADY. *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 168. \$45.00.

David G. McCrady states that the goal of his book is to explore "how the Sioux . . . had come to understand the boundary and to use it for their own purposes," how they used the forty-ninth parallel "both as a shield against oppressive policies and as a gateway to new opportunities" (pp. xvi, 6). To explain this history, McCrady abandons historiographic notions of the Sioux being "American" Indians, treating them instead as specifically a borderlands people. Accomplishing this goal meant conducting transnational archival research, using a variety of resources from both sides of the forty-ninth parallel. When pieced together, the material shows the Sioux's creative use of the border and of different national polities to their benefit. Unlike other historians, McCrady shows that the back-and-forth border hopping was not unique to the post-Battle of the Little Bighorn era. The Sioux had a long history of aligning with the British (and later Canadians) throughout the nineteenth century while at the same time depending on U.S. territory for hunting and trading. Surprisingly, McCrady never refers to the border as a "medicine line" like other scholars have done, repeating an aboriginal understanding of the boundary.

But the Sioux were hardly the only indigenous group living in the borderlands. The Assiniboine, the Blackfeet, bands of Cree and Ojibway (Chippewa), and especially the Métis had also learned to negotiate the international boundary and to deal with U.S. and Canadian governments. The Sioux's interaction with these peoples, especially the Métis, is fully laid out in the book and is one of its most important strengths. Here readers get an in-depth glimpse into Sioux trade, diplomacy, and kinship networks as the drama of intertribal competition for resources in the Northern Plains unfolded. Railroad development, the depletion of bison herds, and newcomer incursions in the region intensified the competition. McCrady's contribution to our understanding of the history of Sioux-Métis relationships in this setting cannot be understated, especially as he shows the Métis to be "cultural mediators between aboriginals and Europeans" (p. 76).

Likewise, it was not just "the Sioux" in the borderlands. Although much of his book covers the Lakota (especially that of the Hunkpapas under Sitting Bull), McCrady studies the transnational history of the Dakota (Eastern Sioux, or Santee [Wahpeton and Mdewakanton] Indians) as they migrated into Dakota Ter-

ritory and Manitoba, the Middle Sioux (e.g. Yankton and Yanktonais Indians, but not referred to as Nakota in this book) as they migrated to Montana's Milk River country and frequently crossed into what became Saskatchewan, and these groups' relations with the Lakota. This becomes confusing at times in the book, although the "Note on Sioux Groups and Leaders" as part of the front matter is helpful. It becomes even more confusing when McCrady alternates between "Oglala" and "Oglalla" Lakotas. Misspelled place names, like Devils Lake in Dakota Territory (never spelled with an apostrophe, as McCrady does throughout the book), and chronology problems (e.g. citing "South Dakota" before it was a state in the caption of a photograph before page 73) distract from the book's overall quality.

There is also an absence of references to other works that consider northern borderlands indigenous history. Whether this is a result of the dissertation-to-book conversion, or if it is an original oversight, McCrady misses an opportunity to show how the book fits into the growing literature in that subfield. While *Living with Strangers* is the first book to explore the history of Siouan groups as borderlands peoples, there are others like John Ewer's and Theodore Binnema's works on the transboundary nature of the Blackfeet, Roger Nicholl's study of comparative federal Indian policy, and many studies on boundary-straddling aboriginal groups in the Pacific Northwest that he does not cite. In the final chapter he does refer to how the Kootenays of the Northwest viewed themselves as neither Canadian nor American (quoting a Kootenay chief who declared, "We are all the same people; we're all Kootenays" [p. 104]), even though such unity hardly worked for the multi-banded Sioux. Nor does McCrady cite much of the standard historiography of the surveying of the forty-ninth parallel in an otherwise interesting chapter on that topic.

But as a relatively thin book (just over 100 pages), this will work well for courses on the Northern Plains, the North American West, and Native American/First Nations history. Especially useful for class settings will be the introductory and concluding chapters that spell out reasons to study comparative and transnational history. But while the other chapters are all well written, they are driven ponderously by research details at the expense of the author's own analysis of the events and issues. In the end, though, the book presents a deep sense of place and adds significantly to historians' growing understanding of the borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests.

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JARRETT RUDY. *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*. (Studies on the History of Quebec, number 18.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 232. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

This is an engaging and innovative cultural history of smoking. Jarrett Rudy's focus is on Montreal, but there is much here that will be of interest to non-Canadianists. Gender as a category of historical analysis remains central throughout the study as Rudy traces the cultural, social, and political significance of smoking from the late nineteenth century into the mid-twentieth century. Recognizing that for the period under study Montreal was in some ways a typical North American urban center, but also a unique site in which Canada's two dominant ethnic groups awkwardly confronted each other on a daily basis, Rudy succeeds in highlighting both the city's particular relationship to tobacco culture and its place within the world system of tobacco production and consumption.

The first half of the book details the extent to which smoking was understood to be an exclusively male activity. In these early chapters Rudy creatively explores the manner in which Montrealers expressed socially constructed notions of gender, class, and ethnic identities through tobacco use. In doing so he provides an important window onto the intersection of commodity use and power relations. That men could smoke in public and women could (or at least should) not was a telling manifestation of the cultural politics of public space at the turn of the century. Similarly, Rudy provides intriguing insights into the city's social relations through a subtle and compelling examination of tobacco connoisseurship that highlights the intricate ways in which inhabitants expressed class and status distinctions. Montreal's political tensions, pitting French against English, were played out in debates surrounding the value and quality of locally grown French Canadian tobacco and imported leaves from Cuba and elsewhere. *Le tabac canadien* (as the local leaves were known) served as a contested symbol of French Canadian national identity. Rudy's discussion of its political significance provides an important addition to the growing Canadian literature on the commodification of national identities.

The second half of the book documents challenges to, and the eventual decline of, these earlier commonsense notions of tobacco consumption. Here Rudy examines early antismoking campaigns, the impact of World War I and the advertising industry on consumers' notions of what made for "good" tobacco, and the growing acceptance of female smoking. One of the book's strongest sections documents the manner in which the physical experience of the war (which rarely allowed soldiers time for a leisurely cigar) combined with patriotic campaigns to supply soldiers overseas with cheap and portable tobacco in the form of cigarettes to contribute directly to the eventual acceptance of the cigarette as a suitably masculine form of tobacco consumption (pp. 132–141). In addressing the international debates regarding the manner in which female smoking gained increased public acceptance, Rudy sides with scholars such as Michael Schudson and Matthew Hilton in playing down the role of advertisers in dismantling barriers to female smoking and emphasizes instead the agency

of the women who challenged the ideology of separate spheres (p. 149).

Overall, the book provides detailed insight into the transformation of Montreal's tobacco culture and the city's changing cultural, social, and political milieus. For Rudy, this transformation is framed in terms of liberalism and it is on this issue that the book is perhaps more suggestive than convincing. Rudy sees the late nineteenth-century cultural rules about smoking as "liberal prescriptions" (p. 11) and uses the second half of the book to chart challenges to "liberal smoking etiquette" (p. 149). A more detailed examination of liberal ideology (in both the Canadian and international setting) early on in the book would have helped to make this connection more concrete, especially in terms of addressing the transformation from *laissez faire* to new liberalism. Framing the study in terms of liberalism also begs an important question about just how pervasive liberal ideals were in nineteenth-century North America. If liberal notions of the individual were responsible for preventing women from smoking in public, did non-liberals (socialists, radicals, etc.) approach the question of female smoking differently? Moreover, the "liberal" dimension of Rudy's argument that "nineteenth-century liberal smoking etiquette was undermined by mass consumption" (p. 149) would be more convincing if he explored in greater detail the relationship between consumerism and modern liberalism.

This is an ambitious book, and even though the connection to liberalism remains underdeveloped, it deserves a wide readership in Canada and beyond. It will appeal to historians interested in moral reform, public space, gender relations, national identity, and consumerism.

MICHAEL DAWSON
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MICHAEL GAUVREAU. *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931–1970*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, number 41.) Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. siv, 501. \$85.00.

The watershed in most accounts of the history of twentieth-century Quebec came with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s that ushered in an interventionist state and swept away the long-standing influence of the Catholic Church. In the aftermath of these changes, French speakers (the vast majority of the population) considerably improved their economic status and developed enough self-confidence to consider independence. As a result, the Quiet Revolution has been widely accepted as the moment that firmly inserted Quebecers into the mainstream of North American life.

Michael Gauvreau's considerable accomplishment, in this important book, is to reexamine the concept of the Quiet Revolution by disconnecting the decline of Catholicism from the growth of the state. Instead of dwelling on the determination of Quebecers to unburden themselves of a religious yoke, he focuses on in-

dividuals who worked from within the Catholic Church to negotiate social change. From this perspective, the Quiet Revolution might be seen as a "sustained attempt to enhance and strengthen, rather than weaken and ultimately sever, the relationship between Catholicism and Quebec society" (p. 5).

Gauvreau seeks to put Catholicism at the center of the story of Quebec's passage to modernity by focusing on individuals, many of whom went on to play significant roles in French-Canadian society, who were active, starting during the Great Depression, in the European-inspired Catholic Action organizations that took hold in the province. While previous historians focused on the pronouncements of church officials who were sometimes suspicious of the modern world, Gauvreau explores the efforts of both laypeople and clergy who were involved with a wide array of organizations that sought to make Christian values an integral part of Quebecers' lives.

The proponents of Catholic Action advocated various reforms to allow Quebec's passage to modernity, with a Catholic face. For instance, recognizing that married women in postwar Quebec were working increasingly outside the home, the Catholic Action reformers concluded that women could not have fulfilling Catholic lives if overwhelmed by large numbers of children. Accordingly, they advocated the limitation of births by expanded use of the rhythm method. Gauvreau sees this as only one of many reasons for challenging "the assumption that birth control—read modernity—and Catholicism—read tradition—were quite simply incompatible and destined to always be in opposition" (p. 194). Gauvreau similarly sees the intersection of Catholicism and modernity with the establishment of a state-run educational system in 1964. Gauvreau shows that many leaders of the Quebec government were influenced by Catholic Action and did not want a rejection of Catholicism, but rather a new system, even one run by the state, in which Catholic values might be successfully transmitted.

Gauvreau shows that up to the middle of the 1960s the greatly expanded machinery of the Quebec state tried to respond to the Catholic reformers. However, by the end of the decade, currents of Western thought seeking to expand the freedom of the individual, conflicted with a certain intransigence best reflected in the 1968 papal encyclical against the use of the birth control pill. Such actions encouraged the evaporation of religious observance among those hoping for some accommodation between Catholicism and modernity. Gauvreau cautions, however, that this ultimate failure to find a place for Catholicism in late twentieth-century Quebec should not hide the fact that "for three decades many aspects of its encounter with modernity were mediated through varieties of Catholicism" (p. 358).

This brief description cannot really do justice to the web of issues discussed in this book, which should be of interest not only to Canadian historians but also to students of the history of such subjects as religion, the family, and gender relations. While Gauvreau's argument

is generally convincing, he backs himself into a corner at times in insisting that the "cultural" factors that interest him are more important than the "political" ones that preoccupied previous historians. Quite aside from the difficulty of distinguishing the cultural from the political, he seems to unnecessarily marginalize, for instance, the role of nationalism (which he sees solely as a political concept) in the construction of the Quebec state.

More broadly, he also tries too hard at times to convince the reader that he is alone in viewing social change from within Quebec Catholicism. At one point, he asserts that "one of the central imperatives of the Quiet Revolution that is unanimously cited by historians was the desire . . . to extend the authority of the state into a number of spheres hitherto dominated by religious groups or private interests" (p. 270). In fact, Gauvreau would be hard pressed to find many subjects on which historians have indicated unanimity, and in this regard he is not alone in viewing the Quiet Revolution as more than just a simple imposition of secular authority in realms once controlled by the church. Indeed, he recognizes this fact, but only in a footnote (p. 367). These quibbles, however, should not discourage interested readers from engaging with the ideas that Gauvreau raises.

RONALD RUDIN
Concordia University

JEFFREY D. BRISON. *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada*. Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 281. \$75.00.

Historical studies of the intellectual and cultural interaction of Canadians and Americans are rare, and new work based on primary research is welcome. Jeffrey D. Brison examines the significant role played by the U.S.-based Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations in Canada from the 1920s to the 1950s which, over four decades, provided some \$20 million for universities, academic fellowships, humanities and social science research, the fine arts, and book publishing, all of which would have foundered in the absence of such patronage. With the establishment of the state-funded Canada Council in 1957, Canadian scholars and artists, at long last, were able to draw substantially from their own country's financial resources and cultural agencies.

Brison contends that while the process was not always direct and overt, American "philanthropoids" collaborated with Canada's "cultural elite" to map the country's cultural landscape. They did so in order to modernize "Gospel of Wealth" practices (including the moralism, paternalism and rationalism) that had infused American corporate giving in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Philanthropists of the next generation sought to legitimize corporate capitalism by working through volunteer organizations, private agencies, and public institutions in an effort to forge "national, professionally managed, and bureaucratic struc-

tures of cultural authority" (p. 206). Influenced by Gramscian notions of cultural hegemony, and critical of historians in Canada who have failed to appreciate the subtle ways in which American values penetrated nation-building icons such as the National [Art] Gallery of Canada, the Massey Commission (on national development in the arts, letters, and sciences), and the Canada Council, the author constructs an intriguing argument built, alas, on very shaking foundations.

The outlines of the corporate patronage story were well known before Brison's book, and he draws liberally from published accounts (by historians Carl Berger, Marlene Shore, John G. Reid, and others) of Carnegie and Rockefeller activities, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s. In lean economic times, the foundations funded an extraordinary range of cultural programs, including two major book series which included virtually every leading social science scholar in Canada. According to the author's appendix, some 140 Canadian organizations benefited from the foundations' largesse.

For Brison, the mere existence of these programs is evidence enough of the foundations' pervasive cultural and ideological influence in Canada. But his research, time and again, demonstrates the ways in which Canadian scholars, artists, and "bureaucrats" determined the direction and spending of foundation dollars. Regional programs in the Atlantic provinces, and national initiatives such as the Canadian Social Science Research Council, owed their origins to the vision and efforts of Canadian cultural activists and communities. Librarians, curators, artists, adult educators, and professors solicited Carnegie and Rockefeller grants, not because they were seduced or coopted but because they concluded, rightly and rationally, that these were the only such opportunities available. Fiercely independent academics like Harold Innis, Donald Creighton, F. R. Scott, and C. B. Macpherson, all of whom received foundation support—and were grateful for it—were hardly unwitting pawns of American cultural imperialism "who wanted the same things and who thought, or who were willing to think, the same way as the Foundation's cultural leadership" (p. 99). Furthermore, the attentiveness to Canadian sensibilities shown by Rockefeller Associate Director John Marshall, and Carnegie Corporation President Frederick Keppel, was remarkable. Program priorities were periodically rethought in light of Canadian concerns; following appeals by the Canadian Social Science Research Council, the Rockefeller Foundation extended its funding mandate for several years until the long-delayed Canada Council was created.

The author appears to recognize the tenuousness of his argument by pointing frequently to "ironies" and "paradoxes" in the cases he describes. Notwithstanding the private foundations' supposed missionary zeal, they provided Canadians with the means to write scholarly critiques of American culture, and to build publicly funded institutions designed to support Canadian higher education and the arts. Brison's qualifications of his argument are less a tribute to the subtlety of his

analysis than to the fragility of his thesis. He attempts to bolster his case by noting, somewhat ritualistically, that the foundation philanthropoids supported Canadians "who resembled them in "race, gender, class and educational backgrounds" (p. 206). This scarcely surprising observation addresses only in the vaguest way the issue of shared motives and beliefs within the Canadian cultural community. Viewed in the context of the times, Brison provides considerable evidence of important differences in the values and ideologies of the individuals he studies.

I began this book with a general suspicion of the motives behind Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundation activities in Canada. I finished with an abiding respect for the initiatives they took and the cultural opportunities they forged. That I could draw such an inference speaks, in some ways, to the book's empirical strengths and, simultaneously, to the weakness of the thesis that informs it.

PAUL AXELROD
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ROBERT E. WRIGHT and DAVID J. COWEN. *Financial Founding Fathers: The Men Who Made America Rich*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. vii, 240. Cloth \$25.00.

The men chronicled in this collective biography can be described as individuals who sought to do good for their nation while making a buck or two along the way. Robert E. Wright and David J. Cowen provide biographies of nine men notable in the formation and early operation of the U.S. financial system: Alexander Hamilton, Tench Coxe, William Duer, Albert Gallatin, Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, Stephen Girard, Andrew Jackson, and Nicholas Biddle. The authors argue that because this system was critical to the eventual economic and political success of the nation, these individuals are as important in U.S. history as other more commonly recognized political figures. The central actors, men who are mentioned to varying degrees in popular college survey texts (some extensively, others not at all), are each characterized in biblical imagery. The descriptors include Creator; Angels, Risen and Fallen; Savior; Sinner; Saint; and even Judas. The authors note that these scriptural "motifs pay homage to the very old notion that there *might* be a higher power at work guiding the nation and also clarify each character's role" in the story (p. 7). Each chapter addresses one or two of the figures, beginning with a brief vignette of each man's early life, highlighting experiences relevant to the formation of his economic views and emotional makeup, and then describing his efforts on behalf of himself and the financial system. The text includes a timeline of events in the lives of the men and the system they created, a "concordance" of terms and people, classic portraits of the nine "financial founding fathers," and in-text "translations" of technical financial terms.

The book's premise is that a strong financial system was/is critical to a country's "economic prosperity,"

which is "the tonic of democracy and political stability" (p. 3), but that the public's understanding of the history and importance of its financial system is seriously underdeveloped. The book's biographical approach is effective in making palatable an introductory description and history of this infrastructure and provides insight into how these entrepreneurs and financial visionaries shaped institutional structures critical to later economic growth and development. For example, many of the "fathers" were orphans whose financial insecurity early in life, the authors argue, motivated their respective efforts toward financial success and stability, both for themselves and for their nation. Additionally, in what sounds like consensus school writing, the authors argue that the early U.S. political leaders from Hamilton to Jackson, while fighting over the details, were, excepting Thomas Jefferson, generally in agreement about how the nation's financial system should operate, and this basic accord led to an acceptance of powerful financial structures including federally chartered national banks. Only the final chapter, "Apocalypse No," which deals with Jackson and Biddle, strays from the consistent chapter format. It is primarily an evaluation of the consequences of the "Bank War" and a justification for the inclusion of Jackson, the man who "destroyed" the Second National Bank of the United States, as a financial founding father. The argument is that although the loss of the bank had at least a short term negative effect on the national economy, the bank's destruction, because the public perceived it as a leveling of the economic playing field, contributed to that society's willingness to accept unfettered "free market capitalism." In this light, the "destruction" of the Second National Bank was a long-term positive. Jackson's consistent application of Constitutional principles, which the authors argue helped to create a sense of stability important for business investment, and the fact that by the 1830s the country was beyond the point at which it needed a federally owned and operated bank, meant Jackson's decision was not detrimental. This justifies his inclusion, whereas Jefferson's early opposition to a bank and his variable application of Constitutional principles to national financial policy and financial structures led the authors to leave Jefferson off the list.

This book, a welcome addition to the literature, meets its objective of providing an accessible introduction to the importance of the nation's financial infrastructure to its economic and political success. Some of the writing is stilted, a bit redundant, and, for many historians' tastes, probably overly celebratory and insufficiently nuanced. However, the text could be effective as supplementary reading in introductory U.S. history survey courses. Some of its clearest writing describes concepts in financial economics that serve as "mini-lectures" within the text. The book also fills a void in the popular literature while seemingly seeking to catch the wave of renewed interest in this country's political founding fathers (and mothers) among audiences increasingly comfortable with religious themes and ha-

geographic history. Providing value within a sales-friendly format is a move each of these nine financial founding fathers would probably both understand and approve.

TIMOTHY CUFF
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SARAH LURIA. *Capital Speculations: Writing and Building Washington, D.C.* Hanover, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 2006. Pp. xxxi, 196. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.00.

Sarah Luria's book argues that the meaning of the term "speculation" changed in the 1770s. Once defined as deep philosophical thought, "speculation" came to mean a strategy of financial investment involving some risk. Luria explores how the capital became a stage for visions of subsequent reformers through the political and financial speculation that built the city. Seeking the connections among literature, material and visual culture, and the built environment, the author analyzes correspondence, speeches, and other texts by Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, George Washington, Pierre L'Enfant, Walt Whitman, and Henry Adams as well as photographs, paintings, buildings, physical space, and multiple secondary sources. Luria argues that political visions were expressed through the city's built environment, which in turn promoted and transformed those visions into political fact. The speculative nature of Washington's initial development has been well documented, but Luria's work explores how financial and political speculation continued to shape the city's space after its creation.

Washington, D.C., became the embodiment of nationalism, and to Luria, the city remains a space for the projection of political visions. The author takes particular issue with the use of the term "reading" when applied to houses and spaces, arguing instead that the authors she examines were obsessed with city space and architecture precisely because houses and spaces are not "readable" texts but must be experienced physically. "Both Washington's successes and its failures," Luria writes, "can be traced in large part to the practice in which politics, literature, architecture, and urban planning intersect: speculation" (p. xxii).

Luria uses a case study approach, focusing not on the city's famous monuments, but on everyday spaces that were more central to political thought of the era, and were more commonly used to create channels for political power: modes of circulation, such as streets, canals, and railroads, and the home. Each chapter begins with lengthy headnotes that underscore the political potency and volatility of speculation during the period under examination.

In a chapter on planning the federal city, Luria traces how Washington and L'Enfant promoted republican visions through physical space. L'Enfant's plan made the Constitution concrete. His city was dominated by the

idea of circulation, with open spaces and straight lines of access to political power. By merely visiting the nation's capital and experiencing the city's grand scale and fantastic vistas firsthand, it was hoped that citizens would convert from their old local ties to a new national perspective. Luria builds on recent work by Barbara Carson and Catherine Allgor, arguing that the centrality of politics to Washington life and the city's grand scale promoted a reconfiguration of public and private life, a heightened parlor culture, and a new kind of domesticity involving accelerated schedules of entertainments and social calls.

A chapter on Lincoln and Whitman explores the partnership between technology and rhetoric in Civil War Washington. A national transportation infrastructure, although obviously necessary, was also controversial, for it epitomized the contest between state and federal authority. Lincoln used his rhetoric of internal improvements, Luria argues, to promote investment in a moral national plane by promoting the infrastructure on which it relied. Whitman's poetry and prose extended Lincoln's rhetoric, for it depended on and promoted "the technological infrastructure that Lincoln lobbied hard to create" (pp. 39–40).

In the second part of the book, Luria explores models of national domesticity as seen through Douglass's policies during Reconstruction and Adams's end-of-century critique of the national political landscape. For Douglass, racial equality ultimately boiled down to access and ownership, and "the center of the struggle for racial equality was the home" (p. 79). Accordingly, Douglass the speculator urged African Americans to accumulate property to cement gains made through civil rights law, for property ownership allowed people to control how others saw them. During the Gilded Age, Adams also used his home, along with his novels *Democracy* (1880) and *Esther* (1884), to critique the national political scene. Adams's speculative Washington residences, the meeting places for his inner circle of friends, became alternative sites of power, exclusive literary salons that contrasted to the "exterior" politics and corruption of Washington.

The author concludes her study at the National Mall, Washington's most speculative space. In the end, Luria argues, L'Enfant's plan remains effective "because its fantastic blend of capital and city, of grand monumentality and everyday life, remains still to be fully experienced . . . The open space of the Mall provides an ideal space of endless speculation; it feeds the desire for a 'good story' of national progress and keeps that story center stage" (p. 155).

Although the author's analysis of visual and spatial evidence is occasionally strained, her efforts to reveal connections between literature and space are imaginative and admirable. This book offers fresh and provocative insights into the complex intersections between Washington's changing political visions and the built environment.

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B. ZORINA KHAN. *The Democratization of Invention: Patents and Copyrights in American Economic Development, 1790–1920*. (NBER Series on Long-term Factors in Economic Development, A National Bureau of Economic Research Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 322. \$60.00.

In this book, B. Zorina Khan contrasts the patent and copyright policies of the United States with those of Britain and France during the (very) long nineteenth century. She finds that the American patent system was democratic in the sense that it was more open and merit-based than those of Europe, the high fees and class biases of which limited access to an elite few. Most Americans never received a patent, but in most years between 1790 and 1920 Americans patented more inventions per capita than the British or French did. From about ten per million people per year in the 1790s, American patent rates rose to over 400 per million people per year in the 1910s.

In America, "great inventors" did not dominate or even predominate. Fewer than five percent of patentees received ten or more patents over their careers; over fifty percent received only one patent in their entire lives. Patentees hailed from every walk of life, including commercial and professional occupations, the engineering and mechanical trades, and artisanal and manufacturing pursuits. Women and free blacks obtained patents, and their activity increased after the Civil War, although at the same time patentees became increasingly college educated and corporation connected. Nevertheless, the U.S. patent system remained market-based and efficient. Patents were granted on the basis of worldwide novelty and not some bureaucrat's sense of their intellectual or economic merit. They were also alienable and regularly sold to the highest bidder. As Abraham Lincoln pronounced, "the patent system added the fuel of interest to the fire of genius" (p. 182).

The U.S. copyright system was also highly democratic, Khan claims, because it too followed the Constitution's mandate to "promote the Progress of Science and Useful Arts" (p. 2). American policy makers eschewed European conceptions of strong authorial and publisher rights in favor of wide information dissemination. Unlike weak patents, weak copyrights did not diminish the output of authors who, it was thought, sought fame, paid speaking appearances, and consulting gigs as much as royalties. So rather than squelch authorship and publishing, the major effect of weak copyrights was to keep printed materials relatively cheap and widely available. Finally, the lack of an international copyright agreement allowed U.S. publishers to reprint foreign materials without permission or payment, a boon to international technological and cultural transfer.

The superiority of the U.S. patent and copyright systems, Khan argues, helps to explain why the United States supplanted Britain as the world's technological and economic leader during the nineteenth century. Unlike historians, who tend to dwell on intranational

inequality, economists like Khan remain interested in the causes of international inequality, the two-hundred-plus-year quest to understand why some nations become many times wealthier than others. Arguably the most important question of our time, the wealth question has hitherto proven intractable but an emerging consensus suggests that institutions, ranging from non-predatory governments to efficient financial systems to well-developed enterprise systems, including intellectual property rights, are essential ingredients of national economic success.

Due to its timely contribution to the wealth question and the depth of its research, this book may become an economic history classic. The articles on which it is based are widely and approvingly cited, and it won the Economic History Association's prestigious Alice Hanson Jones Prize for the best book published biennially on any aspect of the economic history of North America. The tradeoff is that readers not conversant with cliometric tools like R²s, dummy variables, and regressions will find sections of the book rough going, though Khan narrates her major findings. Overall, the writing is competent but dry, with numerous digressions and examples relegated to footnotes. The index, copyediting, and lack of a bibliography all disappoint.

The book would also have been improved if Khan had consulted a historian conversant with the many primary sources she overlooked or underutilized. For instance, she argues that in Britain before 1852 "inventors could not readily obtain copies or see the descriptions and specifications of patents that were previously granted" (pp. 58–59 and n. 85). That shortchanges the *Repertory of the Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture* (1819), *Technical Repository: Containing Practical Information on Subjects Connected with Discoveries and Improvements in the Useful Arts* (1822–1827), *Repertory of Patent Inventions* (1833), and similar publications. Also, archival study at the American Antiquarian Society, the University of Virginia, and other centers for the history of the book would have enhanced her analysis of the costs and benefits of American copyright policies by introducing her to reverse piracy, the development of library systems, and so forth.

But these are quibbles. When historians begin to focus their attention on the reasons the economies of some nations thrive while others wither, they will find in this book an important part of the story.

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MICHAEL ADAS. *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 542. \$29.95.

Michael Adas's book makes a good air traveler's companion. This survey of "U.S. civilizing offenses" situates the paradox of U.S. technological superiority within historical context. While Americans enjoy their position as the world's sole hyperpower, they also face om-

inous dangers from four-ounce containers of airborne breast milk. As the title suggests, Adas emphasizes "technological imperatives," patterns of thought and action where "progress" and "civilization" are measured in technological terms, both at home and abroad. Surveying four centuries, he evaluates successive imperial struggles, from English dealings with Native Americans to U.S. engagements in Panama, the Philippines, Vietnam, and the Persian Gulf. Most intriguing to historians of technology, Adas argues that an entrenched technological positivism underlies all attempts to "civilize" non-Western cultures. He targets the endemic failures of U.S. foreign policy based on the false assumption that superior machines beget and expand superior cultures. At the same time, he reveals that technology operates as material and method; it generates the tools of engagement and the lens through which we interpret the facts. His book is a compelling, well-written indictment of our "techno-hubris" that should be required reading for this and subsequent presidents as well as historians of U.S. culture, politics, and technology.

Adas takes a comprehensive approach to his subject. Armed with this broad historical perspective, he asserts that technology has always been both a justification for and a means of pursuing U.S. imperial goals. On the one hand, policy makers have viewed what Adas terms "a civilized level of material culture" as the primary indicator of civilization or savagery (p. 56). On the other hand, infrastructure, weaponry, and statistical technologies have been the primary tools used to impart civilization to the material culture poor. Adas convincingly argues that Manifest Destiny should not be understood as the desire to dominate people, but rather as the result of an imperative to spread progress, "economic growth, and civilized ways of life" (p. 89). The approach yields striking connections across time and space. British colonists regarded North America as a land "wasted on its primitive inhabitants" who lacked the tools and motivation necessary to extract its resources" (p. 35). U.S. technocrats used similar assessments to justify "vast engineering projects" in Panama and the Philippines (p. 114).

In each case, the failure to address "the underlying maldistribution of power, wealth, and access" meant that the transfer of material technology did little to ameliorate the suffering of most people, though it did much to improve the wealth and power of oppressive and corrupt regimes (p. 180). Even when U.S. technological knowledge has successfully improved living standards or opened up lucrative trading opportunities, as in Japan, its beneficiaries have often looked elsewhere for the very institution building that such knowledge was intended to enable.

The story is most troubling when Adas describes how the "talismans of technological superiority" has encouraged the U.S. to repeatedly underestimate the threat of its opponents and overestimate the warmth of its reception in military actions (p. 291). Advanced tanks, aircraft, and defoliating agents were inadequate tools

against the North Vietnamese who regarded themselves as "dragon slayers" and had long demonstrated "a capacity to endure hardship when in pursuit of a righteous cause" (pp. 297–298). Adas goes further to suggest that statistics, and their orchestrated media delivery, functioned as a technological tool; detailed enemy body counts and data-reliant predictions of success did much to obfuscate the war's true cost at home. The material failures of our techno hubris were exposed in Vietnam, only to be prematurely exorcised in the Persian Gulf, a conventional engagement in which machines themselves were so heroic that they appeared on trading cards in greater numbers than their human operators.

This book should be considered alongside David Nye's *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings* (2003) and Ruth Oldenziel's *Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women and Modern Machines in American, 1870–1945* (1999). Nye does more to illuminate the factors that enabled machine myths of self-creation and supremacy to emerge and flourish in the early republic, while Oldenziel illuminates the ways in which domestic concerns about masculinity and technological innovation promoted these engineering projects abroad. Adas's work provides rich primary and secondary texts for those unfamiliar with his case studies. Yet some scholars of technology may lament the difficulty, at points, in distinguishing technology from historiography; Adas's skilled interweaving of the two could frustrate those reading specifically for "technological imperatives."

The close coupling of technology with our history of non-Western engagements is precisely Adas's intent. U.S. foreign policy has been inclined to overlook cultural context, to dismiss local knowledge systems, and to underestimate low-tech possibilities. The cost, as the book concludes, is the "technological paradox" of post 9–11 American life wherein our innovations, now more likely to cause than prevent threats from abroad, increasingly assail freedoms fundamental to democracy at home.

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ERIC RAUCHWAY. *Blessed among Nations: How the World Made America*. New York. Hill and Wang. 2006. Pp. 240. \$24.00.

Eric Rauchway's brief but sweeping essay-style book is both suggestive and frustrating. A broad interpretation of the American past, it offers insights that might elude works of smaller scope. Rauchway suggests that a confluence of global trends helped to shape what he calls "Americanness": a set of unique characteristics that joined robust economic growth to a tradition of small government. He argues this case in thematic chapters that discuss capital, labor, welfare, and warfare before World War I. The interpretations in this short volume are well worth considering—in the best tradition of

speculative historical essays—but readers may also find them stretched a bit thin.

Between the Civil War and World War I, in Rauchway's view, the United States developed its distinctive characteristics. This era of globalization, its openness arising partly out of Britain's imperial needs, brought capital, labor, and ideas from the rest of the world to the United States, and these global trends reinforced the nation's economic growth and its limited-state approach to governance.

Rauchway points out that the United States was the world's largest borrower of capital (and after World War I became its largest lender as well). Private bankers, not governments, built the infrastructure of America's transportation, communication, and industrial systems. The Federal Reserve System, when finally created in 1914, represented a peculiarly American compromise—a decentralized central bank.

At the same time, thirty-three million immigrants, most of prime working age yet too ethnically diverse for easy labor organizing, came to the United States. They provided the power for the rapid economic growth. The immigrant makeup of the workforce, in Rauchway's view, helps explain not only why there was no lasting socialist tradition in the United States but why, unlike in Europe, demands for social spending remained limited. Although various levels of American governments acted vigorously on public health and sanitation issues, they failed to embrace old-age pensions and social insurance on the European model. The new federal government agencies that were established during the first two decades of the twentieth century (presented in a useful table) regulated and rationalized economic activity, but few of them addressed social policy concerns.

Moreover, Rauchway argues, the United States built only a tiny military establishment. The West provided a comparatively inexpensive empire that supplied raw materials, land, and security. Without a major threat from bellicose neighbors or from imperial rebellion, the United States (unlike European states) could do without a large standing military. A very small army managed to conquer and police America's vast continental empire, and most Americans ignored their military and remained suspicious of military power.

The U.S. experience thus diverged sharply from that of other powers. It exhibited greater economic dynamism yet fewer structural attributes "normally" associated with powerful states: few extraterritorial possessions, limited social policy, a decentralized banking structure, and a comparatively tiny military. Rauchway acknowledges that every nation is, of course, different from every other, but he argues that "American eccentricity has mattered, and for the present continues to matter, more than that of other nations" (p. 13).

How has it mattered? According to Rauchway, the consequences of the America that the nineteenth-century world created (huge power accompanied by little sense of governance) have been dire. During the brief period of World War I, Americans embraced a larger government and larger military, but this more "normal"

condition for a great power seemed aberrant to Americans. After 1919, the state's military and nonmilitary elements abruptly reverted to prewar patterns. During the 1920s, again turning toward limited government and minuscule military force, the United States—now the preeminent global economic power—behaved “like an indulged child” (p. 163). It mismanaged, and thus helped rupture, the international system, which fell into depression and war.

Having spent the book's primary chapters arguing that global forces “made” America into a power that then could only act in a dysfunctional manner in the world, Rauchway warns that this same dynamic could repeat itself today. In the conclusion, he argues that despite the acceptance of some limited social policy functions and a greater military establishment from the 1930s on, the United States still remains shaped by its prior heritage. In fact, recent globalization has again brought a wave of capital investment and immigration that recalls the nineteenth century and has reinforced Americanness: economic prosperity linked to limited government, a comparatively small outlay for military power, and a refusal to take responsibility for the globalization that has nurtured the nation's prosperity.

This eight-page conclusion, which sweeps over the eighty-seven-year period since 1920, however, is so compressed that the comparisons, contrasts, and lines of argument remain undeveloped. It can hardly sustain the author's closing claim that “we find ourselves in a similar position today” and may “repeat the mistakes of the 1920s” rather than embracing the “maturity” of the 1940s (p. 173).

As a broad historical sketch of the period 1860 to 1920 in 160 pages, this book provides thought-provoking analysis and is worth the read. If Rauchway wanted his historical examination to suggest a larger cautionary tale about “maturity” and the relationship between Americanness and current policy, however, a more substantial examination of post-World War I history would have been helpful.

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DAVID J. SILVERMAN. *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600–1871*. (Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 303. \$60.00.

This book provides a comprehensive and well-written analysis of the American Indian communities of southern New England and their critical engagement with the British colonial world. David J. Silverman methodically answers two central questions. First, how did both Natives and non-Natives manage to live peaceably together amid cataclysms such as the Pequot War and King Philip's War? Second, what role did Christianity play in community survival? The survival of the Wampanoag Tribe of Aquinnah is indeed remarkable. The

book has an epic quality, as Wampanoags struggled through everything from epidemic disease and missionization to debt peonage and endogamous marriage.

Within the field of American Indian history, this study offers a refreshing departure from previous works that have explained indigenous Christianity as little more than a political device. Silverman's nuanced understanding of Wampanoag cosmology is woven into his articulate rendering of a complex and varied archival record. Try as they might, Puritan missionaries failed to impose their theological beliefs wholesale on a series of docile Indian villages. Wampanoag converts pestered New England Puritans with thoughtful questions about theological principles such as predestination. Some Wampanoags acted on their misgivings by embracing either Anabaptist or Quaker visions of Christianity. However, Puritan congregationalism became a favored extension of the village-based polities that were the fundamental political unit of New England's Algonquian communities. The varying needs and demands of the Wampanoag community thus resulted in a peculiarly Wampanoag brand of Christianity.

Silverman strikes a careful balance between the agency of the larger Wampanoag community and the paternalistic rule of the Mayhew family over the centuries. Missionary efforts began in earnest in 1641, when Thomas Mayhew Sr. arrived with an independent proprietorship over Martha's Vineyard. He then defeated the powwows, or healers, in the tribe, opening the door for mass conversions. In 1652, the Wampanoags formed a Puritan church covenant on the vineyard. Mayhew Sr.'s great grandson, Experience, continued the Mayhew tradition of active involvement in Wampanoag congregationalism. Four generations of Mayhews thus played an essential role in reshaping Wampanoag culture even as they defended the community against a series of internal and external enemies.

Mayhew Sr. held an independent proprietorship over Martha's Vineyard, the only one of its kind in New England. Commoners in the Wampanoag community often struggled against his dictatorial rule, as well as that of their own sachems. Wampanoag sachemships were “the personal estate of the sachem on which the sachem's followers happened to live” (p. 122). The Wampanoags thus largely avoided having their tribal lands subdivided into individually owned tracts, which prevented further land loss. Indians on the island as well as the mainland could not sell their land to pay off debts without permission from Boston.

At various points in the narrative, Silverman describes how common Indians used Christianity as a means of protesting against sachems who wished to sell their land. On other occasions, Mayhew Sr. armed Christian Wampanoags in need of aid against their Narragansett enemies. And during King Philip's War, the number of Wampanoag Christians expanded when New Englanders became convinced that all unchurched Indians were their mortal enemies.

Most of the roughly 1,500 Wampanoags who survived King Philip's War went to work as whalers, house ser-

vants, and farm hands in the early eighteenth century. For many families, selling their children into indentured servitude became the only means of debt relief. Indentured servitude diminished Wampanoag identity to a far greater extent than Christian conversion. Language loss proliferated as Wampanoag children were sold into debt peonage. And when these children finally returned to their families, they brought with them non-Native sensibilities. Finally, indentured servitude resulted in extensive intermarriage with African Americans, a reality that challenged the Wampanoags sense of peoplehood.

The book offers convincing evidence that offshore Wampanoags embraced Christianity, avoided cataclysmic warfare, and resisted assimilation nonetheless. The Wampanoags used their legal status as outsiders, and lingering fears regarding Native people among mainstream New Englanders, to perpetuate their autonomy and independence. From the sachemship, to the self-governing congregation, to the town meeting, the Wampanoags of Martha's Vineyard have maintained their sense of community over time. Dedicated fieldwork in the Gay Head Wampanoag community might have bolstered Silverman's claims regarding the continuity of Wampanoag identity in the twenty-first century.

As a student of both James Axtell and John Murrin, Silverman is uniquely positioned to treat both sides of the colonial encounter well, and he succeeds in fully integrating American Indian history into the broad sweep of the Atlantic world. The story of this small Indian community reveals a great deal about larger discourses of racial formation and national consciousness in the emerging American republic.

STEPHEN WARREN
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JULIE ANNE SWEET. *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733–1752*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. x, 267. \$39.95.

In this book, Julie Anne Sweet challenges in important ways works such as James F. Brooks's *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002), Jane T. Merritt's *At the Crossroads: Indians & Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763* (2003), and Charles A. Weeks's *Paths to a Middle Ground: The Diplomacy of Natchez, Boukhouka, Nogales, and San Fernando de las Barrancas, 1791–1795* (2005) that have built on Richard White's concept of "the middle ground." Rather than focus on settlers' and first peoples' creation of unique cultural spaces over decades of close contact, Sweet instead focuses on the short-lived and singular points of negotiation that enabled the first nations and the founders of Georgia to achieve what each side desired. James Oglethorpe and the Georgians wanted secure access to land, military and political support against the Spanish and the French, and profitable trade. Likewise, Creeks and Cherokees sought trade and support as well as respect.

The "temporary collaboration" that Sweet uncovers ended on the native side with the death of Tomochichi, an important liaison between Savannah and powerful inland nations, and, on Georgia's side, with its reorganization as a royal colony in 1752 (p. 8).

Tomochichi and Oglethorpe worked together to build each of their respective colonial enterprises. For Oglethorpe the founding of a colony dedicated to thrift and piety remained paramount while Tomochichi sought to recoup the power and prestige he had lost when he and his Yamacraw followers abandoned the Creek confederacy to found a village near the site the Georgia trustees had selected for their colony. Over the next decade the Yamacraws and Georgians leaned on one another as they sought to create solid and stable places for themselves amid colonial and imperial rivalries. Negotiations made possible strong trade ties—much to South Carolina's dismay, secure transfer of land, and common cause against St. Augustine and first nations with close ties to Spain and France. As more and more people flowed into the colony in search of land, and as agitation for slavery and a freer deerskin trade increased, relations between Georgia and its native partners soured and the common interest that had made possible previous instances of negotiation yielded to diplomatic practices that were harder and more confrontational than previously practiced.

While Sweet's argument is convincing, her focus on negotiations rather than on the broader sociocultural approach one finds in "middle ground" studies tends to confine contact history to treaty talks and council fires. Indeed, her interpretation of the native side of the story pales in comparison to the more thorough ethnohistorical interpretations of the native side that is so characteristic of "middle ground" historiography. Without a fuller discussion and explanation of native diplomatic protocols, political imperatives, and cultural needs, the Creek and Cherokee side of the story falls somewhat flat. When Sweet invokes Verner Winslow Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1772* (1928), she places her book in a scholarly tradition that might best be characterized as "Indian history" rather than ethnohistory because while the Creeks, Cherokees, and others emerge as more fully realized characters in this study than in books such as Crane's, they are nonetheless junior players in the colonial drama. Sweet's language to describe first peoples exacerbates the problem. She describes the Creek homeland, for example, as a "backcountry," a "dangerous wilderness," and "Indian country" (pp. 115, 117, 118), while Robbie Ethridge's valuable study *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (2003) depicts the landscape as anything but wild. Likewise Sweet's description of native warfare as "guerilla" warfare misses the mark in terms of why native men went to war and what they hoped to accomplish through warfare (p. 149). Such language establishes Savannah as the seat from which Sweet views the landscape of Georgia and European modes of warfare as the norm against which indigenous warfare is judged. Such comparisons tie the story to the Georgians and

leave Creeks, Cherokees, and other first nations on the outside looking in.

This book follows on the heels of Joshua Piker's *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America* (2004), Stephen J. Oatis's *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730* (2004), and Stephen C. Hahn's *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763* (2004), which explore early relations between first peoples and colonizers in the American Southeast. While Piker, Oatis, and Hahn delve more deeply into the native side, Sweet has ably rounded out a story that has moved well beyond Crane's early work on the southern frontier. Whether or not her focus on negotiations rather than the broader world of colonial contact offers enough to revise our understanding of the "middle ground" is open to question, but the clarity of her argument and salience of her subject matter mark the book as an important addition to the field.

JAMES TAYLOR CARSON
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BRADLEY G. BOND, editor. *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 322. \$59.95.

Louisiana stands as something of a historiographic orphan, an abandoned stepchild of the various nationalist narratives that long reigned supreme in historical scholarship. National historiographies (in stark contrast to seventeenth and eighteenth-century European empires) never laid claim to colonial Louisiana, this vast territory transferred from Native American to French to Spanish to French and finally to U.S. control, its society a mix of Native American, African, and European origin. French historiography—focused almost exclusively *sur L'Hexagone*—traditionally lacked interest in its first overseas empire. Louisiana became a Spanish possession too late, and too briefly, to figure prominently in a historiography that, for much of the twentieth century, was in any event largely unconcerned with its colonial past. As for the United States, the history of colonial Louisiana has mostly figured as a sideshow of exoticism and "regional otherness," as Daniel Usner puts it in this book, "a shadowy but romantic prologue on a stage that inevitably belonged to the English colonists in the East" (p. 8).

Matters may be set to change. With the rise of a newly self-confident Atlantic history, Louisiana may finally have found a perspective amenable to its complex colonial past—or so it is suggested in this collection of essays, which originated in a 1999 conference commemorating the founding of French Louisiana. Opening and closing with essays by the most prominent Anglophone historians of Louisiana, Usner and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, the ten intervening chapters—of which only three emerge from the pens of U.S.-based scholars—range widely from Euro-American contact to economic history, demography, migration, and beyond.

Usner's essay sets out the historiographical stakes, tracing the various ways Louisiana has been represented and misrepresented across nineteenth and twentieth-century U.S. scholarship. Casting Louisiana as "peculiar and exotic" (p. 2), writings by early nationalist historians served largely to "justify physical acts of conquest and displacement" (p. 3) by exalting a Protestant, Anglo future of liberty and free enterprise. As time went on, however, Louisiana's "romantic otherness" (p. 10) would be reinterpreted by modernist writers, laying the groundwork for an image aimed at attracting tourists to an increasingly Disneyfied New Orleans whose exotic past could be commercialized and sold. Within this shifting matrix, the ambiguous status of racial mixing always lay at the core of representations of Louisiana's past.

It may only be logical, then, to find the next three essays addressing Euro-American relations: one in the context of environmental history and land use, the next through gift exchange and diplomacy, and the last through Native American belief systems. These essays, thematically integrated and very much up to date in the relevant historiography and sources, remain more suggestive than demonstrative—mostly due to their brevity. Next come two chapters bearing a less obvious relationship: one by Bertrand van Ruymbeke dismantling the hardy myth that Louis XIV's Huguenot policy lies at the root of France's failure in Louisiana, and North America more broadly; the other, an imaginative though perhaps overstated essay tracing the evolution of the Ursuline community in New Orleans from a state of "dependent passivity" (p. 104) into "a community of women with a powerful sense of their own authority" (p. 96).

If subsequent essays move us to more traditional ground, they also show how economic, diplomatic, or demographic history can be rendered more appealing to current historiographical sensibilities. Cécile Vidal's chapter reconstructing the "coherent socioeconomic system linking the French colonies of the Upper and Lower Mississippi Valley" (pp. 111–112) stands as one of the strongest of the volume, more richly detailed and supported with a greater mass of evidence. Paul Mapp offers a similarly stand-out account, delving into diplomacy and geopolitics from a wonderfully original angle by showing how geographical knowledge—or lack thereof—shaped French imperial policy toward Louisiana.

The following two essays take a demographic approach. James Pritchard examines French America broadly conceived—from Newfoundland, down the Saint Lawrence and Mississippi Valleys, and into the Caribbean—offering some general conclusions about its demography. Paul Lachance, meanwhile, focuses closely on Louisiana, presenting the findings of a carefully and arduously researched data set. Although they certainly seem reliable, Lachance's population figures are—oddly—not used in the earlier essays by Vidal and Pritchard: one indication that these essays could have been better integrated.

The two final essays address migration to Louisiana: one from Saint Domingue, the other from West Africa, emphasizing the "African point of view [in] the making of Louisiana's Afro-Creole culture" (p. 265). Hall's epilogue closes the volume with an essay more personal than analytical, which posits the French colonial period as one of "racial openness" (pp. 292, 295)—French colonization was apparently less racist than its European analogues—eventually overcome by racism, a "false consciousness . . . created and enforced from above to facilitate political domination and economic exploitation" (p. 306).

As this brief summary suggests—and as is common in many collections of essays—the topics covered range widely. As is also common in some collected volumes, the quality of the essays ranges more widely. Some bear the marks of barely revised conference papers, marred by repetition and careless editing, while others offer compelling and original interpretations, delving into new and exciting areas of research. With essays branching out in so many different directions, the reader may wonder what theme weaves them all together.

The volume's editor has an answer. "Collectively," argues Bradley G. Bond, "the essays broadly contextualize early Louisiana as a part of the Atlantic World" (p. xiii). While it certainly is true that an Atlantic approach offers tantalizing possibilities to reinterpret Louisiana's past, I must confess that I failed to see how the Atlantic context ties these particular essays together. Usner's lead essay sets the tone in this regard: setting Louisiana in the context of U.S. historical narratives, he ignores the Spanish and French-language historiography. The essay is fascinating, to be sure, but of dubious, as it were, Atlanticity.

The subsequent essays on Euro-American contact also fit uneasily into an Atlantic framework. In their impressive efforts to locate the Native American experience at the core of Louisiana's colonial past, the Atlantic perspective is overshadowed by the close and careful anthropological readings. Vidal's essay strikes a similarly discordant note, looking not out toward the Atlantic but inward toward the continent's heart. As for Pritchard's essay—in geographical terms certainly the most "Atlantic" of the volume—it barely addresses Louisiana, confining that discussion to a single paragraph.

This volume deserves praise for the range of topics addressed, and especially for the international provenance of the contributors, whose notes supply an extensive bibliography cataloging the historiography and primary sources on Louisiana in both English and French. But rather than casting them as Atlantic, these essays might better be seen as a snapshot revealing the current state of Louisiana history. If coherence remains elusive, the essays do show that Louisiana historiography, far from remaining on the margins of U.S. (or even Atlantic) history, has overcome many of the myths that long dogged it, and has integrated methods and practices at the cutting edge of current historical scholarship. Whatever else it does, this volume clearly shows

Louisiana history to be a burgeoning and exciting field.

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DANIEL J. HULSEBOSCH. *Constituting Empire: New York and the Transformation of Constitutionalism in the Atlantic World, 1664–1830*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the American Society for Legal History. 2005. Pp. 494. \$45.00.

American constitutional historians usually begin with independence, usually limit their attention to North America, and usually focus on court decisions, but Daniel J. Hulsebosch disregards all three conventions. The American Revolution doesn't come until the book's midpoint. The book is thus as much about British constitutionalism at home and in the colonies as it is about the postindependence American version, and as much about the constitutional position of New York within wider imperial structures as it is about the internal constitutional history of New York itself. And while judges play a major role, we also hear the constitutional views of imperial agents, large landholders, frontier settlers, and a host of others. Hulsebosch rolls all of this into a narrative that encompasses standard topics like judicial review of legislation and the status of the common law, as well as a wide range of issues less often encountered in works of constitutional history, like land policy, the role of juries, and the regime of martial law imposed in New York during the revolution.

The result is an extremely complicated story, but the great virtue of telling it this way is that Hulsebosch is able to demonstrate connections across time and space. He shows how constitutional arguments from the 1770s onward built on the constitutional thought New Yorkers inherited from their predecessors, in both Britain and New York. Even better, he also shows the relationships between what we might call internal and external constitutionalism. In one direction, arguments over allocations of power within New York were affected by New York's relationship to Britain and the United States, while in the other, arguments over divisions of authority within the British and American empires, between colonies/states and the central government, were influenced by the internal makeup of New York. This point—what Hulsebosch calls "the recovery of the imperial origins of American constitutionalism" (p. 3)—is the book's most original and useful contribution.

This study lies at the confluence of two streams of writing that have recently been growing wider and deeper: Atlantic history, here focusing on links between Britain and North America, and popular constitutionalism, the view that constitutional interpretation has been a task performed by people other than judges. Colonial and early republican North America should be a particularly fruitful time and place for both genres, because Americans were still self-consciously trying to work within the English legal tradition, and because the number of Americans with legal training was much

smaller than it would later be, so there was more space available for the constitutional thought of non-lawyers to make a difference. The book should thus be an excellent model for similar studies of constitutional thought in other colonies and early states.

Writing constitutional history in this style requires Hulsebosch to keep control of an enormous cast of characters on both sides of the Atlantic who argue over all sorts of disparate subjects involving government power. Yet the book is a pleasure to read despite its complexity, because Hulsebosch consistently has insightful things to say. He introduces the position of New York within the seventeenth-century empire, to pick one example, by remarking that "to the modern eye, it almost appears as though England had shed its prenational characteristics and passed them on to the colonies: as in the medieval realm, the empire's government was primarily royal, its borders were fluid, and it was legally and culturally pluralist" (p. 15). When he points out similarities between Privy Council review of colonial statutes for "repugnancy" to English law, on the one hand, and the power of American judges (as well as New York's short-lived Council of Revision) to review state statutes for consistency with the Constitution, on the other, he gently criticizes historians who have emphasized rupture rather than continuity because they have been looking for precedents in the wrong place. The relationship between English courts and Parliament, he suggests, is not the right point of comparison for the relationship between state courts and state legislatures. "Comparing the American states with Great Britain creates the optical illusion of discontinuity," he notes; "the analysis zooms in on two separate legal environments without accounting for the transatlantic empire that had long connected them" (p. 238). This is an important book for legal historians, but it should also be an enjoyable book for a much wider audience.

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SIMON MIDDLETON. *From Privileges to Rights: Work and Politics in Colonial New York City*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 306. \$45.00.

Traditional views of colonial artisans are of a quiet community of masters, journeymen, and apprentices in which advancement was generally not difficult for the talented craftsman, and in which deference was granted to the mercantile elite. Recent work also argues that this world was seriously disrupted by the market and political revolutions of the mid-to-late eighteenth century, leading to greater political activism and eventually to the notion of "artisan republicanism" that historian Sean Wilentz sees as key to understanding nineteenth-century American politics.

Simon Middleton's book takes a revisionist stance. Employing underused Mayor's Court records, it argues

that there was no single colonial experience, or abrupt financial transition, but an incremental transformation toward the political and economic ideologies of the American Revolution. The Dutch legacy was largely paternal. Artisans were granted lesser burgher rights under the control of the mercantile (greater burgher) elite. Entry into a trade was not restricted by guilds, though regulation of trades through burgher rights limited competition. Civil control was pervasive, with public work requirements. Artisans accepted regulation in return for craft protection.

The English took control of the city in 1664. At first Dutch trading privileges continued and the Dutch mercantile elite remained in power. Artisans, now comprising up to half the city's population, continued mercantile deference in return for protective regulation. Within a generation, however, Governor Andros's push toward Anglicization resulted in a decline of the economic standing of both many Dutch merchants and most of the city's tradesmen, even while total urban wealth was growing. This was one reason why many artisans joined Leisler's Rebellion, an uprising triggered by a mixture of Calvinist passion, economic loss, and ethnic resentment. The emerging English mercantile elite was not in support of trade protection, strongly opposing, for example, coopers' attempt to set city-wide prices. Consequently, as top merchants reached new heights of affluence, artisans saw the gap between them and the municipal gentry broaden, while economic insecurity heightened.

By the 1730s New York was fully English. Artisans had lost almost all traditional rights and protection as freemanship brought little reward other than the vote. Three fourths of craft business was now done on credit as import and export trade became an essential part of a tradesman's business. Craftsmen gained entrepreneurial expertise, including familiarity with promissory notes, mortgages, bills of exchange, and partnerships. Success was less tied to craft skill than to market skill, access to credit, and mercantile connection. As the city continued to stratify, artisans made up a growing middling class, but, for the large majority, one not far above subsistence. The few regulated trades, such as baking and butchering, did well with either limited competition or guaranteed profits. Many others survived on credit and large amounts of debt, increasingly subject to foreclosure, bankruptcy and insolvency. Within this challenging economic situation, there is little evidence of the "traditional" colonial craftsman or of craft solidarity.

Shortages of unskilled manual labor were constant in colonial British New York, leading to increased reliance on slaves. This, in turn, lessened possibilities of manumission and increased racism and segregation. Artisans were vigilant in not allowing slaves into their trades. In a labor-short environment, apprenticeship declined as well, long before its supposed demise in the age of Jefferson. Evidence reveals that indentures were used primarily for orphans and in wealthier trades. In other cases informal labor contracts were common,

contracts that could easily be terminated by either party.

As English Common Law replaced Dutch civil law, artisans lost the worker's right in labor, a traditional right of property. English law was complex, often technical. Most artisans could not afford to hire attorneys or to use court proceedings to enforce a contract or payment. Many defendants found default cheaper than mounting a legal defense. While tradesmen were now equal before the law (as opposed to lesser burgher versus greater burgher rights), business contracts were more formal, usually written, and often a serious market complication.

Equality before the law also led to a form of political equality as the factional forces of first Frederick Philipse and Lewis Morris, resulting in the famed Zenger case, and then the Delancey and Livingston rivalries, fought for power. The highly charged elite partisan factions needed votes and, in a manner similar to that of the 1790s, commonly appealed directly to artisan voters, invoking equality and attacking deferential expectations. The language of classical republicanism was employed, stressing individual dignity and judgment. Artisans were politically divided, often by occupation or wealth. Even so, artisan protests over trade regulation and municipal policy now rested more on a sense of citizenship and corresponding rights than a spirit of deference to municipal authority and traditional practice.

Densely written but carefully argued, this book argues that the advent of the role of classical republicanism and egalitarianism in artisan politics and consciousness, of the decline in traditional apprenticeship, and of the role of the market revolution, all once seen as key to the postrevolutionary era, will have to be reconsidered, with its beginnings now part of the colonial artisan's legacy. With a caution that traditional practices and deferential practices were present in and beyond the early republic, this is a consequential study, reshaping our understanding of artisan history.

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PETER C. MESSER. *Stories of Independence: Identity, Ideology, and History in Eighteenth-Century America*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 258. \$39.00.

This is a meticulously researched and methodically organized account of how the history of America came to be written in the eighteenth century. Describing history as "the shared experiences and values uniting a people [which] sets an agenda for society" (p. 182), Peter C. Messer demonstrates how the consolidation of certain versions of historical narrative around the time of the American Revolution served to institutionalize particular versions of U.S. national history while occluding others. The first part of the book, "Colonial Precedents," focuses on the difference of emphases between what Messer calls "provincial historians" (p. 17)—Robert Beverley in Virginia, Daniel Neal in New England,

and others—and apologists for empire, such as the New Yorkers Cadwallader Colden and William Smith, Jr. The former group stressed the gradual moral self-improvement and independence of America, arguing that the country's exceptional nature would prevent it from degenerating into corruption; the latter cautioned against excessive fondness among the colonists for commerce and religious enthusiasm, suggesting instead that the economic success of America was the result of its integration within the complex trading circuits of the British Empire. Messer is particularly good on the Loyalists, and his second chapter, "Dissent and the Alternative that Was Lost," highlights ways in which Loyalist perspectives on the emergence of America have now by and large fallen from view. As a consequence of the revolution, the provincial historians' account of American exceptionalism quickly turned into something like an official version of history.

Messer's analysis of the effects of this historical blindness is at its sharpest in his analysis of attitudes toward the Native Americans and slavery. Thomas Hutchinson and other Loyalists insisted that Indians had played a key role in assisting, directly or indirectly, the development of the colonies, whereas early republican historians such as James Sullivan believed that the elimination of the Native Americans was part of a grand providential design, since "God has ordered that some nations shall become extinct and others shall take their places" (p. 126). With abolition, similarly, it was the outcome of the revolution that served to keep African Americans subjugated, since the system of slavery was integral to the structural formation of the early United States in a way that it was not to the global dimensions of the British Empire. In fact, Messer provocatively concludes how "the identities and ideology that had produced the Revolution did as much to justify the removal of Indians, defend slavery, and resist expanding roles for women as they had done to reverse those features of American life" (p. 180).

Part two of the book, "Revolutionary Implications," looks at ways in which writers such as Thomas Paine were influenced by rhetorical and ideological assumptions drawn by Patriot authors from provincial historians, while part three, "Early National Consequences," examines how the histories of liberal republicanism produced a highly partial view of the nation's moral and political reformation. The book ends with an epilogue critiquing what the author calls the "liberal denouement" of the U.S. Constitution, arguing that the new-found mystification of law rather than virtue as the foundation of polity created an illusory point of origin for the new nation, one which effectively marginalized alternative explanations of historical causation and development. This in turn radically circumscribed the ability of Americans to use the more contingent circumstances of politics "as a means of self and national improvement" (p. 169).

This is an excellent book: wide ranging, thought provoking, and particularly illuminating on the Loyalist contribution to American historiography in the eigh-

teenth century. It shows how competing interpretations of history, and of America's relationship to British imperial designs, played a central role in the controversies over independence that erupted violently at the end of the eighteenth century. While built upon a solid basis of traditional scholarship, including a helpful appendix that provides biographical sketches of the historians discussed here, Messer's book is also theoretically fluent and alert to the metahistorical dimensions of the texts he analyses. He moves easily between cultural criticism and political history and has much to say about the discursive formations of early American national identity, the way they became folded into narrative forms. This project began as a doctoral dissertation, and occasionally, as in the oft-repeated explanation of the role of provincial historians, we see traces of its origins. Overall, however, Messer's book is a telling and timely contribution to the increasingly transnational field of early American cultural history.

PAUL GILES
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CLARE A. LYONS. *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730–1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2006. Pp. 420. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

This fascinating and well-written book describes the making of a "vibrant pleasure culture" (p. 1) in Philadelphia, one characterized by the widespread acceptance of sexual transgressions—even those of well-to-do women—that lasted from the 1760s to the turn of the century. This pleasure culture was followed by a postrevolutionary crackdown in the form of a "new gender system" (p. 2) that, by about 1820, had foreclosed sexual options for women and redefined all acts of nonmarital sex as sexual deviance associated with the lower-class "rabble." Throughout, Clare A. Lyons carefully distinguishes popular print culture from actual behavior, and she notes that cultural and legal reform efforts neither ended unlawful sex nor necessarily changed the meanings illicit relations held for those engaged in them. But by the end of this scholarly book, Lyons has made the persuasive case that the new gender system so drastically altered "the social and cultural context within which sexual nonconformity took place" (p. 310), that women's experience of nonmarital sex, adultery, prostitution, and unwed motherhood had been transformed. The ribald laughter that accompanied tales of cuckoldry among the middling sort in the mid-eighteenth century had been replaced by the stern reproof that middle-class women were naturally restrained, marking unchaste women as aberrant and deserving of the punishment that new nineteenth-century laws all but ensured.

Lyons tells a rich story, one full of surprises. A wide array of sources reveals resistance to sexual rules in multicultural, Quaker-inflected Philadelphia. For ex-

ample, in newspaper advertisements for runaway wives, and in wives' published responses to those ads, Lyons finds women expanding the definition of unacceptable spousal behavior and asserting their right to self-divorce, even as they commenced other sexual relationships themselves. By the 1760s, the "pursuit of personal fulfillment" (p. 58) had trumped an unquestioned loyalty to the institution of marriage. The increase in nonmarital (not just premarital) pregnancies met with greater social acceptance, and prostitution existed in every district of the city, pointing to a pervasive and "permissive sexual ethic" (p. 114). A "newly eroticized popular print culture" (p. 151) became widely available to men and women of all classes, and almanacs told bawdy jokes even as they attempted to counter women's sexual independence and reassert the propriety of female subordination. Through the 1790s, Philadelphia witnessed a flourishing and raucous if also contested culture of sexual indulgence. Bold adulteresses, unrepentant prostitutes, and defiant single mothers all made "strong assertions of female independence." When women had illegitimate children, adulterous affairs, "or participated in sex commerce, they affirmed their sexual independence, that is, created sexual lives independent of marriage" (p. 256).

Sometimes Lyons overstates the case for women's sexual independence, as if nonmarital sex were necessarily liberating: "When the women themselves directed their sexual lives, they exercised unprecedented female sexual autonomy, that is, sexual choices unmediated by the interests or directions of others" (p. 256). It is difficult to see prostitution as an act unmediated by the interests of male clients, and Lyons herself notes that a life of prostitution could be "grim" (p. 286). But she tends to celebrate nonmarital sex as evidence that women "laid claim to their right to personal happiness and sexual fulfillment" (p. 270). Less explored are the limited options women faced. When women left unhappy marriages, especially those marked by violence, did they feel compelled to seek a relationship with another man, perhaps for protection? Did economic pressures make it difficult to be a single self-divorced woman? How do we understand the "autonomy" of prostitutes in the face of economically constrained circumstances?

Lyons's enthusiasm for the boldly unapologetic women who made unconventional choices about their sexual lives is likely influenced by the changes she charts after 1790. That is when images of naturally modest, chaste womanhood took over Philadelphia's almanacs while erotic depictions of lusty women disappeared into the private publications meant for middle-class men. Lyons argues that reformers' portrayals of naturally restrained women created a class divide, a "two-tiered system of sexuality" that ascribed female virtue only to women of the elite and middle class and licentiousness to all others. Now all nonmarital sex was redefined as prostitution, adultery being only the first step in an inevitable slide toward the sex trade. No longer did the prostitute stand out "as a symbol of independent wom-

anhood" (p. 320); instead she appeared as necessarily deviant and poor. Even as bawdy houses continue to flourish in Philadelphia, the negative images of prostitutes "undermined their independence and agency" (p. 348). As with prostitution, so also with bastardy: illicit behavior continued unabated but the cultural context had changed, criminalizing unwed mothers and especially African American women in new ways. Cultural permissiveness for sexually assertive women was gone, replaced by "punitive disciplinary strategies" (p. 383) that made the 1760s seem in hindsight like an era of outright humanitarianism.

Some questions remain, especially about the place of Philadelphia in its larger context. What explains the remarkable "pleasure culture" Lyons has documented? Was it a new phenomenon, singular in the colonies, even unprecedented? Or was it akin to the flourishing sexual underworld of eighteenth-century London? Does cultural heterogeneity alone explain its existence, and how much and in what ways did the Society of Friends influence its development? That we are left with questions worth answering is the sign of an intriguing book that merits a wide audience.

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GARY B. NASH. *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*. (The Nathan I Huggins Lectures.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 235. \$19.95.

In his recent book, *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (2005), Gary B. Nash offered an antidote to the historical amnesia that excluded so many ordinary people from the history of the revolution. Hard on its heels comes this book, an extended riff on one element of the earlier opus: the neglected role of African Americans in the nation's founding. Originally presented as three lectures at the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute, the text is around 30,000 words, published in a compact format that sits snugly in the palm of one's hand. The book may be small, but it packs plenty of punch.

Nash is not content to inject a few black characters into the patriotic theater of the revolution by shining the spotlight on actors like Peter Salem and Lemuel Haynes. He insists we understand just how extraordinary was the African American response. White revolutionaries might speak of their "leap into the dark," Nash writes, but for African Americans that leap was much bolder, "so outlandish in its presumption that the distant shore of freedom could be reached we can only marvel . . . that men and women of dark skin even tried" (p. 7). Spurning the defensiveness of most accounts of the black presence in the revolution, Nash reiterates that African Americans overwhelmingly identified the British forces as the conduit to freedom, and were right to do so, given the failure of the founders to create a nation free of the abomination of slavery.

It is on this issue that the book makes its most pow-

erful assault on the self-congratulatory mode of founding historiography. Nash is determined to show that it was moral culpability, cowardice, and impoverished leadership that allowed slavery to be entrenched in the new republic, a failure of nerve at the top that meant that the brave new nation would never be true to its founding ideology. The dismayed Marquis de Lafayette understood this when he wrote to George Washington in 1786: "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America if I could have conceived thereby I was founding a land of slavery" (p. 103). Nash rejects the argument that it would have been impossible to abolish slavery at that time as one that "reeks of the dangerous, indeed odious, concept of historical inevitability" (p. 70) invariably advanced by those eager to excuse mistakes. Nash is having none of it. The abolition of slavery was achievable, he argues, since the reality was that only South Carolina and Georgia were intractable on that matter. Moreover such a move could have been integrative rather than divisive. Eliminating a rankling sore in the body politic was a way for an uneasy amalgam of factional regions to be forged into a genuinely national society. A nation where people's behavior accords with their ideology is surely stronger than one where these two are acutely at odds, he reasons.

Anticipating the howls of derision this proposition will elicit in certain quarters, it is with trepidation that I concur with Nash. No way was it inevitable that the vehement opposition of South Carolina and Georgia doomed the abolition project. These states were the weakest and the most precariously situated members of the Constitutional Convention. If they had taken their slaves and left, it would not have irrevocably shattered the incipient nation, any more than the existence of the neighboring British colonies of Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Lower Canada. The debt-ridden, war-ravaged, and militarily vulnerable ex-colonies of South Carolina and Georgia could not have managed to go it alone, nor is it likely they would have willingly re-embraced their former enemy or given themselves over to the protection of Spanish Florida. The evidence suggests, just as Nash argues, that these two states did not have the power, or the persuasion, to commit the Constitutional Convention to enshrine chattel slavery. Responsibility must belong to Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington, slaveowners all, who were not prepared to risk putting their money where their mouths were. They could have provided the leadership to carry Virginia and the nation into abolition, but they lacked the moral courage to live up to the ideology of liberty that they had championed, in the name of which a deeply traumatic war had been fought. Washington was a leader of men under arms, Nash tells us, who "could not bring himself to be a leader of unarmed men appealing to the nation's conscience" (p. 106).

Nash insists that he is not indulging in absurd counterfactualism here. He believes the failure of moral leadership at that crucial moment cost America dearly in the later trauma of the Civil War. Many historians will

disagree. Some may point to deep-rooted racial prejudice in a white constituency unwilling to contemplate sharing the privileges of freedom with blacks, while others will argue the economic imperative. A book to stimulate robust debate, this one is well worth the read.

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JOSHUA M. SMITH. *Borderland Smuggling: Patriots, Loyalists, and Illicit Trade in the Northeast, 1783–1820*. Foreword by JAMES C. BRADFORD and GENE A. SMITH. (New Perspectives on Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xv, 160. \$55.00.

Britain's official recognition of U.S. independence in 1783 redrew the map of North America, establishing boundaries between sovereign states. But what did it mean for neighbors who lived along the new dividing line that separated British Canada and the United States, neighbors who had long traded with each other without regard to national identity or political alignment? In his engaging monograph on smuggling in the Passamaquoddy borderlands of Maine between 1783 and 1820, Joshua M. Smith argues that the residents on both sides of the new boundary constructed their own identities in ways that emphasized continuity and local interests rather than reflecting change and national politics.

Viewed from London or from Philadelphia, and later, Washington, smuggling was a crime that deprived the state of much-needed revenue. Customs officials and navy cutters were commissioned to move swiftly in bringing such robbery to a halt. Americans who had once been sympathetic to smugglers who evaded Britain's Navigation Acts were less forgiving when the U.S. Treasury was the victim. Smuggling looked different to residents of Passamaquoddy Bay, however. For some, it was a "form of self-help, a way that neighbor helped neighbor in the grim business of survival" (p. 1). Like political economist Adam Smith, Mainers and New Brunswickers considered themselves to be honest citizens dealing with unjust laws that violated the laws of nature. They were free traders who disregarded artificial lines that distant officials drew in order to regulate and tax commerce.

Smith tells his story in a tightly focused local history that rarely leaves the Passamaquoddy Bay. He regards the outside world only when it intrudes on the lives of his subjects whom he sympathetically portrays as hard-working men and women more concerned about their families and neighbors than about the flux of politics. One such intrusion arose in 1794 with the passage of Jay's Treaty, an agreement that allowed American ships to trade with the British East and West Indies. As a result, New Brunswick merchants were shut out of those markets and engaged in an illegal trade with the United States to acquire rum, molasses, and sugar from the Caribbean and tea from the Indian Ocean. Then, in 1807, President Thomas Jefferson placed a complete

embargo on overseas shipping, igniting in the Passamaquoddy what locals called the "Flour War," a reference to the most commonly smuggled commodity; an estimated 150,000 barrels were traded illegally. Then in 1809, the Non-Intercourse Act and Britain's response to it again sparked smuggling; this time the locals called it the "Plaster War" after the finely ground gypsum that was illegally shipped from the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia to American wheat farmers for fertilizer.

Far from regarding smuggling as a moral wrong, border residents imbued it with lofty ideals of freedom and loyalty and community. Moreover, Smith claimed that "it is difficult to find a [religious] group that found smuggling immoral" (p. 15). Clergy and laity of all faiths participated in what many referred to as the "nocturnal" or supernatural economy" (p. 29). While American and British law were clear regarding contraband, local customs officials were often complicit in smuggling operations, either participating directly in illegal trade or accepting bribes to look the other way while their neighbors engaged in it. Sympathetic to the smugglers, Smith casts law-abiding customs agents and crews of revenue cutters as villains who threatened the livelihoods and stability of the borderland Canadians and Americans.

Smith's local focus is, at the same time, the book's greatest strength and weakness. His close examination of the people of the Passamaquoddy provides the reader with a fine-grained portrait of daily life in the shadows of the borderland, far removed from the seats of power. We are able to meet obscure figures whose primary objective was to scratch out a living in a world carved up by rival powers that sought to channel trade to their own advantages. We also see the artificiality of political boundaries that redefined neighbors as aliens living on the other side of the line. However, Smith's study runs the risk of blinding the reader's view of the forest with his detailed look at the trees along the U.S.-Canadian boundary. The lack of a broader context leaves us wondering about the nature and extent of smuggling in the Passamaquoddy. Aside from an occasional allusion to smuggling elsewhere, such as along the Georgia-Florida border, and the assertion that the illegal trade in the Passamaquoddy was similar to that in other smuggling centers, we learn little about the magnitude of smuggling and how that along the Maine-New Brunswick border compared. Nonetheless, Smith's case study makes a significant contribution to the social construction of identity along the Canadian-American borderland.

FRANK LAMBERT
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RICHARD F. NATION. *At Home in the Hoosier Hills: Agriculture, Politics, and Religion in Southern Indiana, 1810–1870*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 274. \$35.00.

There are many worlds we have lost in the American past, localities whose cultural norms have differed from

the mainstream. And those that did not hew to dominant American trends are often forgotten by historians because they were not part of the master narrative of United States history. So argues Richard F. Nation in this thoughtful study of the Hill Country, twenty-some counties in southern Indiana, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Although most scholarship of the nineteenth-century Middle West has centered on the ascendancy of capitalism and nationalism embodied in the rise of the Republican Party, Nation tells the story of a subregion centered on a deep and abiding sense of localism.

Nation argues that residents of southern Indiana fostered a belief that polity and society were most decent when centered on the local community. This belief in localism, which shaped economic development and political ideology, was informed to a great degree by religious belief. The Euro-American migrants to the region in the early nineteenth century were of diverse origins, arriving from states in the Mid-Atlantic and Upland South as well as from Roman Catholic Germany. These people came to own land and many of their families were successful in acquiring property. Few places at the time, Nation informs his readers, equaled the access to land available in southern Indiana. Because of this, Hoosiers maintained an egalitarian worldview while they simultaneously organized their agricultural world around a hierarchical family. Like many rural dwellers in nineteenth-century America, these Hoosiers paradoxically celebrated equality amid their authoritarian families.

If the household was the institution on which economic activity was focused, the church was the center of the Hoosier community. Although churches of many sects—Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans—were formed in the region, Nation focuses on primitive Baptists and German Catholic believers, people who were poorer than the norm and who exhibited the greatest distrust of forces from outside of the authority of the local community. Despite their profound differences, Nation stresses the common beliefs among Catholics and primitive Baptists regarding human imperfectability, which stood in stark contrast to the postmillennialist perfectionism of many evangelical sects. They tended to reject state reformism and would find a political home in the Democratic Party.

Those living in the Hoosier hills were also leery of market integration. Therefore, they practiced a conservative, safety-first farming whose primary objective was to care for the family through home produce and depend on trade in the local community for goods that could not be made at home. The more distant the market, the more distrustful was the Hoosier farmer. Like many agriculturalists in the early nineteenth century, the rural folk in southern Indiana practiced a risk-averse strategy in large part because of the uncertainty in crop production and agricultural markets. Although he allows that “profit maximizers” existed, Nation informs his readers that they are not part of his story.

Moreover, few would wish to depend on distant markets that were not part of the local moral community.

The localism reflected in the rejection of reform and recognition of risk-averse agriculture was best embodied politically by the antifederalism of the Democratic Party, to which most of the voters of the region adhered. They were opposed to schemes of commercial expansion engineered by the Whig Party because they believed the monied interests were attempting to gain greater hold on the marketplace; they resisted tax increases for internal improvements because these endeavors would foster greater market integration; and they were wary of reform movements, such as temperance, to perfect an imperfectable humanity. The Hoosiers remained steadfast Democrats as the United States careened toward Civil War. Southern secession and the war itself divided the residents of the Hill Country, and its conclusion fostered economic integration and political centralization that would further challenge their localist ethic.

Nation has provided us with a careful study of a subregion whose history needs to be known. But I wonder if he has adequately explored the cultural and historical complexity of the region. To be sure, southern Indiana has remained conservative both politically and socially into the twenty-first century, but that picture might be overdrawn given Nation’s focus on the most conservative segments of the population. By concentrating on Roman Catholics and primitive Baptists, for example, we do not hear the voices of other religious sects who were likely more reformist and less localist. Likewise, as the region became increasingly integrated economically over the course of sixty years, we do not get a sense of how the perspectives of “profit maximizers” and safety-first farmers changed. A view of difference, rather than similarity, would have provided a narrative tension that might have become a story of contingency and change rather than homogeneity and continuity.

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STEPHEN MIDDLETON. *The Black Laws: Race and the Legal Process in Early Ohio*. (Law, Society, and Politics in the Midwest, number 4.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 363. Cloth \$59.00, paper \$26.95.

Stephen Middleton meticulously traces the creation, development, and opposition to Ohio’s racial exclusion codes, from their inception in 1804 through their restriction in 1849 to their ultimate demise in 1884. Middleton’s is the first monograph to explore the black codes in a state carved out of the Old Northwest Territory since Elmer Gertz’s 1957 study of Illinois’s black laws. He takes advantage of a wide array of sources and the secondary literature to craft a highly readable book.

The significance of Ohio and its black laws lay in the role they played in constructing a repressive racial society in the state, establishing a framework for other states created from the Old Northwest Territory, es-

pecially Indiana and Illinois, and as a site and struggle from which many nationally prominent white abolitionists emerged. Middleton begins by demonstrating why and how Ohio—though it incorporated Article VI of the Northwest Ordinance, which prohibited slavery—also constructed exclusionary laws that sought to restrict black immigration and subordinate its African American population. According to Middleton, Ohio's population explains much, but not all, of the story. Populated largely by southerners, early Ohio in many ways reflected that region's culture, although many slaveholders moved there to manumit their slaves. It is this paradox—antislavery and antiblack racism, or anti-civil rights for African Americans—that Middleton makes the centerpiece of his study. This paradox that plagued the abolitionists nationally, but Ohio's white antislavery activists quickly realize that building abolitionism in Ohio required that they contest the state's black laws, which excluded "blacks and mulattoes" from serving on juries, testifying in a trial involving whites, and from attending the public schools. Thus, although inhospitable to blacks, Ohio developed a reputation as hostile to the interests of its slaveholding neighbors, especially Kentucky.

In many ways this is a conventional study; however, it is sprinkled with sparking insights and should be of interest to scholars unconcerned with Ohio, the black laws, or this era. First, Middleton uncovers several court cases that contradict the "one drop" rule, which declared any person with a drop of African blood to be black. In *Gray v. Ohio* (1831), *Williams v. the Directors of School District* (1834), *Jeffries v. Ankeny* (1842), *Thacker v. Hawk* (1842), and *Jordan v. Smith* (1846) for instance, the Ohio Supreme Court expanded the definition of whiteness, which limited the definition of blackness. In *Williams*, hewing to a strict constructionist interpretation of the black laws, which excluded "blacks and mulattoes," the court admitted Williams's children to the public schools, since they had less than fifty percent black blood, ruling "the percentage of blood, not complexion, the standard" (pp. 87–88). In *Thacker* the court argued the opposite—the "only valid test for whiteness" was "sight, not blood" (p. 131)—but again ruled in favor of the plaintiff. Middleton does not attempt to explain the contrasting logic in these cases. Although these admixture cases, especially those challenging restrictions on testimony, ultimately helped undermine the black laws, they also expanded whiteness, by extending white privilege to individuals who had less than fifty percent black blood or who looked white.

By consciously portraying the struggle against Ohio's black laws as "the civil rights movement," Middleton questions that movement's accepted origin. Whereas proponents of the "long civil rights movement" would extend it back to the 1930s, Middleton would push it back another century, to the 1830s. He suggests the struggle against *de jure* apartheid in the antebellum North be considered part of the modern civil rights movement (pp. 92, 98, 252–261). Is there a criteria that differentiates Middleton's ante and postbellum civil

rights movement, and the "long movement" advocates of the 1930s, from the mass direct action and civil disobedience campaigns of the mid-1950s and 1960s?

Despite this intriguing thesis, black agency is muted in here. Few black actors appear in the early chapters, black women are largely absent, and Middleton provides no in-depth discussion of a black community's institutional structures and social networks. The first lapse is probably a function of sources. Along with the absence of black women, the author's insistence that "the growing professional class of blacks" was largely responsible for reform and "creating civic and religious organizations," "raising awareness among African Americans," and "developing the infrastructure to allow them to pool their capital" is troubling (pp. 85–86). One wonders whether artisans are included in Middleton's educated professional class. What were the contributions of the majority of ex-slaves, black workers, black women, and craftsmen to these endeavors?

Notwithstanding these concerns, which probably represent a different vision than Middleton's, this book makes important contributions and is outstanding on its own terms.

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WILMA KING. *The Essence of Liberty: Free Black Women during the Slave Era*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 290. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

Wilma King's book is a comprehensive analysis of diaries, letters, poems, manuscripts, autobiographies, and legal documents written by and about free black women in the slave era. King notes that free black women had been generally ignored in the historiography until recently. Thus, this very promising study has the potential of bringing the women to the forefront of the discussion on the historiography of blacks. There, however, is a serious shortcoming in the book, which the author readily admits: analysis is confined to the writings of literate, black women who resided primarily in the North. These writings, therefore, represent the views of the elite of free black womanhood.

In her exploration of the sources of liberty for free black women, King discusses the abolition of slavery in the North, the manumission of enslaved persons by a few prominent whites, and even the arrival of free mulattoes from Haiti, but little is said about self-purchase. Those transactions were an important avenue to freedom for enslaved persons in the South, but they do not appear to be important to the study. If the author had delved more deeply into self-purchases, she would have discovered that free and enslaved black men played a major role in helping to free black women. Enslaved men often prioritized freeing their daughters and wives ahead of purchasing their own freedom.

Stereotypical notions about black women in nineteenth-century American culture portrayed them as being either the Jezebel, "a naturally promiscuous

woman that served to assuage the conscience of people guilty or supportive of the sexual exploitation of black women," or the "'mammy' . . . an asexual character diametrically opposed to the sexually alluring Jezebel" (p. 35). King points out that the dearth of historical studies prior to the 1980s led to a reinforcement of the negative images of free black women, but her timely book shows that the latter developed their own concept of womanhood based on religious beliefs, family traditions, moral training, and self-respect. Even though black women experienced situations that led to their being stereotyped for promiscuity, the records make it abundantly clear that most were Christians who adhered to a moral code.

The author reminds her readers that free black women had to overcome racial barriers as well as the lack of nearby schools in order to acquire literacy. Yet because education was paramount in their self improvement, and the uplifting of their race, they made the necessary sacrifices and surmounted obstacles. Despite laws to the contrary in the South, blacks clandestinely operated schools. Some parents whose children did not have access to schools moved hundreds of miles to cities where they would. A few black parents sued to have their children admitted to northern schools, whereas other parents removed their children from public schools whose teachers ignored them, and placed them in private schools.

King labels some of the women as spiritualists and reformers, for they were concerned about freeing their souls and establishing personal relationships with God. "Their ideologies lifted them above worldly matters and led them to help others toward a salvation beyond anything influenced by mere mortals" (pp. 116–117). The churches in which these women operated were racist and sexist, and King attempts to explain why they remained in such institutions as they fought for their religious freedom. According to her, women spiritualists exalted liberating the souls from sin above physical freedom. The freeing of the soul provided psychological and emotional relief, and made it possible for women and men to endure trials until freed from chattel slavery. She claims that Sojourner Truth and Maria W. Stewart were the only nineteenth-century black female spiritualists who spoke out publicly against slavery and women's limited role in society.

The author reminds her reader that black women were more than passive supporters of the Civil War effort. They served as spies, cooks, laundresses, and nurses. Yet, despite their role in saving the lives of many Union soldiers and sailors, and doing basically the same tasks that white nurses did, they were not officially recognized as medical caregivers.

Once freedom was won for all, King concludes that the women who had enjoyed freedom prior to the war joined with their less fortunate sisters and worked for the good of all. There were, however, cultural differences. The more sophisticated northerners were condescending when writing about the freedwomen, describing them with words such as "strange," "wild,"

"comical," and "creature." However, if the educated northerners subconsciously saw themselves as being different from their southern sisters, there were whites who constantly reminded the women that they were inextricably linked to the freedwomen. Whites made no distinctions between the educated northerners and the illiterate southerners. Their abusive behavior was a constant reminder to all black women that they were vulnerable, for violence against black women, regardless of background, was not uncommon during the period. Thanks to King's scholarship, free black women have been brought to the forefront of the discussion in black historiography.

TOMMY L. BOGGER
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MARIE JENKINS SCHWARTZ. *Birthing a Slave: Motherhood and Medicine in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 401. \$29.95.

This book on the health and medical care of slave women, particularly their reproductive functions, relies on an extensive and rich cache of journal and archival material. Marie Jenkins Schwartz reinforces the critical importance of child-bearing in slavery, the investment of owners in matters affecting fertility, and the formal and informal relationship between owners and medical healers—both professional and lay. Faced with issues of birthing, infertility, menstrual disorders, cancers, and a multitude of gynecological complaints, black women found themselves struggling to maintain a semblance of control over their bodies in a culture whose medical doctors served the plantation management and not the patient. Southern doctors played a large and significant role in the treatment of slave women's health during the antebellum years. Until emancipation, the encounter could be described as invasive, demeaning, brutal, and exploitative. Being identified with the slaveholder, not the slave, the physician carried into the physician-patient relationship a uniquely distinct authority role not found among northern and European contemporaries.

The intimate and intrusive nature of this relationship encouraged slave women to seek alternative lay healers from within their own and neighboring slave communities. When possible, slave women preferred to rely on each other in matters of health, reaching out to elderly women and granny midwives who brought ancient customs and folk medicine into the birthing and sick room. In spite of the limited medical knowledge provided by this option, women found it a welcome choice. In these patient-healer relationships, the woman's health and reproductive functions remained in the hands of the woman, not of the slave owner.

The author treats a diverse group of subjects including contract medicine; doctoring as a path into the planter class; the popularity of self-help medical manuals and various herbal remedies; the doctrine of signatures in healing; the practice of deliberate abortions within the slave community; anesthesia and the chal-

lenges of abdominal surgery; medical research and innovation as compared to northern and European practitioners; the social relations imposed on doctors within the slaveholding community; and the unfolding contest among mothers, granny midwives, lay healers, slaveholders, and physicians over the management of the slave woman's body. Of particular interest is the author's treatment of the unfolding ethical issues, contrasting the social environment of the physician-patient relationship among northern and European doctors with those in the South.

Errors and oversights are minor. Wooster Beach was the founder of eclectic medicine, and, while he relied heavily on botanical remedies, he also employed animal and mineral medicines (p. 43). Ergot (spurred rye) was first used as an abortifacient in rural peasant populations in Europe. During the 1830s and 1840s it was introduced by American doctors as an "accelerator" in childbirth but remained troublesome for physicians until they had better understanding of the dilation of the cervix. The author might also have explained the quality of medical education during the antebellum years, the various avenues into practice for a so-called orthodox physician, and the breadth and depth of medical school instruction on childbirth and diseases of women.

In addition to the above, some analysis and comparison of health across the different regions of the South would have proved helpful. Surely there were meaningful differences between the old tobacco South and the newer cotton areas, between house slaves and field slaves, between the hired-out urban slaves and slaves in the rural South, as well as between large and small plantations, particularly the sugar plantations of the deep South. So, too, without detracting from the many examples provided by the author of individual cases, readers could have benefited from some comparison between the slave woman's health and that of the poor white, and between the slave woman and the female workers in the northern cities, especially since writers such as William J. Grayson (*The Hireling and the Slave* [1856]) and George Fitzhugh (*Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society* [1854], and *Cannibals All! Or Slaves Without Masters* [1857]) tried to contrast slavery with the brutal exploitation of northern and British factory workers, who they described as wage slaves.

Of particular interest is the author's analysis of postemancipation medical care and the changing contractual relationship between blacks and their white employers as they moved from slavery to family sharecropping. The challenges facing a reluctant Freedmen's Bureau in addressing medical care for former slaves and their dependents, the establishment of a non-wage labor system and its relationship to health care, and the long-term distrust that freedmen had of white doctors in the post-war period are elements of immense interest. Actually, this chapter could well become an introduction to another study dealing with the health of the freedwoman.

This is a good book, well researched, and filled with useful information. It could have been better had there been fewer examples and more analysis. Notwithstand-

ing this minor criticism, the book is strongly recommended.

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RICHARD STRINER. *Father Abraham: Lincoln's Relentless Struggle to End Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. 308. \$28.00.

This book argues that Abraham Lincoln played a morally decisive—perhaps the decisive—role in shaping American political development. By the late 1850s, the American republic stood in danger of metamorphosing into a white supremacist empire. Without Lincoln's election to the presidency in 1860, the United States would today be much different. Richard Striner does not push the counterfactual too far, but he does suggest that race relations in America might today be much worse and that political democracy itself might have died.

Striner offers no new discovery about Lincoln. As a meditation on presidential greatness and leadership, the book is meant more for general readers than for specialists. To help would-be Lincoln buffs to grasp a complex story, the book offers many fine reproductions of cartoons from the era and photographs of Lincoln. If there is anything specialized about the book, it is Striner's self-conscious effort to revive "great man" history, with particular attention to political ethics and character. This book is part of an effort to get back to a publicly accessible national history.

On those terms, the book works quite well. Striner is a master of the political, military, diplomatic, and constitutional developments of the Civil War and conveys them crisply. He also knows Lincoln's collected works and public papers extremely well.

After briskly sketching the high-wire, antebellum politics of balancing slave and free states, Striner carefully describes and comments on Lincoln's great encounter with Stephen Douglas in 1858. Lincoln's skill in confronting Douglas arose from his thorough analysis of what the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the *Dred Scott* (1857) decision foretold for America. In the end, Lincoln got more votes than Douglas, a detail nicely underscored by Striner.

The interregnum between the election of 1860 and the inauguration, the southern secession movement, and Lincoln's moral balance during the countdown to war come next. Striner then portrays Lincoln's presidency with considerable emphasis on Lincoln's capacity to orchestrate his military, constitutional, moral, emancipatory, and electoral goals. The contrasts between the war in the East and the West come through, as do the perplexing travails of the Army of the Potomac and the intensification of battlefield violence. Lincoln's relationships with his generals acquire vivid life.

Finally, Striner captures every facet of Lincoln's skill in dismantling slavery. Readers will particularly appreciate his portrayal of Lincoln's finely educative efforts

to construct a public consensus for disestablishing slavery. Striner confidently handles Lincoln's policy accomplishments and his broad constitutionalization of the abolition process.

Nor is Lincoln's psychic turmoil neglected. At a time of unfathomably deep moral and political crisis, he grew profoundly, even darkly religious. The pressure on Lincoln to assure slavery's extinction, before his time was up, gave him piercing powers of insight and a riveting command of the English language—but it also pushed him to care less and less about his own mortality. Lincoln summoned his own assassination, in effect. If there was a limit to Lincoln's greatness, Striner provocatively suggests, it was his indifference to whether he should be present to guide the Reconstruction.

No one can come away from this book without being deeply affected by it. The writing is forceful and the narrative gripping. The reader stays by Lincoln's side throughout his career, thanks to Striner's gifts both for presenting a political historical panorama and for constantly foregrounding Lincoln. It is as if one passes directly through the first grand arc of American history, from the nation's founding through Lincoln's assassination.

Striner is particularly effective at letting Lincoln speak in his own voice without that voice becoming oppressive. Among others, Stephen Douglas, Charles Sumner, and Frederick Douglass also speak in this book. At the same time, Striner capably captures a wide array of historiographic details, from the emergence of antebellum filibustering to the colonization idea to the basic features of the Battle of Gettysburg to John Wilkes Booth's sudden appearance at the scene of the Second Inaugural.

If the book has a fault, it is that Striner clearly found the Lincoln whom he wanted to find. But none of the other portrayals on offer—the “moderate” Lincoln, the racist Lincoln, the Lincoln of patronage and party building—is more convincing than this one. The claim here is specific, strong, and bracing in its unapologetic admiration: namely, that Lincoln proved endlessly resourceful in his dedication to removing the incubus of slavery from his beloved republic. Lincoln, on Striner's account, was great in as full a measure as this nation has ever seen. This reviewer, for one, was quite won over.

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JENNIFER L. WEBER. *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. \$28.00.

General Robert E. Lee had no doubt that the object of Confederate military strategy was to undermine the northern public's willingness to keep on fighting. Jennifer L. Weber quotes him urging Jefferson Davis to “give all the encouragement we can . . . to the rising peace party of the North” (p. 99). It is somewhat surprising, then, that in the voluminous and ever-growing

literature on the Civil War the nature and extent of antiwar feeling in the North remains relatively understudied and only dimly understood. Weber's splendid, vigorously written book is the first monograph on this subject since it was explored a generation or more ago by Frank L. Klement in several important works, all of which concluded that fears of Copperheads undermining the war effort were much exaggerated by scare-mongering Republicans. Following Klement, most historians have tended to draw a sharp distinction between the tiny numbers of Confederate sympathizers in the North and the vast majority of opposition politicians who remained loyal to the Union even while reviling the Lincoln administration. Joel H. Silbey's *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860–1868* (1977) pursues this approach. Weber does not argue that Klement was wrong to downplay the significance of pro-Confederate conspiracies, but she does think that he focused on too narrow an issue. There may not have been a huge fifth column of pro-Confederates, but she argues convincingly that Lincoln was right to fear what he called the “fire in the rear” from antiwar and anti-administration activists.

Unlike Klement, Weber uses the term Copperhead very broadly, in much the same way, in fact, that it was used by administration supporters during the war, not simply to refer to out-and-out Confederate sympathizers but as a catch-all term for antiwar dissidents. She ventures far beyond the midwestern confines of such sinister groups as the Knights of the Golden Circle to encompass a broad coalition of anti-Republican groups. For example, she describes the New York-based Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge as the “intellectual arm of the Copperhead movement” (p. 82), which is possible only if the Copperhead movement is elided with the mainstream of the Democratic Party.

This liberal definition has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that it enables Weber to focus on the ways in which Democrats who opposed emancipation, conscription, and other war measures were a serious threat to the Union war effort, and Weber often uses “Peace Democrat” as a synonym for Copperhead. Defined in this broad way as northerners who never bought Abraham Lincoln's rhetoric about the Civil War as a new birth of freedom, Copperheads remained a large minority, and not necessarily a “respectable” one. In this sense Weber's book presents a profound challenge to the Klement/Silbey view of wartime politics. It seems that by opposing all practicable means of suppressing the rebellion Copperheads were just as dangerous to the Union war effort as Lincoln supporters claimed.

The disadvantage of Weber's broad-church definition of Copperheadism is that some of the finer distinctions in the constantly shifting sands of Civil War politics can get lost. She is correct to describe Copperheads as conservatives, but other self-proclaimed conservatives ultimately supported Lincoln on the grounds that emancipation was the only way to save the higher

good of the Union. Most northerners moved on a spectrum between, on the one hand, fullsome support for emancipation and military suppression whatever the cost, and, on the other, a recognition of the legitimacy of the Confederacy. By casting her net so broadly, Weber also loses focus on the rural heartlands of antiwar feeling, about which we know much less than we do about draft rioting in New York, for example. She has some wonderful material revealing the divisive impact of the war on communities across the North, but there are still issues that we need to know more about, not least the role of clergymen and religious values in the culture of antiwar dissent, a subject that is noticeable by its absence.

By stressing again and again that the old antebellum republic to which Copperheads professed a continued allegiance was utterly irretrievable, Weber captures the conundrum of conservatives in any moment of radical transformation. She has a Lincolnian disdain for the political shallowness and inconsistencies of Copperheads, yet she brings them and their world view to life as no previous scholar has managed to do. Perhaps the greatest contribution that this book will make is to encourage historians to reevaluate their comfortable notion that dissenters were marginal and that the "peace wing" of the Democratic Party not a real threat. This was a war that had to be fought behind the lines as well as on the battlefield, using force and extra-constitutional means as well as the power of Lincoln's rhetoric. Weber has rendered magnificent service to Civil War historians by reminding us of that fact.

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JONATHAN DEAN SARRIS. *A Separate Civil War: Communities in Conflict in the Mountain South*. (A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2006. Pp. x, 238. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.

In this fine study, Jonathan Dean Sarris explores the impact of civil war on two north Georgia counties, Fannin and Lumpkin. By breaking the war down "into its constituent parts" (p. 3), he probes the dynamics of grass-roots motivation and endeavor in an area where the conflict for sectional supremacy was often subordinated to the pressing matter of family and neighborhood survival. Sarris addresses a number of important questions relating to the southern uplands in this critical period: these include the character of mountain Unionism, the role of violence, and especially the extent to which localism was the dominate factor in shaping wartime responses and allegiances. Overall this well-conceived book makes a valuable addition to the growing body of work investigating the Civil War's less familiar terrain and an important contribution to Appalachian and southern studies.

Sarris has selected his counties carefully to illuminate contrasting as well as common experiences of civil war and its aftermath in the mountains. The antebellum his-

tory of north Georgia (and by implication of the wider upland region) saw the emergence of rival visions of society, "one developed, ordered, commercial, the other chaotic, lawless, and violent" (p. 9). Although Fannin and Lumpkin shared many predominant characteristics of southern frontier communities, by the Civil War there were also significant differences between them. A key event was the discovery in 1828 of gold in Lumpkin which soon swelled its population to 10,000. (All manner of lawless and violent behavior accompanied the gold rush, not the least against the area's Native Americans.) In 1838 the county seat, Dahlonega, was chosen as the location for a branch of the federal mint, and this helped facilitate Lumpkin's integration into wider state, regional, and national networks. By contrast, Fannin County, separated from its neighbor by the Blue Ridge, experienced no comparable growth. Physically remote with weak transportation links to the south, and containing no significant towns, Fannin remained a frontier community. Not surprisingly, Fannin's relative impoverishment was also reflected in its lack of investment in slaveowning, whereas in Lumpkin, slavery played a relatively large role, with African American numbers reaching one thousand in 1850.

Both Fannin and Lumpkin were solidly Democratic before the Civil War, yet political responses during the secession crisis defy easy categorization. Most of those expressing a preference, either at the ballot box or as convention delegates, voted against secession but most also acquiesced to it once the deed had been consummated. This pattern of political behavior did not augur well for the Confederacy, and the taint of north Georgia disloyalty remained a potent factor throughout war's early stages. In an incisive analysis, Sarris explains how the real and persistent undercurrent of dissent helped shape wartime behavior, and he describes how the area's Confederate supporters deployed one upland stereotype (the mountaineer's propensity for violence) to counteract another (disloyalty to the southern cause).

Like communities everywhere throughout the seceded states, Fannin and Lumpkin counties contributed large numbers to the South's military effort, with almost 60 percent of military-age men in service by 1863. But by then the area had also experienced widespread desertion and draft evasion, symptomatic of both a general and a localized disaffection with Confederate authority. Sarris finds desertion rates higher in Fannin, which bordered east Tennessee, than in Lumpkin, and he emphasizes the varied, nonideological basis of anti-Confederate opposition to the war. Above all the actions of north Georgians, whatever their political preferences, were defined by ties to their local communities. Although Sarris concedes that upcountry Confederates were more outwardly connected than their Tory opponents, he insists that they "still interpreted the war through a localistic framework" (p. 79). He may well be right in this, although the concession is an important one. Given his localist emphasis, it is perhaps surprising that Sarris did not explore further the role of commu-

nities within communities, thus furnishing a potentially more complex map of kin and neighbourhood loyalties within the two counties.

By 1864 the sectional contest in Fannin and Lumpkin counties had degenerated into guerrilla warfare. Sarris's narrative of the often brutal final phase of the war in north Georgia is extremely well done. Shrewd in his evaluation of the nature and extent of intracommunity violence, vigilante justice, and the terror they provoked, he provides a persuasive portrait of the domestic crisis wrought by conflicted allegiances in these two upland communities. After General Robert E. Lee's surrender, the struggle between Confederates and anti-Confederates took on new form as participants on both sides fought hard to shape the war's historical memory. Sarris argues for the exceptional character of the postwar experience in the north Georgia mountains, which largely eschewed "the romanticized vision of reunion prevalent throughout much of the country" (p. 173). In this discussion, as elsewhere in his impressive book, Sarris combines compelling narrative with deft and provocative analysis.

MARTIN CRAWFORD
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JEFFERY S. PRUSHANKIN. *A Crisis in Confederate Command: Edmund Kirby Smith, Richard Taylor, and the Army of the Trans-Mississippi*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005. Pp. xx, 308. \$39.95.

Among Civil War historians, it is almost a commonplace observation that the Trans-Mississippi theater of the war has very limited representation in the war's historiography. One can speculate on reasons for the neglect, though some seem rather obvious. No major, turning-point battles occurred there; in the war's big picture, the Trans-Mississippi did not play a decisive role. With one or two exceptions, no widely known officers or armies participated in the various actions in the area. The two main characters of this book, Richard Taylor and Edmund Kirby Smith, are not notable to war buffs, and through the years, historians have paid but little attention to them. Thus it is refreshing to see any new work on the Trans-Mississippi make an appearance. Always, one hopes that such a book will be a good one, and Jeffery S. Prushankin has indeed produced a worthwhile study that explains interactions between the key Confederate officers of operations west of the Mississippi.

Prushankin explains that the personal conflicts between the two generals were rooted in diverse visions of what Confederate strategy ought to be in the West Louisiana and Arkansas areas. Smith opted for a defensive stand; he wanted to do as much as could be done to blunt Federal incursions into both states, without bringing on a major engagement that might destroy his means to execute his overall strategy. Conversely, Taylor wanted to carry the battle to the enemy. Their conflicting views laid the groundwork for continual friction between the two and reached the point where Taylor,

who technically, if not enthusiastically, was under Smith's command, ignored Smith, sometimes through carefully thought out loopholes, sometimes through pointed disobedience.

Despite their personal disagreements, the two managed to wage a successful, at times spectacular operation that led to the defeat of Nathaniel Banks during the Red River campaign of 1864. Banks was forced to retreat back to the Mississippi, a retreat forced mainly by Taylor's aggressiveness, which was initiated by his failure to obey Smith's instructions. Smith finally gave in and supported Taylor, but victory did not stop the two from continuing to antagonize each other. In the aftermath of the campaign, Taylor carried on a strategy of blaming Smith for all the things that went wrong during and after Banks' retreat. Smith had to defend himself against assertions all the way from Richmond that he had done a poor job of keeping Federal troops from moving east to reinforce Union armies in eastern theaters. The root of Smith's problem was that Taylor was successful in blaming Smith for Banks's successful withdrawal back to the Mississippi. Smith's appeals to Jefferson Davis had positive effects, and Smith managed to retain his command of the Trans-Mississippi, which, despite the victory over Banks, had become even more of a backwater to the Confederate government after the Red River campaign.

Taylor, who asked to be and was relieved by Smith, eventually wound up crossing the Mississippi and taking command of the Department of Mississippi, Alabama, and East Louisiana. He, too, had a department hardly worthy of note, as Federal victories sent the western theater east to the Carolinas late in the war.

Smith had earlier hoped to recapture some of the glory he had enjoyed back in 1861 at First Manassas and to make up for his close brush with victory later in Kentucky by winning a great battle in Arkansas, perhaps even driving Federal influence from that state. Confederates did have success in Arkansas, though how much credit can be given to Smith for it is debatable. What is certain is that by allowing Banks' escape, and not going after the Federal army and, more importantly, the Union navy, the Trans-Mississippi Rebels lost a golden opportunity to capture ironclads that could have had a ripple positive effect for the Confederacy late in the war. Both Taylor and David Porter, Union naval commander during the Red River debacle, concluded after the war that such an event could have been devastating for the Union cause. Considering the course the war was on in 1864, it is difficult to accept such arguments, for William Tecumseh Sherman's successes in Georgia did more to elect Abraham Lincoln than losing gunboats in the Mississippi could have ever done to cause his defeat.

Prushankin does an excellent job of detailing, and more importantly, evaluating the continual rifts between Taylor and Smith, and the ramifications of their different ideas on the best strategy. The author concludes that Smith, by focusing solely on Louisiana and

Arkansas, helped negate possible fruits of victory that might have followed the Red River campaign.

While this book is a fascinating study of the personalities of two generals, it does not, however, providing convincing evidence that a more successful pursuit of Banks and Porter would have made the war turn out any differently. In the end, one must conclude that while the Trans-Mississippi can be made interesting, as Prushankin as shown, it cannot be made vital to the outcome of the Civil War.

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HYMAN RUBIN III. *South Carolina Scalawags*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xxviii, 192. \$29.95.

Hyman Rubin III has produced a sound study examining the role of southern white Republicans (scalwags) in Reconstruction South Carolina. His book takes its place in a growing list of works dealing with this highly charged period. In keeping with historiographical trends of the last half century, Rubin takes a revisionist and positive look at Republicanism in the state where the Civil War began. Rubin's focus, most specifically, contributes to the continuing rejuvenation of the reputation of a long-reviled southern political breed: the scalawag.

South Carolina proves a revealing state in which to examine Republicanism. Largely because there were at least for a time more black than white voters, the Republican Party did well there. If the equitable distribution of office is any indication, South Carolinians may have come the closest to establishing a biracial democracy. Blacks dominated the legislature and the state's congressional delegation. The state was one of the last holdouts before Redemption and Democratic rule.

As in other southern states, Unionists and former Whigs found a new home in the state Republican Party. South Carolina scalwagism, the author convincingly asserts, was frankly Radical. As elsewhere, white Republicans often failed to endorse full social equality. Yet, as Rubin writes, "it is their liberalism on questions of race, not their prejudice, which is remarkable" (p. 124). Neither were native white Republicans, considered collectively, any less liberal racially than carpetbaggers. That represents a departure from circumstances in many other southern states. In a state where perhaps ninety percent of Republicans were freedmen, white Republicans would not have been elected otherwise. Rubin also contends, by way of challenge, that there were far more white Republicans in South Carolina than has been assumed.

Even so, as elsewhere in the former Confederacy, the party of white supremacy prevailed. State Republicans in South Carolina had been routed and the party was in full retreat by the late 1870s. The white power structure—landlords, editors, business men—ultimately triumphed. Republicans in South Carolina helped them.

The graft of the Republican-controlled legislature undercut credibility. As in other southern states, the party splintered, and factionalism and dissent weakened the tenuous coalition. Differences were ideological, personal, and of course, the consuming desire for office or patronage, split Republicans. In the end, unable to attract significant numbers of white moderates, the state party collapsed. Such is also the general story elsewhere in the South between 1868 and 1876.

The end of viable Republicanism in South Carolina Rubin rightly attributes in large part to violence. Conservatives/Democrats resorted to acts of intimidation. He writes, "Reconstruction in South Carolina was overthrown by armed force" (p. 59). A small minority of extreme elements, Ku Klux Klansmen or the unaffiliated, justified violence in the name of upholding white supremacy. These men were "brutally effective" and "relentless" (p. 41), and white and black Republicans, but especially the latter, suffered accordingly. From the election of Ulysses Grant to the Red Sticks (violent Democrats) campaign to the election of 1876, white Republicans could not protect themselves or their black political allies. Between 1871 and 1874, when the party was in the strongest position, its hegemony rested on the artificial protection of the federal government. Eventually though, in the volatile political landscape that was South Carolina, the violently anti-Republican simply refused the legitimacy or right of the political foe to exist.

Some readers might call for a slightly less partisan or anti-Democratic book. Many Democrats in South Carolina and across the South were humane men of integrity and their racial views (in keeping with a general consensus in the United States) reflected their historical time and place. By quoting a few more southern Republicans, and the so-called Ku Klux Klan Testimony is replete with personal accounts of mistreatment, the author might have made his case of Republican persecution even better. These are small objections when compared to the book's obvious strengths. Rubin's is an informed reference and the keen insights he offers are grounded in widely researched primary sources. His observations are original and fresh and continue the process of dismantling the Dunning Reconstruction school. Rubin also takes needed exception even with some recent revisionist Reconstruction historians. As a result, this slender study provides a strong corrective, and South Carolina scalwags—"shadowy figures at best" (p. xix)—emerge in a much fuller and accurate portrait.

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS, JR.
Gainesville State College

JOHN HAMMOND MOORE. *Carnival of Blood: Dueling, Lynching, and Murder in South Carolina, 1880-1920*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 250. \$29.95.

Examining the "business of killing human beings" (p. 1), John Hammond Moore offers readers a wild ride

through four decades of violence and carnage in the Palmetto State. Addressing the sheer amount of violence, Moore concedes that "why little was done to curb violence throughout South Carolina during these decades" remains "elusive" (p. 4). Instead Moore tries to impose a kind of order on South Carolina violence by tracing the rise and, in some cases, decline of dueling, lynching, and murder as the violent acts of choice among South Carolinians Moore acknowledges the difficulty of his task at the outset: different types of violence are "closely related—all pieces of the same quilt" (p. 11). Yet, he contends, each type can be drawn out individually for closer examination.

The acts, Moore explains, brought along with them their own rituals and rationalizations. As Bertram Wyatt-Brown and others have noted, dueling called forth the ritual of the public challenge, the intricate negotiating between seconds, and an expectation (not always realized, Moore notes) that the offending party might aim away from the offended. As "race" writers and sociologists from the early 1900s, and historians since, have observed, lynching often involved an incident where a woman's virtue was presumably threatened or a helpless individual (an elderly person, for instance) was brutalized in some fashion. Moore cites unwillingness to abide by the state's poorly functioning legal system as a motivating force that led groups of citizens to take extralegal action against the accused. Finally, Moore finds in South Carolina's murder cases a critical difference between the immediate responses of white killers and African American suspects. White murderers often would turn themselves into the sheriff and claim self-defense. Almost without fail, South Carolina juries would acquit. African American shooters, on the other hand, knowing full well the pointlessness of throwing themselves on the good graces of a jury not of their peers, would try to evade capture.

Exactly why the violent act of choice among South Carolinians shifted over the decades is not as clear in Moore's analysis as one might wish. One would have to imagine there were still plenty of murders being committed in the heyday of dueling, for example. But Moore points out that statistics on violence in South Carolina before 1900 are notoriously unreliable, therefore making the study of it all the more difficult. Still, he does shed some light on the postwar culture of violence in his conclusion when he reminds us that South Carolina during these decades featured a growing, mobile population, fluid race relations, and a changing economy. Those features together make a combustible context for a society experiencing significant change and uncertainty, and accustomed to men carrying guns and defending their "honor."

Eschewing hard and fast analyses of these three categories of violence, Moore instead takes his reader through dozens of bizarre and almost comical (if they were not, in fact, deadly) accounts of shootings, stabbings, punchings, hangings, and pistol-whippings caused by stubbornness, stupidity, cupidity, jealousy, a desire for revenge, and various other motives. Moore

goes through the more well-known South Carolina incidents covered by historians such as E. Culpepper Clark (murder of newspaperman Francis Warrington Dawson), Bryant Simon (the act of interracial sodomy that helped bolster political support for Coleman Blease), and Lewis P. Jones (the murder of Columbia journalist Narciso Gonzales). He adds to these dozens of lesser-known accounts. If one is not surprised to learn that postbellum South Carolina was a violent, often lawless place, one will nonetheless be impressed with Moore's unearthing of the seemingly numberless acts of creative yet hideous bloodshed during these years. Moore also adds a brief discussion on early attempts at gun control in late nineteenth-century South Carolina.

If this book does not alter our basic understanding of South Carolina culture between 1880 and 1920, it does draw more attention to the pervasiveness of guns and violence. Moore's prose is fast paced and the book is the product of an engaging storyteller.

CHARLES J. HOLDEN

St. Mary's College of Maryland

JOHN F. MARSZALEK. *A Black Congressman in the Age of Jim Crow: South Carolina's George Washington Murray*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2006. Pp. xix, 211. \$55.00.

A volume in the series "New Perspectives on the History of the South," edited by John David Smith, this biography contains 165 pages of text about a forgotten black leader in *fin-de-siecle* South Carolina. The author, John F. Marszalek, is a prolific scholar of nineteenth-century American history. In this old-fashioned political biography, Marszalek makes an important contribution to both South Carolina and African American history. Considering how few and scattered are the sources relating to his subject, his ability to reconstruct the life of the obscure George Washington Murray, even briefly, is an impressive accomplishment.

Murray was born a slave in Sumter County, South Carolina, in 1853. Little is known of his childhood, but he became a teacher during Reconstruction, despite having no formal education himself. From 1874 to 1877 he attended the temporarily integrated University of South Carolina. By 1880 he had acquired sixty-four acres of land and was thriving as a small farmer. Murray entered local and state politics as a Republican at that time, and over the next decade he built a reputation as a campaign orator which earned him the sobriquet the "Black Bold Eagle." Around 1889–1890 he flirted with Populist ideas but wisely remained in the GOP. President-elect Benjamin Harrison rewarded him with the post of inspector at the Customs House in Charleston.

Murray had the misfortune of becoming a rising star in the falling constellation of the southern Republican party in the 1890s. His ascendancy coincided with that of Ben Tillman, the first of the new breed of virulently racist white southern Democrats. Murray quickly real-

ized he would have to make some type of alliance with the Tillmanites, be it ever so awkward. He did it by becoming a black apologist for white supremacy along the line of his more famous contemporary Booker T. Washington. This allowed Tillman to use Murray as a token until South Carolina adopted a new constitution in the mid-1890s that disfranchised most blacks and made such tokenism unnecessary. Murray won two terms in Congress, from 1893 to 1897, although both were difficult races with controversial or contested results. His record as a congressman was undistinguished, but not for lack of effort. As the lone black elected official on Capitol Hill, he was more a source of curiosity for whites and of pride for blacks than a lawmaker whom his peers took seriously.

Once his stint in the House of Representatives ended, Murray returned to South Carolina and resumed farming. His sharp mind turned him into an inventor of farm implements, although none of his inventions earned him fame or fortune. By 1901 he had acquired more than nine thousand acres, most of which he bought on credit, and which he used to increase his own wealth and simultaneously uplift his race. He sold the land in small parcels to fellow blacks on a sort of rent-to-own basis. Although initially successful, Murray fell into a legal dispute with one of his tenants over the terms of their contract. This resulted in a court battle that eventually cost him everything. Convicted of perjury, he was sentenced to prison. When his repeated appeals failed, he escaped justice in 1905 by fleeing to Chicago. There he ventured into some unsuccessful businesses but began to make a name for himself as a local speaker. In 1909 South Carolina authorities tracked him down and arrested him, but their attempts at extradition failed.

For the next decade, Murray became a writer and traveling lecturer. He awarded himself a Ph.D. and styled himself an expert in what might best be described as sociology and psychology. He advocated black pride and self-sufficiency, but stopped short of promoting emigration, black nationalism, or Garveyism. He claimed to teach at "Princeton University," but this self-promotion referred merely to a black school in the town of Princeton, Indiana. He died in 1926 and was buried in an unmarked grave in a poor black cemetery in south Chicago. He "had little impact" and "apparently left no mark" on his Chicago contemporaries, who basically "ignored him" in death as they had mostly done in life (p. 155).

Marszalek concludes sympathetically, dismissing Murray's 1905 conviction as illegitimate, saying that it was impossible for a black man to get justice in a South Carolina court at the time. He likewise overlooks Murray's disingenuous teaching credentials and his misleading affiliation with Princeton as if somehow understandable considering all the racial discrimination the man had faced. These questionable interpretive conclusions do not detract from the value of the book, however. The only real criticism that should be made here is that the author did not consult many recent secondary

sources. He cites the classics but fails to mention the most seminal revisionist studies of politics in the early Jim Crow era, consideration of which might have altered his conclusions somewhat and would have certainly pleased this reviewer.

THOMAS ADAMS UPCHURCH
East Georgia College

MICHAEL RUDOLPH WEST. *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 281. \$29.50.

Michael Rudolph West "seeks simultaneously to explain Booker T. Washington—his life and what he meant to the nation and his part in the history of 'the Negro problem,' a term that has since the early 1960s fallen out of use" (p. ix). This is the first of several major themes West proposes in a complicated examination of Washington as the initiator of a theory of race relations, the solution to America's contradictory wrestling match between real democracy and the triumph of Jim Crow segregation that defined the age of Washington and much of the twentieth century.

According to West, the work "is about a history of an idea," a "theory here called 'race relations,' that opened a way for the ideological reconciliation of two opposites: racist proscription and democracy" (pp. ix-x). West additionally wanted "to reveal the personal and political dimensions of Washington's journey up from slavery" to become a man of influence and the next generation of "racial pundits" in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, General Samuel C. Armstrong, and Gunnar Myrdal (p. x). The word "progress" also defined the search for racial peace in the wake of black efforts to formulate freedom during Reconstruction. West argues, "I mean to show progress as offered up by Washington and his advocates to be a false substitute for democracy" (p. 5).

West creates the term Washingtonianism, which he defines as an "Escape from difficult problems through a turn of mind, affirmations of progress despite evidence of crisis in the Southern economy, and a Negro leadership selected by white persons." "Washingtonianism" was "not a notion about race relations"; instead it "advanced race relations as a notion about Jim Crow, an idealist rendering of the Jim Crow reality conforming to positive convictions about its fairness and benevolence, and the fairness and benevolence of the United States and its freedom and justice loving citizenry" (pp. 14-15).

America's white elite showered Washington with accolades that defined him as a man of action, a visionary, and the only reliable avenue to racial peace and harmony. Washington became the black leader in contradistinction to other blacks who were too "bitter" to qualify for a hearing about the race's precarious position in the United States (pp. 24-26, 51). According to West, Washington also orchestrated his ascension by constructing a "career . . . like . . . the modern demo-

cratic politician, polling his constituency to find out the issues of importance . . . making himself electable" despite the fact that Washington was never elected to any public office (p. 68). The effect of both Washington and white elite influence was to make the "difficult economic and political questions . . . where black people live . . . harmless to the business of America and beyond the purview of any democratic creed" (pp. 55–56).

Washington, according to West, was not always within the crucible of white elite power. He came to his late nineteenth-century position after actively participating in 1870s Reconstruction black politics, where he defended black rights. The failure of Reconstruction had dramatic personal consequences, transforming Washington from an advocate for black power to the visionary for white power against democracy. West has constructed a thesis that will challenge our conventional views of Washington and the period of white elite promotion of racial repression. This is a book that must be read, but it is not a work where the argument is presented in a direct way. Like Washington, West has constructed a complex work with a variety of avenues for all of us to investigate.

GREGORY MIXON
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

MICHAEL BLISS. *Harvey Cushing: A Life in Surgery*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 591. \$40.00.

In 1999 Michael Bliss published a major biography of William Osler, the revered Canadian physician who transformed American clinical teaching in medicine before leaving the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine to become Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford. Osler had never lacked for biographers. Indeed, the major Osler biography before Bliss was written by one of the doctor's most sincere admirers, neurosurgical pioneer Harvey Cushing. In 1925, six years after Osler's death, Cushing published a two-volume homage to his mentor and teacher. Cushing's *A Life of Sir William Osler* (a staggering 1,371-page book, which prompted one of the author's colleagues to joke that it was three times as long as the standard biography of Louis Pasteur and twice as long as a recent biography of Christ) received the Pulitzer Prize, one of many distinctions the neurosurgeon would garner in his lifetime. As Bliss immersed himself in the details and records of Osler's life, he continued to encounter Cushing, came to realize the rich archival materials relating to Cushing's friendship with Osler, and to explore the details of the neurosurgeon's professional and personal life. By the time he had completed the Osler biography, Bliss explains, he "had realized that it would require a sequel, a biography of Cushing" (p. xi). Perhaps fortunately for both the author and the reader, Cushing, unlike Osler, was not a saint, but a sinner; Bliss characterizes Cushing variously as hard-driving, egotistical, and mean, grants that the neurosurgeon was "per-

haps more human than Osler," and at the same time concludes that Cushing was not only "more talented and more driven" than Osler, he was "certainly more American."

If it is not always clear what being "more American" means to a distinguished Canadian historian, Bliss does make clear how Cushing pushed himself and his patients in developing innovative surgical procedures inside the human brain. One of the strengths of this book is Bliss's ability to translate surgical and anatomical arcanas into language understandable to those people (this reviewer included) who have never held a scalpel nor contemplated a tumor or cyst leaking out of a patient's skull. He describes Cushing's pursuit of the pituitary gland, the radical effort to transplant the pituitary of a dead infant into a man with a large tumor in the pituitary area, the neurosurgeon's intense interest in such "freaks of nature" as John Turner, an eight-foot-tall man losing the use of his legs, and his bitter rivalries with fellow neurosurgeon Walter Dandy. Bliss offers a splendidly drawn social history of surgery and surgeons in the first three decades of the twentieth century, delineating the role of professional meetings, international congresses, and publications as American academic surgeons began to supplant their European surgical colleagues. He successfully evokes the chaotic conditions of the field hospitals that Cushing and his colleagues established in France, where they conducted experiments using a magnet to clear metal fragments from the heads of mutilated young men. In a tragic twist, Cushing was contacted on August 29, 1917, with the news that the only son of his revered teacher had been seriously wounded. When his artillery unit was shelled, Revere Osler, a great-great-great grandson of American patriot Paul Revere, sustained life-threatening wounds in his chest and abdomen. Osler's only son was attended by four of the most skilled American surgeons, for along with Cushing were Cleveland surgeon George W. Crile (who pioneered surgical blood transfusion), and New York surgeons William Darroch and George Brewer. Despite this surgical talent, the younger Osler could not be saved, and Cushing recorded it as one of the worst days in his own life.

Bliss does a superlative job in conveying the strains that Cushing's surgical ambition and his celebrity status placed on his marriage. He skillfully dissects some of the financial conflicts that academic physicians faced in the first two decades of the twentieth century, conflicts occasioned by the "full-time" demands of the Rockefeller Foundation, which required that a medical school's chief surgeons and physicians receive full-time salaries and forego lucrative private patients and payments. Here Bliss corrects his earlier interpretation of Harvard's decision to reject Rockefeller money, which appeared in his Osler biography; although he previously concluded that Harvard's decision was both courageous and principled, he now argues, based on evidence from Cushing's papers, that the decision more accurately reflected Cushing's dogged persistence and

the prestige he enjoyed as surgeon-in-chief at the Brigham Hospital.

At the outset of this book, Bliss explains that his biography of Cushing is his first book on a person or event that did not originate in Canada; let us hope that it is not his last.

SUSAN E. LEDERER

Yale University School of Medicine

MARK R. NEMEC. *Ivory Towers and Nationalist Minds: Universities, Leadership, and the Development of the American State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2006. Pp. x, 301. \$24.95.

Mark R. Nemeć argues that major private and public universities in the United States, such as California, Cornell, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, and Yale, played a primary role in the development of federal authority from the Civil War through World War I. The schools accomplished this task by not only providing graduates for emerging federal government agencies but by instituting the very standards of expertise and efficiency the national state required to establish and maintain its authority. In doing so, American universities guaranteed their pivotal role in shaping and legitimizing the nation-state's authority. The government did not usually seek the services of these schools, but Nemeć argues that entrepreneurial collegiate presidents ingratiated themselves with the United States government, ultimately making their institutions willing but independent "agents of the national state" (p. 11).

The process evolved slowly and haphazardly until the end of the nineteenth century and involved only "loosely coupled" relationships between the federal government and a few key universities. Nemeć's examples include Cornell University's president serving as U.S. minister to Germany (1879–1881) and two University of Michigan faculty members serving in key positions on the Interstate Commerce Commission shortly after its creation in 1887. More "formal alignment" between American universities and the federal government started at the turn of the century, when, for example, Yale's new School of Forestry specifically tailored graduates for employment in the United States Bureau of Forestry.

Nemeć correctly places the leadership of these universities within or even as precursors to the Progressive movement with their emphasis on efficiency, expertise and service. His work compliments that of Stephen Skowronek and Eldon Eisenach in identifying the importance of universities to expanding federal authority, particularly by establishing graduate standards in areas such as law and medicine. It is also refreshing that Nemeć recognizes that leaders of universities sought to coopt the state more often than the state sought to coopt them.

Still, the author tends to overstate the importance of the modest accomplishments of universities in building partnerships with the federal government during this period. Although somewhat novel at the national level,

the impact of the partnership of Yale and the Bureau of Forestry for later federal and university collaborations is not convincingly presented. Even that relationship resulted largely from the near obsessive efforts of wealthy Yale graduate and United States chief forester, Gifford Pinchot. This partnership apparently led directly to few if any subsequently significant federal-university relationships. Indeed, the author's struggle to find even such a modest example of formal connections between academia and the federal state leads him to overstate the importance of such a minor relationship. Even during World War I, when the federal government presumably would have been most receptive to the expertise offered by research universities, the author presents rather modest collaborations between an academia desperate to retain its students and a federal government more interested in conscription than research. One apparently important partnership, the Student Army Training Corps, that allowed collegiate students to receive training on their campuses, Nemeć acknowledges "largely led to chaos" and "did little to help the military and much to disturb the university" (p. 238).

Part of the problem is Nemeć's sole focus on the efforts of universities to partner with the federal government at a time when schools often found it difficult to attract even state interest. If over this period however, universities managed to firmly demonstrate their utility to their native states that accomplishment may well have served as a template for later efforts at the national level. The relationship between the schools—public and private—with their state governments is completely ignored however. Other relationships, such as with private businesses at the local, state, and national levels are also absent from Nemeć's interpretation of universities pursuing a "nationalist" agenda. For Nemeć, the "new American state" is singularly the expanding federal government and its requirement for men of expertise and efficiency. The schools' presidents are presented almost as unerring wizards adroitly anticipating, providing, and seemingly even creating the needs, wants, and demands of an expanding federal bureaucracy. That they more often than not spent their time reacting to alumni's demands, budgetary constraints, parental concerns, and technological changes, which surely limited their nationalist aspirations, is ignored.

Nemeć does provide a look into the tentative efforts of a few presidents of prestigious universities to develop some loose ties with the federal government from the Civil War through World War I. It is not at all clear from this work, however, that such efforts significantly paved the way for later programs such as the Office for Scientific Research and Development and the National Science Foundation, which developed between the federal government and academia with the emergence of the United States as a superpower in World War II and the Cold War.

DAN R. FROST

Dillard University

MARK ALDRICH. *Death Rode the Rails: American Railroad Accidents and Safety, 1828–1965*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 446. \$59.95.

Railroads affected American society and law in many ways. A hazardous enterprise responsible for many casualties, railroading inaugurated the age of industrial accidents. Consequently, railroads did much to shape tort law governing personal injuries as well as to trigger regulatory attempts to improve rail safety. Mark Aldrich has written a masterful study of the complex evolution of railroad safety. He meticulously investigates a variety of railroad mishaps, including derailments, collisions, bridge failures, dangers arising from shipment of explosives and acids, as well as grade crossing accidents. In addition, Aldrich treats the pioneering steps by railroad companies to organize relief associations to provide medical care for injured or sick employees. The author skillfully examines the blend of technological advances, market pressures, public concerns, and regulatory programs that fashioned safety policy.

Economic considerations dictated that railroads initially constructed inexpensive and often dangerous lines to serve a sparse population over great distances. Passengers, moreover, encouraged this practice by preferring speed to safety. Yet over the course of the nineteenth century, carriers, driven by a desire to improve productivity, minimize liability costs, and defuse public anxiety, adopted many equipment improvements and organized safety programs. In fact, as Aldrich emphasizes, rail safety grew progressively better. Although the public focused on major disasters involving passenger trains, the author points out that most casualties were caused by minor accidents involving railroad workers.

By the late nineteenth century, state commissioners and the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) investigated rail accidents and compiled safety statistics. This contributed to a steady increase in safety legislation, typically directed at high-visibility risks. Some of these regulations, however, concerned secondary problems or imposed technologies that became obsolete. Thus, a 1907 act limiting the hours of work for railroad employees did little to enhance safety and necessitated hiring less experienced employees. Indeed, Aldrich concludes that “formal safety regulation (as opposed to informal pressures) had only marginal effects on safety” (p. 307).

A much-contested issue is the extent to which safety innovations were adopted voluntarily by railroad companies or were imposed by regulation. Critics charged that the carriers resisted every improvement mandated by government, but Aldrich demonstrates that this picture is too one-dimensional. Quite apart from regulatory requirements, railroads had powerful economic incentives to upgrade track and to improve brakes, couplers, bridges, and passenger cars. In fact, for most of the nineteenth century railroad safety was largely left to private initiative. In one important area, the transportation of hazardous materials, carriers actively sought federal regulation to provide effective enforce-

ment of rules devised by the railroads themselves. Railroads also opposed some regulations on grounds that they imposed undue cost and would not provide much safety benefit.

The emergence of new technologies, moreover, did more than regulations to reduce or remove a number of safety hazards. The invention of barbed wire, for example, facilitated the fencing of track. Similarly, the introduction of diesel locomotives gradually eliminated casualties caused by steam engine boiler explosions.

Grade crossing accidents were another source of safety concern. Pressure to eliminate grade crossings mounted in the late nineteenth century, but conflict over allocating the cost of removal between localities and carriers slowed the process. Political rather than safety considerations often dictated which crossings were eliminated. With the advent of the automobile in the early twentieth century, the number of crossing accidents greatly increased. This raised the fundamental question of whether careless drivers or railroads were primarily responsible for grade crossing accidents. The carriers insisted that crossing casualties were a traffic problem, and that improved safety was a public obligation. This issue remains a matter of contention.

Aldrich also makes a compelling case for a close link between railroad profitability and improved safety. The “oppressive federal rate regulation” (p. 287) of the twentieth century, coupled with a sharp drop in traffic after World War II, reduced carrier income. As a result, there was less funding available for safety investment. True to its stand-pat reputation, the ICC failed to grasp any connection between safety concerns and rate regulations. By the 1950s the deteriorating financial situation of the rail industry resulted in massive deferred maintenance and an erosion of workplace safety. Several derailments of freight trains carrying dangerous substances alarmed the public, and in 1970 Congress asserted federal control over all aspects of railroad safety. Aldrich thus provides further evidence for the thesis that stringent rate controls, a legacy of the Progressive era, were a major cause for the decline of the rail industry.

Aldrich’s well-researched and balanced study is a welcome addition to the literature on the history of railroading. This work enriches our understanding of rail safety and raises issues relevant for analyzing safety matters in other industries. It should be of interest to a wide range of readers.

JAMES W. ELY, JR.

Vanderbilt University Law School

STEPHEN ROBERTSON. *Crimes against Children: Sexual Violence and Legal Culture in New York City, 1880–1960*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the American Society for Legal History. 2005. Pp. xii, 337. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Age matters, and from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, it mattered more and more

to the complainants, prosecutors, and jurors of the New York City courts. This is the message of Stephen Robertson's meticulously researched book, which explains how sexual assaults against children and adolescents came to be addressed separately from sexual assaults against adults in American legal culture. Yet his is not a simple story about a dawning acknowledgment of the wrongs done to children; Robertson has written a nuanced account of the law's blending of old and new ideas about childhood and the unintended consequences of some of the legal steps taken to protect the young and punish those found guilty of sexually assaulting children. By exploring how age shaped the ways Americans viewed sexual violence, this book offers a fresh look at the histories of modern sexuality, legal culture, and twentieth-century psychiatry.

New York state criminal law is the scaffolding as Robertson traces changes in the legal categorization of sexual violence, from the nineteenth-century charge of rape laid against men who sexually abused young girls, to the creation of a separate category of second-degree or statutory rape designed to protect pubescent girls, to the passage of a "carnal abuse" statute in 1926 making genital contact without penetration a crime, to the sexual psychopath laws of the 1950s. To Robertson, however, his sample of 1500 files of the District Attorney's office of New York City revealed much more than an account of how the law was framed by legislators and reformers and modified (and sometimes nullified) by prosecutors, jurors, and the families of working-class victims. Robertson's book also explores how the law wrote into practice changes in popular and medical understanding of the nature of the child.

Over the legal scaffolding is a book about changing perceptions of the nature of childhood sexuality. Robertson finds that the image of the sexually innocent nineteenth-century child framed turn-of-the-century efforts by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NYSPCC) to prosecute the perpetrators who sexually assaulted young girls. The society's agents also worked to extend childhood through age sixteen and to protect both boys and girls from sexual violence. Charges of rape in cases involving girls under the age of ten were relatively unproblematic for prosecutors; however, working-class families, jurors, and even prosecutors found the charge of rape less convincing when the victim was a pubescent girl. The NYSPCC accomplished its goal by advocating the Darwinian view that children passed through stages of physiological development. The teenage girl, while not a child, was nonetheless not an adult; changes in the law, creating the crime of statutory rape, acknowledged degrees of sexual violence associated with different stages of physiological development and contributed, Robertson argues, to the creation of the category of adolescence.

The appearance of the mental hygiene movement and the advent of psychosexual theories of child development complemented the physiological stages present in NYSPCC child protection work, but they also com-

plicated efforts to punish sexual violence. According to Robertson, the acceptance of the idea that children and youths passed through stages of psychosexual development precluded notions of childhood innocence, redefined violence from vaginal penetration to any sexual assault that caused physical or mental injury, eradicated gender differences and made age the defining factor in sexual assault prosecutions, and generated new legislation in the form of carnal abuse statutes and sexual psychopath laws. Ironically, the new legislation did not result in greater protection for children or harsher punishments for offenders. Robertson finds that what in the nineteenth century would have been prosecuted as rape by the mid-twentieth century was more likely to be treated as the lesser offense of carnal abuse.

This is a complex and provocative book, and the author demonstrates that ideas about the stages of child development influenced more than parenting advice, medical care, and the child sciences. The complexity of his argument is a great strength of the book; it is also the book's weakness. In following the many paths laid down by this ambitious researcher, readers will occasionally come to dead ends, and the book's failure to follow through is at times exacerbated by the author's dense prose. Nonetheless, this book is well worth the effort. In arguing that concepts of childhood shaped modern views of sexual violence and that the law was infused with ideas about youth that drew from medical, psychological, and popular views of childhood, the book "demonstrates that when we study the twentieth century, the litany of categories that guides the analysis of American history—race, class, and gender—must be extended to include age" (pp. 233–234).

KATHLEEN W. JONES
Virginia Tech

JEFFREY S. ADLER. *First in Violence, Deepest in Dirt: Homicide in Chicago, 1875–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 367. \$35.00.

The title of Jeffrey S. Adler's fascinating and important book comes from Lincoln Steffens's 1903 observation that Chicago was "first in violence, deepest in dirt." The history of Chicago's reputation has long revolved around such superlatives, and although this is not the first monograph to make claims about the nature of modern urban life based on Chicago's extraordinary growth, it shows, as few other scholarly studies have, how Chicagoans' propensity for killing fit into the larger social history of the city. There is little in this book about the high-profile exploits of Al Capone and John Dillinger, or the Hollywood gangster films of the 1930s. Rather, Adler takes a systematic look at the more prosaic acts of murder—barroom brawls, marital conflicts, and so forth—that established Chicago's reputation as the most violent city in the world.

The author's leverage point is the fact that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the number of murders in Chicago—on a proportional basis—dramatically outpaced the homicide rate in

other large American cities. That Chicago was also a city of great economic opportunity is critical to Adler's argument, as he carefully links the violence to the city's changing industrial order and class structures. Noting that homicide is always a "social event," Adler shows how the "intensely personal, deeply emotional circumstances" (p. 2) that prompted most killings were part of the broader "civilizing process" that, as German sociologist Norbert Elias theorized, extended the authority of the middle classes. But while Elias posited that this civilizing process encouraged discipline and self-control, Adler argues that the drive for social order in Chicago bred violent impulses and homicidal behavior. Still, Adler stresses, murder in Chicago was seldom just a random or irrational act.

Adler's account of Chicago's homicide culture is varied and complex. In the opening chapter—called "So You Refuse to Drink With Me, Do You?"—Adler addresses the drunken-brawl killings that headed the list of homicides between 1875 and 1890. Building on the scholarship of Elliott Gorn and other historians who have studied working-class masculinity in the nineteenth century, Adler describes the violent, honor-based subculture that developed around Chicago saloons as working-class men struggled to carve out time for leisure apart from the mechanized culture of work that dominated the factories. Adler follows the pattern of violence into the home, showing how dissatisfied husbands and wives killed their partners, but for reasons that began to shift at the turn of the century. Though during the late nineteenth century the murders that occurred within marriages tended to be crimes of passion or rage (and were therefore often excused by juries), by the twentieth century they were more apt to be the result of financial pressures and failing marriages, and to take place within middle-class families that were struggling to maintain their class standing. (Interestingly, we find out that women became "more murderous" [p. 152] in the 1910s as they sought to escape troubled domestic situations.) Moreover—in an ironic commentary on Elias's thesis—Adler notes that these homicides tended to be planned in advance and committed with weapons designed for killing as opposed to found objects. Killing, Chicago-style, increasingly reflected the rationalizing tendencies that distinguished the city's growth and, by 1920, robbery homicides—a rare occurrence in the nineteenth century—accounted for the majority of murders, as young men, using modern guns and automobiles, indiscriminately killed total strangers while carrying out their duties as professional criminals.

While much of the book focuses generically on the homicides that occurred on the borders separating Chicago's public and private spaces and the city's working and middle classes, Adler devotes two chapters to the homicide pattern within the African American community on the South Side, and to the killings committed by members of the Black Hand (Mafia) in Italian American neighborhoods. Both discussions underscore the distinctive nature of homicides in those settings. During the 1900s, the rate of homicide among African Amer-

icans was intensified by the racist strictures under which the community lived, but the form that these murders took resembled the violence in the white community. Like white Chicagoans, African Americans "became more orderly in public but more violent at home" (p. 156). By contrast, the homicides carried out by the Mafia reflected the unique traditions of honor and patriarchal authority that Italian immigrants brought to Chicago.

Impressively researched and engagingly written, this book is based on more than 5,600 homicide case files that the Chicago Police Department compiled between 1875 and 1920, which Adler crossreferenced and supplemented with newspaper accounts. The conclusions that Adler draws from these sources illuminate the dirty underside of Chicago's search for order and should help to guide future studies of homicide and urban culture.

TIMOTHY B. SPEARS
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JØRN BRØNDAL. *Ethnic Leadership and Midwestern Politics: Scandinavian Americans and the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890–1914*. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association; distributed by University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 379. \$44.95.

Thirty years ago, with general inspiration from Lee Benson's *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy* (1964), historians developed an "ethnocultural" model of voting behavior in the United States in the nineteenth century and found that Scandinavian Americans generally supported Republican candidates. In this book, Jørn Brøndal focuses on the Upper Midwest—especially Wisconsin—and revisits the question of the relationship of ethnicity and politics. In doing so, he engages the Scandinavian immigrant community studies of the past two decades by historians such as Jon Gjerde. Brøndal's work also shares with this more recent scholarship a trans-Atlantic research base in Scandinavian-language archives and periodicals. Brøndal's goal is "to investigate, from the point of view of Scandinavian-American political leaders in Wisconsin, how between 1890 and 1914 a very rough and constructed type of ethnic identity based on Old World national attachments played an important role in the political arena" (pp. 3–4).

Part one focuses on the "traditional politics" of the late nineteenth century, examining the political influence of Scandinavian churches, voluntary associations, and newspapers. Brøndal carefully delineates what he believes was the circumscribed but significant relationship between religion and politics: "In their practical support of specific Scandinavian-American politicians," pastors, he concludes, had "begun to nurture a form of nationally inspired ethnicity not based narrowly on theology" (p. 55). Overall, he argues that voters evaluated a candidate's nationality—along with his locality, personality, and partisan label—in casting votes, a practice that the Wisconsin Republican party carefully rec-

ognized by always including a Scandinavian American on its statewide ticket.

In part two of his book, Brøndal carefully outlines the "progressive assault" on this "traditional politics" that occurred following the depression of 1893. Progressive leaders like Robert M. La Follette were partially successful, he believes, in replacing the ethnic factor in Wisconsin politics with an orientation toward issues. La Follette (unsuccessfully) supported Norwegian American Neils Haugen in the 1894 gubernatorial primary because of his position on issues like regulation of corporations, not his nationality. For their part, Haugen and other Scandinavian-American politicians appreciated La Follette's recognition of their capability to hold office, Brøndal argues, but fundamentally supported the progressives because they understood that that "an economically rooted struggle for power was being fought" (p. 179). The gubernatorial primary election of 1906 showed both the consummation and the limitations of this "progressive assault." The two candidates, both with progressive credentials, expressed the reformist "language of politics" (p. 192), and locality now played only a small role in their campaigns; Swedish American James Ole Davidson defeated La Follette-backed Irvine Lenroot, however, because of his successful appeal to still-significant ethnic "connections." "Although the gubernatorial race had highlighted that real political issues were now central to the debate and that the geographical factor had been all but eliminated from politics," Brøndal concludes, "consideration of nationality lingered on" (p. 201). The "all-out assault on ethnicity" (p. 203) in politics would not come until the nativist campaigns of the World War I years when, ironically, La Follette would recoil against it.

Part three of the book explores the relationship between "values" and the behavior of Scandinavian American politicians. To weigh the relative influence of principle and interest-group expediency, Brøndal uses two techniques of quantification advanced by the "new political historians" of the 1960s and 1970s who developed the "ethnocultural" model: legislative roll call analysis and content analysis of letters to newspaper editors. He finds, for instance, that Scandinavian Americans positively identified the insurgent spirit of progressivism with contemporary struggles for democracy in their homelands. His analysis also finds that Scandinavian American assemblymen adopted stronger protemperance positions than their non-Scandinavian American colleagues. Brøndal believes, however, that such connections were indirect and incomplete and his nuanced conclusion is that "Scandinavian-American sympathies for progressivism came in handy, but only because they fit a cause that in its very nature was non-ethnic" (p. 256). Since the author's standard for deciding the decisiveness of values is subjective, however, I think that he just as easily could have reached a nuanced conclusion that emphasized the continued importance of nationality in progressive politics.

This is a thoroughly researched and cogently argued piece of scholarship. Brøndal shares much of the data

on which his analysis is based in clear graphs and tables in three appendixes (the addition of a topical index, however, would be useful). His clean prose and careful organization make this work accessible to undergraduates and general readers interested in understanding their Scandinavian heritage. But the book's principal audience will be graduate students and academic historians. Readers with interests in political behavior, progressivism, immigration and ethnicity, Wisconsin and the Upper Midwest, and comparative politics will find it highly rewarding.

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JOAN M. JENSEN. *Calling This Place Home: Women on the Wisconsin Frontier, 1850-1925*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 518. \$34.95.

In this book, Joan M. Jensen has undertaken a monumental task: telling the stories of women, both settler and Native, who made north central Wisconsin their home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is a monumental task not because of the geographic scope of the work, but because of the detail with which the author tells her story, and the equal attention she gives to Native American, native born, and immigrant women. Jensen's work is monumental, as well, in its treatment of both family history and the history of a region, blending seamlessly the story of her own grandmother's and mother's lives with those of other women throughout the area.

Jensen's work details the economic development of north central Wisconsin, both in the woodlands and on farms. She meticulously describes the ways in which, in this part of the state, life in the woods and life on farms was tightly linked, and a tenuous proposition. She follows this with a discussion of what is often less tangible: the ways in which women protected both their families and their communities. This encompassed a broad range of activities, not limited to nursing or attending to the social welfare of their neighborhoods. Women also participated in the spiritual guidance of their communities, and in the political process. Jensen's story ends with what was often actually a new beginning: the migration of settlers' daughters and granddaughters to urban centers, such as La Crosse, Milwaukee, and the Twin Cities of Minnesota. The settlement of Wisconsin's cutover farms very nearly coincided with a boom in urban opportunities, cutting short the area's continued agricultural development. In not even two generations, the settlement experience for many families was over, and young women in particular made their escape when it became possible.

Jensen tells her story, in large part, through the interwoven stories of a number of rural Wisconsin women, most of whom we never would have encountered otherwise. She tells the story of Emina, a Swedish immigrant domestic servant known only by her first name, who was one of the lucky few to survive the cat-

astrophic 1871 Peshtigo Fire. She also brings us the story of Isabella Wolfe, a young Cherokee woman who served as a government nurse on the Lac du Flambeau reservation. On a very different note, we have the haunting story of Rosa Petrusky, a farm daughter born in Slovakia, who died in 1896, victim of an illegal abortion. Woven throughout the narrative we have the stories of Matilda Rauscher and her daughter Theresa, Jensen's own grandmother and mother: the settler, who came to north central Wisconsin, and the settler's daughter, who with her mother's blessing looked for a less impoverished life in the city. These carefully researched and crafted stories add immensely to the depth of Jensen's narrative, and to its readability as well. There is no faceless history here.

Although the book's 449 pages of text may look intimidating, it is a smooth read, and an interesting one, easily accessible to a wide audience. It belongs in the libraries of women's historians, rural and agricultural historians, and family historians. Rural and agricultural historians will be particularly interested in the visible interplay between the historian's life and the historian's work. We in rural and agricultural history are fortunate to have Jensen's contribution, as well as those by several other historians, detailing the connections between their work as historians and their family histories in the rural environment they later chose to study. Allan G. Bogue's *The Farm on the North Talbot Road* (2001) and Dorothy Schwieder's *Growing Up With the Town: Family and Community on the Great Plains* (2002) combine with Jensen's work to provide an exceptional view of the ways in which personal and family history shaped a generation of scholars, and helped in the late twentieth century to shape the resurgence of rural and agricultural history. Jensen, as a passionate leader in the movement to create a rural women's history, has shown her readers the origins of her drive to understand an alternative model for women's lives. Nearly twenty years in the making, this is an exceptional book, and well worth the wait.

PAMELA RINEY-KEHRBERG
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DIANE C. VECCHIO. *Merchants, Midwives, and Laboring Women: Italian Migrants in Urban America*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. x, 130. \$35.00.

This book examines the working lives of Italian immigrant women who settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in Endicott, New York, in the early twentieth century. Diane C. Vecchio argues that immigrant women, propelled by need, adapted to the economic opportunities that surrounded them. While she does not spell out the process by which single women or families made residential and employment decisions, the contrasts between the Milwaukee and Endicott cases demonstrate that where women lived was as important as their past

training and experience in fixing their work lives in America.

Women and men, immigrant and native-born, moved to Endicott to work at the Endicott Johnson shoe factory, there being little other employment in the community. Italian women came to town because of family decisions to go to Endicott Johnson or because relatives already living there promised to assist them in finding work in shoemaking. Because of the ready availability of work, a forty-hour work week, and employer accommodation to mothers' life cycles, Italian women often entered Endicott Johnson as single women and worked intermittently after marriage as they bore and raised children.

The stories of Italian women at the Endicott Johnson Company send us mixed messages about corporate welfare practices of the early-twentieth century. Company founder George F. Johnson promoted worker loyalty and docility and controlled wages by offering workers maternity leaves, company-funded medical care, and other benefits. Endicott Johnson assisted female heads of household as well as other workers in becoming homeowners, but workers rarely gained notable promotions or wage increases.

Milwaukee offered a diverse economy and a more diverse population than that found in the smaller Endicott, but immigrant women did not move effortlessly into the workforce as they appeared to do in Endicott. Factory jobs for women were few in Milwaukee's heavily Italian Third Ward, and working conditions were difficult. Mothers rarely found or accepted industrial jobs because fifty-four to sixty hours per week and frequent overtime assignments were expected by employers. Married Italian women in Milwaukee chose home-based economic activities such as dressmaking, taking in boarders, and operating small shops in their homes or neighborhoods. Milwaukee's Italian neighborhoods also proved attractive to midwives, women who trained in Italy before seeking work in America. Unlike shopkeepers or factory workers, midwives largely chose careers before leaving Italy and shaped their lives around work rather than their work around their lives. In Endicott, where a paternalistic employer helped finance obstetrical care, there was virtually no call for the services of midwives.

With the onset of the Great Depression, a special moment for European immigrants had passed. Firms like Endicott Johnson abandoned the welfare capitalism that had promoted labor contentment and cut back on employment. The children of Endicott's shoe workers moved into office jobs or blue-collar pursuits in nearby towns. Second-generation immigrants in Milwaukee did not routinely patronize the immigrant midwives and ethnic businesses that had supported independent Italian women of the 1920s, and the sources of non-wage earnings declined.

The bulk of Vecchio's evidence on Endicott comes from records of the Endicott Johnson Company, while the Milwaukee information has been drawn from a variety of public documents. Oral interviews add depth

and personhood to both urban stories, but the differing natures of the records for the two cities render urban analyses that do not parallel each other. The sense of community among Italian women in Endicott seems to have been much stronger than existed in Milwaukee, but Vecchio's records permitted her to reconstruct many social and on-the-job experiences of Endicott's women that are missing for the Italian residents of Milwaukee's Third Ward. Because midwives were licensed, Vecchio has more information about their educational histories than was available for the other women.

Vecchio maintains that her findings on Milwaukee and Endicott are representative of immigrant women's work experiences elsewhere, but this generalization is not well supported and masks rather than reveals the richness of immigrant women's lives. Her claims of comparability obscure the role that distinctly Italian or regional Italian cultures may have played in women's economic lives even though the author has explored this question in a previous publication. The book's principal strength is the detail it presents about two different labor markets and the resourcefulness of the Italian women who lived there. Vecchio's work, more fully than that of other scholars, illustrates that many Italian women in America exercised a high level of autonomy and that independence was demonstrated by career women who remained single through their lives or continued to pursue remunerative careers after marriage. While these women were not necessarily representative of the larger population of Italian women in America, their histories confirm that multiple models of female behavior were present in immigrant communities.

JULIA KIRK BLACKWELDER
Texas A&M University

RICHARD ABEL. *Americanizing the Movies and "Movie-Mad" Audiences, 1910–1914*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xvii, 373. \$29.95.

This volume is a kind of sequel to Richard Abel's influential book, *The Red Rooster Scare: Making Cinema American 1900–1910* (1999). In the previous work, Abel ably demonstrated how U.S. film company efforts to exclude the leading French film manufacturer Pathé-Freres by 1909 contributed to consolidation of a specifically American film industry and a nationally identified and identifiable cinema. This new volume extends the thesis to the succeeding years of 1910–1914. These are the years in which Hollywood emerged as a capital of film production, the feature film became the standard, and motion picture exhibition stabilized in theaters built solely for the purpose of showing movies. Abel treats the movie business—production, distribution, and exhibition—as well as developing film style and newly identified film audiences whereas most previous studies of this period tend to focus on only one of these subjects.

Therein lies the originality of Abel's book: valuable work has been done on the development of American

film industry practices of the period, on the ascendancy of fictional narrative film style, and on cinema's ideological and sociological relationships to U.S. society. But it is the *scope* of Abel's subject that buttresses his claim for an increasingly national film culture. He argues for a confluence of business practices, film themes, and audience reception in the context of the theater programs and new fan cultures. Abel also shifts the object of inquiry from New York City and Chicago to examine "hot spots" across New England and the Midwest, claiming these are more representative sites for Americanness than the country's largest, most exceptional cities. Again, Abel pays close attention to how U.S. businesses dealt with foreign competition and foreign movie imports, showing how they integrated "foreign" elements in a variety of ways so as to keep movies and the movie business identifiably American.

Abel provides a wealth of information about how film distribution evolved in the period, where individual theaters were in medium-sized cities like Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Des Moines, and what were their advertising practices in local newspapers. He examines emergent popular film genres of Civil War films, animal pictures, and westerns. He discusses elements of the program featured along with films, most notably illustrated song slides, and he demonstrates how films and movie stars shared increasingly larger portions of an increasingly mass imagined community. The book also reproduces numerous period documents relevant to film culture. Abel attempts to "unify" these different elements with a novel structure that arranges his materials much like a movie program of the period, juxtaposing chapters, entr'actes, and documents. While this allows him to bring to the reader without comment a range of primary sources from industry trade papers, local newspapers, and magazines, it does not strengthen the argument—nor does it detract from it either.

If this accumulation of information overwhelms and ultimately minimizes the author's thesis regarding a nationally imagined community, the thesis argument itself seems less important than the book's accomplishment as a thorough overview of the years leading up to Hollywood's global domination. It represents a formidable history.

LAUREN RABINOVITZ
University of Iowa

LOUISE W. KNIGHT. *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 582. \$35.00.

Well over a century has passed since Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr moved into the Halstead Street location that became Hull House, and yet few women in American history can boast Addams's name recognition. Louise W. Knight has written what she refers to as a half biography—her study covers the period from Addams's birth in 1860 to 1899, when Addams was poised to begin the truly national part of her career. Knight's division of her work into two parts—"The Life

Given" and "The Life Chosen"—illuminates what for Knight is the major question of Addams's career: how did Addams evolve from her traditional upper-middle-class upbringing into a pragmatic ethicist? According to the author, this transformation "illustrates what bears remembering and what she often stressed in her later writings: we are not born citizens, we must become them by means of experience" (p. 5). As the book's title indicates, Knight sets out to map Addams's journey to citizenship.

While much of the information in this book is familiar, Knight succeeds in refocusing our attention especially in terms of Addams's intellectual and philosophical development. Knight emphasizes the role books and reading played in shaping her subject and notes that "Addams was aware of her debt to books" (p. 146). Leo Tolstoy's *My Religion* (1884) introduced Addams to the idea of nonviolence or "non-resistance" (p. 145). John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) and Tolstoy's *What Then Shall We Do?* (1886) altered her thinking about women. Richard Ely, Edward Bellamy, and William T. Stead helped Addams to redefine her attitudes toward the working class. Addams constantly questioned her own thinking and scrutinized her reactions.

While her reading and thinking provided key components for Addams's achievement of "citizenship," external forces also played roles. Knight does a good job of describing the impact the Hull House neighborhood, Nineteenth Ward inhabitants, and Hull House residents had on Addams. Although inculcated throughout her early years with the belief that "any able-bodied man who was poor was morally deficient" (p. 67), Addams's exposure to her neighbors called that viewpoint into question. Ellen Gates Starr and Mary Rozet Smith both fostered Addams's self-evaluation and encouraged her work. Mary Kenney's views about trade unions, Julia Lathrop's ideas regarding charity, Florence Kelley's Marxism and overall activism, and John Dewey's ideas and general mode of thinking all influenced Addams.

Knight provides detailed analyses of Addams's speeches. "The Subjective Necessity of a Social Settlement" and "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement" marked the beginning of Addams's "embracing experience as a means to discovery truth" (p. 257). In "Domestic Service," Addams "further developed her theory of moral responsibility" and it was "the first speech entirely shaped by Addams's desire to act as a cross-class interpreter" (p. 273).

The depression of 1893 prompted Addams to reconsider some of her deeply held beliefs, and her involvement with the Pullman Strike sped the process. The strike "cracked her moral absolutism" (p. 328). In Knight's metaphor, the strike prompted Addams to install a new tent pole and then of necessity to reposition all the tent stakes of her personal philosophy. Addams's writing on the strike, "A Modern Lear," marked the reformer's conversion to pragmatism; "[f]or Jane Addams, the Pullman Strike and the act of writing about it

were major milestones on the road to becoming a citizen" (p. 359).

Between 1895 and 1899, Addams filled what Knight judged to be two gaping holes in her resume. She had never been involved in an election campaign and she had not spoken about women's suffrage. Addams was actively involved in an unsuccessful campaign to unseat Nineteenth Ward Alderman John Powers in 1896 and the next year she spoke publicly about suffrage.

By the end of the century, Knight believes, Addams had developed into a "full-fledged citizen"—an "achievement that she and the world accomplished together, and she would not have had it otherwise" (p. 404). Addams's feminism was beginning to be evident. She had begun the process of giving up many of the preconceptions that attended her upper-middle-class upbringing. Perhaps most importantly, in Knight's words Addams's "deepening humanity" had manifested itself (p. 411).

Knight succeeds in her efforts to place Addams within the context of her philosophical development. Her study does not shy away from examining Addams's ambition, her complicated personal relationships, and her prejudices. Knight's careful dissection of every element of Addams's transformation from a typical member of her class to an exceptional reformer only serves to further emphasize Addams's significance to the history of women and to American history in general.

KATHERINE G. AIKEN
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NICHOLAS PATLER. *Jim Crow and the Wilson Administration: Protesting Federal Segregation in the Early Twentieth Century*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2004. Pp. xvii, 236. \$31.95.

When Woodrow Wilson was elected president in 1912, he was the first southern Democrat to occupy the White House since Reconstruction. This did not augur well for African Americans, particularly since the federal government was their largest single employer at the time. Yet as Nicholas Patler hints, Wilson's presidency was not quite a straightforward case of southern racial sensibilities being transposed to a national level. As well as a native-born Virginian, Wilson was also a former president of Princeton University, and his position on race relations was less that of a rabid southern segregationist and more in line with many other figures in the Progressive era who believed that segregation was a necessary precondition for social stability, which in turn was necessary for social reform.

Segregation and racial discrimination unquestionably increased during Wilson's term in office. A 1913 report compiled by the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) May Childs Nerney, titled *Segregation in the Government Departments at Washington*, revealed what she claimed was a "systematic enforcement" of Jim Crow policies in the civil service. By the end of Wilson's presidency segregation had extended to "the Senate

lunchroom in the United States Capitol building, the galleries of the U.S. Senate, and the restaurant and the lunchroom of the Library of Congress" (p. 198).

One of the shortcomings of Patler's book is that he never really discusses in any great depth or detail the complexities of Wilson's views on race. Chapter three, which deals with the subject, is the shortest in the book and provides only a cursory treatment. Instead, Patler's central focus is the mobilization of African American activism during the first two years of the Wilson presidency (from 1912 to 1913), after which, Patler claims, racial issues took a backseat to foreign policy issues during World War I.

The first half of the book (chapters one to four) provides mostly background material that will reveal little new to those already familiar with the period. Chapter one broadly charts the rise of segregation and disfranchisement in the South in the period after Reconstruction and into the early years of the twentieth century. Chapter three deals with Wilson specifically, and chapters two and four look at the formation and the early campaigns of the NAACP, which was founded in 1909 by a group of African American activists and white northern liberals.

It is really only in the second half of the book (chapters five to eight) that the study delivers more original and insightful material on African American activism. The most valuable contribution Patler makes here is inscribing into the historical record the life and career of William Monroe Trotter. The Harvard-educated Trotter was a fiery race man who advocated forthright protest against Jim Crow, initially as founder and editor of the Boston *Guardian*, and then in the early years of the Wilson presidency as founder of the National Independent Political League (NIPL), a group made up of prominent African American professionals. Most notably, Trotter headed a campaign in 1913 that collected 20,000 signatures on a "National Petition Against Jim Crow and Color Segregation by the Federal Government." In November 1913, Wilson agreed to meet with Trotter and a number of other African American leaders, including anti-lynching crusader Ida Wells-Barnett, to accept the petition in person. Trotter spelled out in forthright terms to the president the discontent of African American's at growing segregation in federal government, although Wilson steadfastly denied that this was the official policy of his administration.

A year later, the same delegation revisited Wilson, this time under the new banner of the National Independent Equal Rights League (NIERL). In a heated exchange, Trotter demanded of Wilson: "Have you a 'new freedom' for white Americans and a new slavery for your Afro-American fellow citizens?" (p. 178). A defensive Wilson told Trotter "Your tone, sir, offends me." The exchange became a cause celebre in the African American press that brought national attention to Trotter, although whether this justifies Patler's claim that "Trotter essentially eclipsed [W.E.B.] Du Bois as the most prominent and assertive African American

leader in the early twentieth century" (p. 129) remains open to debate.

Overall, Patler performs a useful task in synthesizing much of the work already done on the early Wilson years, and he does a fine job of highlighting the various organizations and individuals that provided African American activism during the period with a varied number of avenues and outlets. By only tugging at the various strands of events, however, he indicates that a much more involved and complex story of Wilson's personal views on race and African American activism during the period remains yet to be told.

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GEORGE HUTCHINSON. *In Search of Nella Larsen: A Biography of the Color Line*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 611. \$39.95.

After publishing two major novels in the late 1920s, Nella Larsen was considered by many observers to be the most important novelist of the Harlem Renaissance. But by the time of her death in 1964, she was all but forgotten. Larsen was rediscovered by scholars in the 1980s and was the subject of two biographies in the 1990s: Charles R. Larson, *Invisible Darkness: Jean Toomer and Nella Larsen* (1993), and Thadious M. Davis, *Nella Larsen, Novelist of the Harlem Renaissance: A Woman's Life Unveiled* (1994). In this new biography, George Hutchinson perceptively reinterprets Larsen's life, while reinforcing his argument from *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (1995) that the Harlem Renaissance was not merely the failed creation of white paternalist patronage; rather, it was a successful cultural movement based on a pluralist sensibility that was shared by many black and white writers, artists, and publishers, notably Nella Larsen. Furthermore, Hutchinson deftly conveys "the amazing breadth and depth of Larsen's experience of 'the modern'" (p. 11) while living in Chicago and New York, and navigating careers as a nurse, a librarian, and a novelist.

Based on research in Denmark and the West Indies and the use of U.S. census and immigration records, Hutchinson disproves the assertions of biographers Larson and Davis, who claimed that Larsen fabricated her life story by inventing two childhood visits to Denmark because of "her ambivalence toward black identity" (p. 3). The child of immigrants, Larsen was born in Chicago in 1891 to a black West Indian father and a white Danish mother. After her father's disappearance, Larsen's mother married a white Chicagoan. After living in Denmark for three years with her mother's relatives, Nella returned to her family in Chicago, who lived in a racist white working-class neighborhood. To get her out of this hostile environment, Larsen's family, at significant financial sacrifice, sent Nella to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. After being expelled from Fisk, apparently for a violation of a dress and/or conduct code, she lived in Denmark with her mother's

family for four years, attending classes at the University of Copenhagen. Upon her return to the United States, Larsen earned her nursing license in New York, working first at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and then in New York, where she married Elmer Imes, a black physicist, in 1919. Through Imes, Larsen became acquainted with New York's black intelligentsia. Meanwhile, Larsen left nursing to work at the Harlem branch of the New York Public Library, which emphasized racial and ethnic diversity in its staff.

During the late 1920s, Larsen transformed herself into a novelist and published *Quicksand* (1928) and *Passing* (1929). In her novels, as in her life, Larsen confronted the color line in provocative ways. In the autobiographical *Quicksand*, the main character, a woman of mixed racial heritage, suffers from racial prejudice from her white relations, while experiencing subjugation "to a black elite that disdains miscegenation but nonetheless mimics the white elite" (p. 228). Hutchinson shows that Larsen's second novel was not focused on the rejection of blackness, as some have charged, but rather it was about characters who sought "to exist outside American notions of race" (p. 305). *Passing* illuminates class tensions in the black community, with one character passing as white, not because she wants to be white, but because she wants "to get what her more well-off black friends have, for her family background precludes her moving into their class position within the carefully policed boundaries of respectable black society" (p. 315).

Hutchinson's rendering of New York during the 1920s is very evocative, with vivid descriptions of endless parties, dinners, and dances. Some may find the detail excessive, but it reveals the milieu of the moderns that Larsen associated with, including white author and critic Carl Van Vechten, black singer and actor Ethel Waters, and black activist authors Walter White and James Weldon Johnson. Although Larsen's papers were lost, Hutchinson makes good use of the Carl Van Vechten papers at Yale University, the rarely used Van Vechten daybooks at the New York Public Library, and the papers of other key Renaissance figures, to establish Larsen's identification with those, who refused to accept race, gender, or class-based proscriptions on behavior.

The author's examination of the color line is exemplary, but several themes deserve more attention. While Hutchinson mentions the difficulties Larsen faced after the publication of her two books—including plagiarism charges related to a short story, her husband's affair, and their subsequent divorce—he does not offer a satisfying explanation for her failure to publish after 1930. In addition, more attention to a gendered analysis of the period is needed. While the author attributes a "particular form of racially conscious feminism" (p. 12) to Larsen, her feminism is left largely unexplored. Nonetheless, Hutchinson's work brilliantly reinterprets Larsen's life in the context of early twentieth-century race, class, and gender restrictions and is now the de-

finitive biography of this key figure of the Harlem Renaissance.

JERRY GERSHENHORN

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HOWARD P. SEGAL. *Recasting the Machine Age: Henry Ford's Village Industries*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 244. \$34.95.

Every so often I drive from my home in central Ohio to Detroit. Most of the trip passes through the austere midwestern countryside, with its solitary farmhouses fronting fields that roll unbroken to the horizon. About twenty miles outside Detroit the landscape shifts. First comes the suburban sprawl of chain stores and housing developments. Then, just before the city limit, the freeway rises abruptly, so that the traffic can pass over one of the greatest industrial complexes ever built. It is a stunning sight: a vast tangle of rusting steel mills, aging chemical refineries, shuttered auto plants, and hard-faced working-class homes, the entire expanse anchored by the fabled River Rouge plant, which looms to the left. Here, quite literally, is the world that Henry Ford built—in all its grim, grey splendor.

But Ford himself was never completely comfortable with his creation. Historians and biographers have made much of Ford's penchant for nostalgia: his love of McGuffey readers, for instance, or his passion for square dancing. In this book, Howard P. Segal explores one of Ford's more substantive efforts to recapture an earlier age. Between 1920 and 1944—the heyday of Rouge-style integrated manufacturing—the Ford Motor Company opened nineteen small factories in rural communities encircling Detroit. Though they were generally housed in nineteenth-century sawmills or gristmills picturesquely positioned along gentle rivers, the factories were not meant to be period pieces. On the contrary, Ford filled them with the most up-to-date machinery, then set them to making one particular part—carburetors, ignition coils, or door locks—for the cars rolling off the Rouge assembly line. Each factory was staffed by local folk, most of them farmers, who were strongly encouraged to maintain their ties to the land even as they accepted a Ford paycheck; it was company policy, in fact, that workers could leave the factories at any time without fear of losing their jobs, so long as they were heading off to tend their fields.

As Ford assembled his necklace of factories, observers offered various explanations for what the old man was up to. Some argued that the Village Industries, as they were called, were nothing more than public relations stunts, designed to offset charges that the automobile had fatally undermined rural America. Others believed Ford was trying to distance his company from the immigrant working class that dominated the Rouge. Still others saw the whole enterprise as a way to combat the threat of unionization. Segal carefully weighs all the options—this is a very judicious book—and decides that such cynicism is unwarranted. Ford was an idealist, he concludes, who believed that the power of the ma-

chine age could be fused to and tempered by time-tested agrarian values. The modern city shunted those values aside. So the machine had to be brought back to the garden. With the Village Industries, Ford hoped to give the industrial world a model to follow.

Segal clearly admires Ford's vision, which he places in an intellectual tradition stretching from Brook Farm to the New Deal's Greenbelt towns. He makes a convincing case for a loose ideological consistency. But there is one pivotal difference between Ford and his fellow utopians: they were trying to construct alternatives to a society corrupted by outside forces; Ford was rebelling against a system of his own making. That dynamic gives the story a tragic twist, though Segal barely acknowledges it. Despite all the attention lavished on them, the Village Industries simply were not viable alternatives to the industrial behemoth Ford had created. As far as Segal can tell, most of the factories were not large enough or efficient enough to turn a profit in an industry that had perfected the art of driving down per unit cost. The company's top executives tolerated the situation as long as Ford was alive—they were his pet projects, after all—but within a few years of the boss' death in 1947 they closed sixteen of the nineteen plants and incorporated another into a much larger facility. In the decades since then, moreover, many of the rural communities that once housed the factories have been swallowed up by Detroit's ever-expanding suburban ring, itself a product of the automobile age Ford brought into being. So, in the end, Ford didn't manage to move the machine into the garden. Instead the forces he unleashed in the fabulous industrial complex on the banks of the Rouge River pulled the garden into the maw of the machine.

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CLIFFORD J. DOERKSEN. *American Babel: Rogue Radio Broadcasters of the Jazz Age*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 157. \$34.95.

In his study of small independent radio stations of the 1920s, Clifford J. Doerksen promises to "provide a sense of what these forgotten radio stations were like and what they meant to the people who listened to them" (p. ix). In his introduction, Doerksen acknowledges some of the difficulties involved in resurrecting radio programming that was never recorded, radio performances that were rarely reviewed, and radio stations whose business papers were even more rarely archived. The combination of serendipity and research skills set the stage for a vivid and exciting detective tale. In unearthing the stories of small, independent urban and rural radio stations from the era before networks, before comprehensive federal regulation, and before the controversy over advertising sponsorship for broadcasting was settled, Doerksen provides a valuable and engaging contribution to the growing shelf of U.S. radio history in the 1920s, which includes Susan Douglas's *Inventing American Broadcasting, 1899–1922* (1987), Su-

san Smulyan's *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920–1934* (1994), and Robert McChesney's *Telecommunications, Mass Media and Democracy: The Battle for Control of US Broadcasting, 1928–1935* (1993).

Doerksen's contribution is unique and especially valuable for two reasons. First, he provides detailed accounts of specific stations, their business plans, some sense of their constituencies and critics, and a hint of the cultural, musical, and political populisms that infused their broadcast schedules. For example, WHN, which began in 1921 in what was then Brooklyn, New York (now Queens), took to the air in early 1922 with a 15-watt transmitter, a piano, some records, and unabashedly commercial motives. WHN's popularity, measured in fan mail, grew quickly, and increases in wattage soon followed. So did complaints from citizens and newspapers, offended by the direct advertising, jazz records, and the station's connections to Marcus Loew's vaudeville and nightclub interests, with all their implications of bootlegging, gangsterism, and sexual immorality.

Rural independent stations, such as KNFK of Shenandoah, Iowa, mostly eschewed jazz in favor of "old time music" (p. 74), but Doerksen sees more similarities than differences in their populist appeal to listeners who appreciated direct advertising (ads that mention the prices of specific products on the air) and the populist accents in which the "high-brow" stations of the emerging network system were scorned. On "farmer stations" like KFNB, Protestant piety, nineteenth-century hymns, and gospel music were part of an antimodern, anti-urban appeal. In these colorful accounts of urban and rural stations, Doerksen is scrupulous in reminding readers that "complicating exceptions abound" and that generalizations about idiosyncratic small independent stations, most of whom are lost to history, are difficult to make (p. 76). And the handful of portraits he paints of the midwestern "farmer stations" helps to place into context the bizarre but well-known example of Dr. J. R. Brinkley, of KFNB in Kansas, purveyor of the notorious "goat-gland" impotency cure and other dubious nostrums (pp. 85–90). The one constant at the heart of his argument is the early enthusiasm for using the airwaves to advertise products directly to the listening audience.

This brings us to the second feature of Doerksen's contribution to the literature on early U.S. radio. Doerksen positions his book as a corrective to work by McChesney, Smulyan, and others that "treats the commercialization of the American airwaves as something engineered from above by corporate interests and consolidated in the face of universal public resistance" (p. ix). It is, I think, more complementary to this scholarship than it is a refutation, however.

While McChesney and Smulyan focus on the struggle between corporate interests and the often-disorganized representatives of educational, religious, and other nonprofit interests battling to control how much of the airwaves would be dominated by advertising-financed

stations, Doerksen draws our attention to the popularity among average folks of commercial stations. With the addition of Doerksen's study, we can see more clearly the complex dynamics within a range of interest groups, each working hard to claim the mantle of "the people" in its quest to define the proper role of advertising in radio broadcasting. And while no one book has done justice to this complexity, McChesney's painstaking history goes farther than any other has to date.

At times, Doerksen seems to embrace rather uncritically the populist arguments of small independents like WHN and KFNF, casting their loyal listeners as members of an authentic public in a cultural battle with "all the big guns—federal administrators, the Big Four corporations, the national advertising industry, the press, and the middle-class electorate" (p. 16). Referring to the voting public as "the middle-class electorate" seems more of a populist strategy for claiming underdog status for the listeners of commercial independents than it does an accurate account of the competing and often overlapping interests that struggled to find a workable policy for financing radio, serving the public interest, and negotiating various class-bound interests and anxieties. Doerksen acknowledges the "constant flood of protest mail" that WHN received, but for him this is evidence not of the popular will but of the powerful interests arrayed against the scrappy independents (p. 34). Nor does he fully acknowledge the implications of the fact that local business elites served as owner/announcers of "farmer stations" that embraced direct advertising. Once again, Doerksen seems to mimic the populist accents of independent commercial broadcasters in describing their underdog campaign against corporate America and middle-class taste makers.

A final quibble: while it is fascinating to find out the extent to which "race" and "hillbilly" music reached radio listeners in the early 1920s, Doerksen never tells us much about this music, especially jazz. Calling WHN the "hot black core of the metropolitan jazz scene," Doerksen only hints at the no doubt complicated and ambivalent racial dynamics at play (p. 48). Jazz, he argues, "was intended and apprehended as a loud and rowdy negation of all things genteel, refined, and respectable" (p. 33). This thin analysis of the appeal of jazz tends to reinforce a rather simplistic populist reading of African American musical traditions and the struggles taking place on the airwaves and elsewhere in U.S. society in the 1920s.

Even so, this slender history provides a valuable addition to the scholarship on a nearly forgotten era in radio history. And Doerksen's focus on the popularity of direct advertising on small independent stations serves as an important intervention into the scholarly debate about the origins of the American system of broadcasting.

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ANTHONY J. STANONIS. *Creating the Big Easy: New Orleans and the Emergence of Modern Tourism, 1918–1945*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 317. Cloth \$59.00, paper \$22.95.

The burgeoning of historical research on tourism in the United States over the past fifteen years made a study of New Orleans inevitable and much to be desired. Anthony J. Stanonis draws on extensive research in local archives to document the contentious process through which politicians, businessmen, historic preservationists, and regionalist writers burnished New Orleans' reputation as a picturesque citadel of French Creole culture between 1918 and 1945. (The city also recently gained a second history; Mark Souther's *New Orleans on Parade* [2006] takes up where Stanonis leaves off.)

The book falls into two parts. The first two chapters chronicle the gradual realization by the city's businessmen that their fortunes were to be made in tourism rather than manufacturing. The crippling effect of the Great Depression on industry and municipal tax revenues catalyzed this shift. Having established the chronology, Stanonis then develops four thematic chapters that address the suppression of the open sale of sex and alcohol, making the city more attractive to respectable visitors; the campaign to preserve and reconstruct the Vieux Carré, the city's old French center; the transformation of Mardi Gras from a largely local celebration dominated by elites into a public, commercial tourist attraction; and boosters' efforts to lessen the visibility of black New Orleanians, especially by appropriating jazz for whites.

The great strength of this study is its attentiveness to the municipal and state politics of promoting New Orleans. As powerful as the tourist industry is today, it was not always so, nor did city and state officials, business leaders, and activists always agree on whether or how best to attract pleasure travelers. Stanonis goes beyond the usual focus on the class and racial politics of tourism to demonstrate how central it was to everyday contests among the city's elites and city and state politicians. His analysis adds a welcome depth and messiness to our understanding of how and why leisure travel became an important development strategy in the first half of the twentieth century.

In detailing the internal battles over historic preservation, commercial vice, and New Deal spoils, however, Stanonis tends to neglect the decades-long history of the tourist industry and its expansion in the early twentieth century. Although he cites many key works on regional and resort tourism in the United States, he locates his subjects chiefly in the context of Louisiana state and New Orleans city politics. Yet municipal and business leaders were treading a well-worn path by 1918, as my own *Doing the Town: The Rise of Urban Tourism in the United States, 1850–1915* (2001) demonstrates. Works by Cindy Aron, Dona Brown, Theodore Corbett, Hal Rothman, Marguerite Shaffer, and Jon Sterngass (to name just a few and remain within the United States) reveal an extensive network of railroads,

resorts, tour agencies, local and regional boosters, and travel writing and imagery by the early twentieth century. Aside from brief mentions of southern California envy (a malady common among tourist promoters in this era) and tourist development on the Mississippi Gulf Coast and in Florida, Stanonis does not relate the promotion of New Orleans to other efforts. Nor does he situate New Orleanians' turn to tourism during the Great Depression in the context of similar turns on the part of France, Germany, Canada, and the United States.

The author's tight focus on the local arena implies that nonlocal actors played little or no role in New Orleans' makeover as a destination city. But outsiders began promoting the city as early as the 1880s, when national railroads began absorbing the southern lines. The Southern Pacific Railroad, for one, published reams of promotional pamphlets featuring a picturesque French Creole New Orleans years before the movement to preserve the Vieux Carré began. Demonstrating the importance of road building and automobile travel to the plans of city leaders, Stanonis joins them in lauding the automobile as liberatory but says little about how the railroads promoted the city and structured travel to it.

The emphasis on municipal infighting also begs the question of how New Orleans ultimately succeeded so well. From the bellyaching of local officials and business people, one would never guess that the leaders of other cities coveted the apparently natural allure of New Orleans and strove to reproduce it artificially even before 1918. The accounts of alcohol regulation and gentrification could equally well be told of dozens of cities that did not become tourist destinations, and the link between these urban reform movements and tourism promotion is not always clear. Because the author treats vice reform, the whitewashing of the French Creoles, and the growing repression of the city's African American residents in separate chapters, he tends to underplay the evident interrelationship among these phenomena. In sum, one wishes the author had more effectively linked his local story to contemporaneous national and international developments.

CATHERINE COCKS

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KEITH J. VOLANTO. *Texas, Cotton, and the New Deal*. (Sam Rayburn Series on Rural Life, number 7.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 194. \$35.00.

Keith J. Volanto's prose is so clear that he could write understandable instructions for programming a VCR. That is good, because such clarity is needed to discuss successfully the New Deal agricultural programs. In this book, Volanto describes the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) programs in one state for one commodity. Within this limited scope, he illustrates very thoroughly the confusion that reigned throughout the New Deal in general and reminds us that the programs of that period were largely attempts to remedy

a desperate situation with whatever solution came to hand.

Volanto's study is the first to analyze the AAA in a single state. Texas, a large state at the western edge of cotton cultivation, may not be the best for a case study, but one can certainly argue for its importance in raising forty percent of the nation's cotton crop. Just as cotton drove much of the economy of the South, it affected more than seventy percent of the Texas population (p. 12). Relying primarily on the papers of prominent New Deal figures and publications from the U.S. government, the book has a top-down, administrative bent. Volanto analyzes relevant legislation, its implementation, and its impact to tell his story in a rather dispassionate manner. And yet the tale of the AAA in Texas is such that a mere recitation of the facts is enough to elicit groans of despair from the reader.

Volanto opens by describing various efforts to bring relief to southern cotton farmers throughout the 1920s and then launches directly into the cotton program of 1933. By the time Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, many cotton farmers in Texas already had their crops ready to plant, but Roosevelt and his cohorts were convinced that something had to be done during the 1933 growing season despite the late date. When the bill creating the AAA was signed in May, the cotton crop was almost halfway to harvest. And by the time the administration announced that the most effective way to control the price of cotton was to plow up growing crops, harvest was a mere six weeks away. Volanto details discussions in Washington in deciding on this course of action, and he tells well the difficult task that faced Texas administrators who had to convince farmers to plow up their crops and then evaluate their cooperation to determine their payments. Most landowning farmers voluntarily signed up for the program, and Texans reduced their 1933 harvest by more than 27 percent, receiving almost \$43 million in cash from the federal government in exchange for the destroyed crops.

Volanto follows the story through the development of compulsory controls by the Bankhead Act, the invalidation of the AAA by the Supreme Court, and the emergence of voluntary controls in the latter days of the New Deal. The reader gains a good grasp of the complexity of the situation: Volanto's crisp summary of the cotton provisions of the 1938 Agricultural Adjustment Act runs to nearly a page, and one can only imagine a farmer trying to understand such minutiae. His descriptions of regional differences in cotton cultivation remind the reader of the sheer size of Texas and of the vagaries of nature that farmers faced, including drought and hurricane.

Because of Volanto's focus on administrative matters, the most prominent voices here are those of administrators such as Henry Wallace and Cully Cobb. Despite the use of letters from farmers written to the Roosevelt administration, the common farmer appears fairly infrequently. Volanto demonstrates, surprisingly, that most landowners favored crop control, even agreeing that it needed to be compulsory. Objections to New

Deal legislation came from ginners and processors, not farmers, who were willing to surrender some of their property rights for higher crop prices. Most conspicuously absent from the narrative are the sharecroppers and tenant farmers, who in some areas of Texas were more than three-quarters of the farmers. Despite the chapter on sharecroppers and tenants that appears to be tacked on at the end, the reader does not get a strong sense of what it meant for the farmers individually and Texas as a whole that families were turned off the land in dramatic numbers. In contrast to the Mississippi Delta, tenants and sharecroppers in Texas were relatively nonviolent in their forced departure from the land, but their leaving had significant impact nonetheless.

Overall, this is a strong offering that looks through a narrow lens at a period of dramatic transformation of Texas agriculture. One wishes for more connection to the story in the larger South, and a table depicting the sizes of harvests and cotton prices would be useful. But Volanto has done what he set out to do, and for that he merits much praise.

REBECCA SHARPLESS
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VIRGIL W. DEAN. *An Opportunity Lost: The Truman Administration and the Farm Policy Debate*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 275. \$39.95.

The United States emerged from World War II in rare form. Unlike other major combatants, America's industrial and agricultural infrastructure was unscathed and ready for expansion. Virgil W. Dean explores the tumultuous postwar struggle to craft a new national farm policy to fit the transformed countryside. Like other essential industries, American farms had received generous government assistance during the war to boost production. In the postwar era, farmers feared an agricultural depression with wartime farm supports slated to end in late 1948.

The hub of this book is the legendary 1948 presidential election. During the campaign President Harry S. Truman attacked the Republican-led "Do Nothing" 80th Congress, charging it with putting "a pitchfork in the farmer's back" (p. 104). Truman's secretary of agriculture, Charles Brannan, fallaciously claimed the GOP would end the farm program that farmers had depended on since the early New Deal. Both Truman and Brannan interpreted the Democrats' winning of the White House and Capitol Hill that year as a mandate for extending liberal Fair Deal programs in postwar America. A farmer himself, Truman gave his secretary of agriculture free rein to create a new agricultural policy. In early 1949 Brannan proposed to substitute market price supports with direct income payments to farmers. His plan set ceilings on the amount a farmer could receive and limited the program to farmers who did not exceed a set production mark. The Brannan Plan was supposed to foster the "family-sized farm" while providing affordable food for American consumers.

The postwar years should have been prime time to build a bipartisan consensus around a new farm policy. Even conservative Republicans from the farm belt had accepted an active role for the federal government, including agricultural supports to boost farm income and help producers meet increased operating costs. However, prospects for the Brannan Plan were grim soon after it was introduced. Unlike the framers of the original New Deal farm program, Brannan failed to seek input from key congressional agriculture committee members and leading farm organizations. Furthermore, Republicans in Congress were still smarting from Truman's 1948 campaign, in which Brannan played a vital role. While Brannan could count on the National Farmers Union, labor, and consumer groups to back the plan, leading farm economists and political heavy hitters such as the national Farm Bureau and Chamber of Commerce opposed it. The head of the Farm Bureau decried the plan as intrusive, a form of "creeping socialism," and expensive. The organization also resisted any curbs on full agricultural production. A bloc of midwestern Republican and southern Democratic members of Congress opposed replacing market mechanisms with outright government payments to farmers and setting limits on supports to individual farms. The Brannan Plan went nowhere since neither side would compromise. Instead, the conservative farm bloc passed the Agricultural Act of 1949 with high price supports.

After his victory in the 1948 election, Truman found that a Democratic-dominated Congress did not lead to a Fair Deal Congress, and his domestic agenda suffered. Conservatives on Capitol Hill stymied Truman's hopes to transform farm policy just as they blocked liberal health care, labor, education, and civil rights legislation. Like them, the Brannan Plan was both a product and victim of the 1948 political fighting.

According to Dean, the failure of the Brannan Plan showed a failure to integrate agriculture within the general American economy and to contend with the huge advances in farm productivity since the 1930s. Since then, federal programs to bolster farm commodity prices have shifted between production controls and direct "deficiency" payments to farmers to bridge the gap between the market and the target prices. The United States is not alone; no advanced industrial economy has been able entirely to eliminate agricultural commodity price supports once they are adopted.

Dean has written an informed study of a critical period in farm policy when the United States refused to leave farmers to the uncertainties of the marketplace but would not alter them according to Truman's liberal vision of the countryside. The author shows a firm grasp of the topic by weaving between the White House, the department of agriculture, and Capitol Hill to tell his story. He could have gone beyond the "inside-the-beltway" perspective to more fully address the contemporary conditions and concerns among farmers and consumers. However, this is a fine work that shows the

interaction of politics and policy in American farm programs.

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DEBORAH KISATSKY. *The United States and the European Right, 1945–1955*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 237. Cloth \$39.95, CD \$9.95.

This revised dissertation offers a welcome addition to the ever-growing body of scholarly literature on the mechanisms and trajectories of America's post-World War II policies toward Western Europe. Deborah Kiszatzky concentrates on West Germany but blends into her story developments in France and Italy. Digesting an enormous amount of secondary literature and exploiting source materials from American and German archives, all documented in over fifty pages of footnotes, the author attempts to offer both a new interpretational angle on the United States' early Cold War strategy and some exemplary case studies.

The United States, so the main argument goes, was neither guided exclusively by anticommunist concerns, as the "Cold War paradigm" (p. 3) suggests, nor by the positive aim of democratizing postwar Europe, as a triumphalist narrative desires. Opportunism in the service of reaffirming its own societal system and intolerance vis-à-vis deviating opinions, not the search for a new order, motivated the United States to seek allies wherever possible in the conservative spectrum, even if this strategy undermined the credibility of American-style democracy. Kiszatzky condenses her observations into three big "C"s: wishing to extend the triad of anticommunism, capitalist economy, and Western alliance into the future, the United States sought to *cooperate* with leading Christian Democrats like Konrad Adenauer and Alcide De Gasperi; *coopted* rightist extremists regardless of their dubious past, while dismissing their potential to destabilize the domestic order; and *contained* neutralist, noncommunist nationalists who resisted the extension of America's empire. This is a captivating categorization; hardly any historian in the last thirty years, however, would have disputed that the United States' overall policy was "neither fully rational nor consistent" (p. 130).

Kiszatzky expands on her three main categories with varying depth. As far as cooperation with conservative leaders in Germany and Italy is concerned, this book treats well-known territory, as when the author reminds the reader repeatedly that Adenauer used cooperation with the United States as a vehicle to advance West German self-determination. The chapter on containment is illuminating yet narrowly conceived. It focuses on the case of Otto Strasser, an antisemitic, Catholic, right-wing politician who fled Germany in 1934, ultimately found refuge in Canada, and continued to promote nonalignment for postwar Germany. In painstaking detail, Kiszatzky describes Strasser's attempts to obtain West German citizenship, an effort that the United States and the Federal Republic successfully ob-

structed for many years. But the Strasser story demonstrates well how keenly the United States objected to any forms of neutralism. The chapter on cooptation is the most fascinating one—and its content particularly appalling. The author traces the story of the Technischer Dienst (technical service), a suborganization of the Bund Deutscher Jugend (convention of German youth) in which many former Wehrmacht and Waffen SS members rallied to create a clandestine, paramilitary network to perform guerilla warfare in case of a Soviet invasion. Even if access to sources is restricted (a problem that runs through the book), Kiszatzky argues convincingly that the United States sponsored this endeavor through covert channels. But here, too, the issue of relevance needs to be addressed; as the author states, the Technischer Dienst remained a fringe group, the "U.S. strategy of co-opting German nationalists bore little fruit," and the United States "never secured full loyalty" from them (pp. 82–83). The case of "Operation Gladio" was more severe; members of this CIA-sponsored paramilitary network were responsible for serious attempts to destroy Italy's democracy as late as the 1970s, as documented in the book's last chapter.

Ultimately, Kiszatzky interprets cooperation, cooptation, and containment as variations of a much larger theme: that of stabilizing America's hegemony in the world and opposing any counterhegemonic tendencies. There is a heavy dose of Antonio Gramsci in her opening chapter, blended with a now classical Cold War revisionism, world systems theory, and postmodernism. This is an interesting conceptual mix, one, however, that is not always applied with vigor; the idea of "hegemony" becomes increasingly metaphorical and repetitive over the course of the book and tends to underestimate endemic developments in Western Europe itself. And unlike other neo-Gramscians, the author is not really interested in the modes of capitalist production. One would also need to address American efforts to train systematically new functional elites in Western Europe, export a managerial pragmatism, and create transatlantic networks of communication, as pointed out in recent studies by Volker Berghahn, Julia Angster, and Michael Hochgeschwender. Yet this book deserves attention. It should be read with an eye on how the United States applied similar political techniques to the European Left, and it rightly highlights the blend of opportunism, self-referentiality, and cynicism inherent in the United States' approach to Western Europe during the early Cold War—and, one has to add, beyond that period and regarding other parts of the world, too.

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RANDALL B. WOODS. *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition*. New York: Free Press. 2006. Pp. x, 957. \$35.00.

Randall Bennett Woods's biography of Lyndon B. Johnson enters a crowded field that includes works by Doris Kearns, Paul Conkin, and Robert Dallek, and

Robert Caro's ongoing multivolume study. So the first question confronting any reviewer is: do we need another book on LBJ? Woods merits a positive response because he presents a fresh portrait of an altruistic liberal in contrast to the manipulative, power-hungry politico served up by Caro in particular. His book also benefits from research into recently declassified documents, Oval Office tapes, and interviews with top Johnson aides.

The tone of this biography is set by its exploration of the shaping influences on Johnson's politics and the eulogy with which the author chooses to end it. Woods shows LBJ as molded by the prairie populism-progressive of his grandfather and father (Samuel Ealy Johnson Sr. and Jr.) that regarded an activist state as a force for public good. He gravitated naturally into the orbit of New Deal liberalism in the 1930s, to whose values he hewed throughout his political career. For Woods, Johnson's greatest achievement as president was to improve the lives of Americans whom the New Deal had bypassed. He ends the book by quoting Ralph Ellison, who observed that Johnson was unloved by liberals and would have to "settle for being recognized as the greatest American President for the poor and the Negroes" (p. 884).

The question of why Johnson could not find a place in liberal hearts despite his record of reform inevitably preoccupies Woods. He explains this in part in terms of the clash of styles between Johnson's Texas provincialism and the cosmopolitanism of northeastern liberals. More significantly, northeastern liberals wanted an inspirational leader in the mold of John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt (whom they remembered as the lion rather than as the fox that he frequently was). As a southerner, however, Johnson had a different calculus of political realism; while inwardly liberal, he recognized the need to be outwardly moderate to prevent liberalism being destroyed by the increasingly powerful forces of conservatism in postwar America. If Roosevelt's style was well suited to the requirements of presidential leadership in the 1930s, LBJ's was equally so to the mid 1960s when consensus-building and the capacity to persuade others to rise above parochial interests were needed.

Of course, Johnson's domestic achievements have to be weighed against the problematic consequences of his Americanization of the Vietnam War. In this instance his desire for consensus was severely flawed because he was unwilling to risk the political fallout of losing Vietnam to communism, even though he had no expectation that military escalation would bring victory. Woods is surefooted in his analysis of Johnson's decision making in Vietnam and his dawning recognition that the Saigon regime would never deliver the domestic reforms that were a vital political supplement to American military power. Overall, he makes a persuasive case that Vietnam was not Johnson's war but a product of the broader strategy and inherited commitments of Cold War containment. Johnson himself deemed it a product of Kennedy's legacy to demonstrate America's determi-

nation to resist communist expansion in the Third World.

While Woods is sympathetic to the political Johnson, he has reservations about the person, notably his numerous adulteries and his generally insensitive attitude to his wife, Lady Bird. On a related point, more could have been made of his humiliating treatment of Hubert Humphrey for daring to question the wisdom of Vietnam escalation in 1965. Even on the political front, Johnson is open to greater criticism than he receives from Woods for not doing more to ensure the well-being of his party. Although his pre-executive career was inextricably linked to preservation of Democratic unity, he paid scant attention in the White House to the condition of the national party and left it exposed to defeat in 1968.

It is unfortunate that a work of this quality is blemished by too many minor factual errors. Woods has a tendency to place senators, such as Lister Hill, George Smathers, John Stennis, and Frank Lausche, in the wrong states. Leverett Saltonstall, a senator, is identified as house minority leader instead of Joseph Martin—and the correct designation is speaker, since the reference is to 1953–1954 (p. 316). The release of the movie *Red River* is wrongly dated as 1945 rather than 1947. And JFK's "*Ich bin ein Berliner*" speech of June 1963 is presented as predating Johnson's vice-presidential mission to Berlin in August 1961 (p. 391).

Such carping aside, this is a very well-researched, engagingly written, and balanced biography that adds significantly to our understanding of the last liberal president of the twentieth century. It will challenge historians to consider LBJ more positively as the great champion of liberalism rather than as the president who exhausted its political appeal.

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DAVID HENRY ANTHONY III. *Max Yergan: Race Man, Internationalist, Cold Warrior*. New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 376. \$49.00.

This book tells the story of one of the most intriguing African Americans of modern times. Born in 1892, Max Yergan was a pioneer YMCA missionary in India and Africa during World War I and the 1920s, a leading black radical during the 1930s and early 1940s, and a prominent cold warrior from the late 1940s until his death in 1975. His life, as David Henry Anthony III suggests, affords readers the opportunity to explore some of the most important developments of the twentieth century, most centrally the problem of the color line around the globe.

Raised in Raleigh, North Carolina, during the heyday of Booker T. Washington's influence, Yergan grew up believing in the importance of education and uplift. Pursuing this creed, he enrolled at Shaw University, where he began his long association with the YMCA and commitment to Christian service. In the early 1920s, Yergan became one of the first African Amer-

ican missionaries in Africa, working as a field secretary for the YMCA in South Africa. There he promulgated Washington's ideals of education and uplift mixed with a touch of pan-Africanism.

Yergan's career with the YMCA reached its zenith in 1930 with the "Bantu European Student Christian Association Conference." Held in Fort Hare, this "unprecedented interracial . . . gathering" brought together a "veritable who's who of South African liberalism" as well as racial moderates from around the world. "Such a conclave," which Yergan spearheaded, "would have been a major event anywhere in the world at the time, including the United States," writes Anthony, "but that it occurred in South Africa was astounding" (p. 106).

Even before the conference, however, Yergan had begun to drift away from what Anthony calls "collaborative neutralism." He befriended a number of notable black leftists, including Paul and Eslanda Robeson; traveled to the Soviet Union, which he saw in very favorable terms; and grew increasingly disillusioned with the white Afrikaner leaders of South Africa, who were augmenting their restrictions on the indigenous black majority. By 1935, at the latest, Anthony writes, Yergan had completed his "momentous ideological transformation." Rather than seeing Christian redemption as the key to advancement in Africa (and America), he began to espouse radical views and to associate himself with a variety of leftist organizations.

Resettling in New York, Yergan became one of the leaders of the National Negro Congress, a black labor organization initially headed by A. Philip Randolph. He also became the moving force behind the International Committee on African Affairs (ICAA), and an adjunct professor at the City College of New York. At City College he offered a path-breaking course on Negro History and Culture; with the ICAA (which became the Council on African Affairs in the 1940s) he helped organize notable conferences on Africa. Residing in Harlem, Yergan played a large role in producing the *People's Voice*, a weekly newspaper headed by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. that, particularly in the immediate post-World War II years, promoted the cause of self-determination in Africa and elsewhere.

While a number of prominent black radicals broke with the Communist Party well before Yergan, his break took him much farther to the right than did theirs. As the red scare intensified in the United States, Yergan distanced himself from previous friends (such as Robeson) and causes. Just as important, perhaps to buy himself and his family some security from the venom of federal investigators, Yergan served as a friendly witness before congressional committees, worked with a variety of conservative anticommunist associations, and spoke out in favor of a number of white regimes in Africa and against alleged communist influences in the region. For instance, in the summer of 1952, Yergan traveled throughout Europe and Africa to, in his own words "warn Africans against the snare and delusion of Communist propaganda" (p. 243). Nel-

son Mandela, among others, described Yergan's visit as "very suspicious," adding that Yergan did not utter "a word of condemnation of the racial policies" of South Africa (p. 245). Indeed, over time, Yergan went so far as to describe South Africa as "a bright spot on the continent of Africa" (p. 263) and to defend Ian Smith's breakaway white supremacist regime in Rhodesia.

In the final analysis, Anthony does not convincingly explain why Yergan became such an apologist for apartheid. He suggests that personal concerns drove him to the right but does not support this claim. Furthermore, the book does not flow as well as it could, in part because Anthony relies too much on lengthy block quotations. This said, Anthony's study stands as a significant addition to the literature on the African diaspora and as an overdue and well-researched examination of Max Yergan's life.

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ROBERT E. HERZSTEIN. *Henry R. Luce, Time, and the American Crusade in Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 346. \$30.00.

Robert E. Herzstein's new book on Henry Luce builds on his previous biography, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century* (1994). Here the focus is on Luce's obsession with East Asia—China in particular—and how it shaped the way he managed *Time-Life* publications. Thus the book is less a biography of Luce and more a study of U.S.-China relations from the 1930s through 1950s as seen through the lens of Luce in private correspondence, publications he edited, and the wielding of personal influence on policy in Washington and elsewhere.

The author's thesis is clear enough: Luce badly distorted realities in the field by refusing to accept the decline of the Chiang Kaishek regime or the rise of the Chinese Communist Party as a popular force. After World War II, Luce consistently pushed for military intervention to save China (later Korea and Vietnam as well). For Luce the "fall" of China was a personal tragedy, which pushed him to take an ever harder anticommunist line, including support of witch hunts during the 1950s in the State Department and journalism circles. By the 1960s the misrepresentation in *Time-Life* publications of what was going on in Asia finally caught up with Luce and doomed his publications to second-tier status. But during the heyday of the 1940s and 1950s, Luce's influence over public opinion and policy making in Washington is difficult to exaggerate. The outcome in policy terms was disastrous and led directly, Herzstein argues, to the tragic eight-year American war in Vietnam.

The great strength of the book is in the author's masterful use of private papers and archival sources as he carefully charts the course of Luce's crusade on behalf of Chiang Kaishek's China. The book is sprinkled with comments by Luce himself in unguarded moments as well as in private correspondence with a wide variety of

acquaintances. The text is derived basically from primary sources. Only rarely does Herzstein refer to the work of other scholars, yet it is clear that he accepts the framework of leading historians of U.S.-China relations like Michael Hunt, Michael Schaller, Warren Cohen, Chris Jespersion, and others. The author relies heavily also on the views of veteran China watchers who were contemporary to the times, like the academician John King Fairbank and diplomat John Melby.

Where Herzstein is best and most original is in the discussion of the intricacies of Washington foreign policy decision making and the way Luce understood and manipulated the process in support of "his" China. As an expert on Luce, his circle of friends, and his editorial team at *Time*, Herzstein demonstrates well how often Luce was successful in shaping China policy in Washington. Luce's support of presidential candidates from Wendell Wilkie to Dwight D. Eisenhower was tied to commitments for change in China policies. The details are fascinating of how he supported and then turned his back on characters as diverse politically as Edward Carter of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Whittaker Chambers, and Joseph McCarthy. What emerges from the book is also the old boy east coast Ivy League outlook and network of connections that Luce honored throughout his career. Ties of this sort to Ambassador Joseph Kennedy led Luce to be surprisingly supportive of Kennedy's son, a Democrat, for the presidency in 1960.

The book has frustratingly little to say about the growth of the China lobby or the role the Chinese government played in turning it into a formidable institutional force in media and policy circles in New York and Washington, D.C. The name Hollington Tong—Chiang Kaishek's impresario of foreign propaganda—is not mentioned. Aside from Arthur Kohlberg, the more credible China lobbyists like Walter Judd or J. B. Powell are barely visible. Little is said about the Thomas Corcoran-T.V. Song dimension of the lobby. In other words, the Chinese side of the story in the Luce-China relationship has yet to be told. This is in part the result of the author being out of sympathy with Chiang and his regime. He takes the disillusionment with the Guomindang regime of Fairbank, John Hersey, and Theodore White at face value, removing it from historical context.

What Herzstein has achieved is a masterful account of Henry Luce's tragically flawed crusade on behalf of Chiang's China, and later Diem's Vietnam. Both led to great distortions in the name of objective reporting on the pages of *Time-Life* in the 1940s and 1950s. Herzstein concludes that it was the effect on public opinion of this single, well-placed missionary son that, when combined with the use of personal influence in Washington, had such devastating impact on U.S. policy in Asia. In conclusion, Herzstein goes so far as to suggest that had there been no *Time-Life* or Henry Luce, U.S. East Asian policies, especially during the 1950s, might have been significantly more realistic and certainly different.

STEPHEN R. MACKINNON
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JONATHAN NASHEL. *Edward Lansdale's Cold War*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 278. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

Covert action invariably contains an element of farce. This is underlined by Jonathan Nashel's intriguing analysis of Edward Lansdale, perhaps the most famous of the Central Intelligence Agency's cold warriors. Quite simply, most warfare is noisy, and so the idea of the CIA presiding over "secret armies" and "silent battles" was always a contradiction in terms. This is why so few of the major Cold War actions stayed covert for very long and why only a minority were successful. This held true for Lansdale; after his initial success against the Huk rebellion in the Philippines, his record was distinctly patchy, with modest achievements in Vietnam in the 1950s followed by botched operations designed to assassinate Fidel Castro in the early 1960s. Such ill-considered escapades pointed the way toward the Congressional investigations of intelligence in the 1970s. We are not surprised to learn that Oliver North regarded himself as a Lansdale protégé.

Lansdale served under Wild Bill Donovan in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during World War II, an agency that bequeathed the CIA a strong activist and paramilitary tradition. In the late 1940s, Lansdale was despatched to the Philippines to develop counterinsurgency against a growing rebellion by the Huks. Lansdale was mostly a psywar operator, who used a mixture of development programs, bribes, catchy songs, and gimmicks to shore up the government and accelerate the success of his close friend, Ramon Magsaysay, the Filipino defense secretary. The Philippines was Lansdale's heyday, but this success was never repeated, and thereafter he always had a bright future behind him.

Recognizing that there is already a substantial official biography of Lansdale, written by Cecil Currey, and also an autobiography, Nashel has opted to explore interpretations of Lansdale in history, in literature, and in film. Given Lansdale's interest in public relations, fact and fiction come together in complex ways here and this is a rich seam to explore. Many of these supposedly "top secret" operators were in fact terribly famous, none more so than Lansdale who was often alleged to be the model for both Graham Greene's *The Quiet American* (1955) and William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's *The Ugly American* (1958).

Greene always denied that there was any connection between his character "Alden Pyle" and Lansdale. This did not prevent Lansdale from engaging with the book. Lansdale was more obviously the basis for the figure of Colonel Edwin Hillandale in *The Ugly American*, which argues that the United States was failing to connect with its Third World allies and needed to be rescued by the cultural intelligence of individuals like Hillandale. Despite Lansdale's genuine interest in the indigenous traditions of Southeast Asia, Nashel is suspicious of claims that he served as some kind of cultural interpreter. Instead, he is inclined to see him more as a pros-

elytizer and missionary, perhaps in the tradition of figures like Pearl S. Buck, who declared that if the American way was to prevail, it must prevail in Asia.

While this analysis works well, the author fundamentally dislikes his subject and this begins to grate in the second half of the book. Lansdale served under President John F. Kennedy as the Pentagon's assistant undersecretary for special operations and thereafter was sent to back to Vietnam by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Lansdale's last celluloid incarnation was as the mysterious "Colonel Y" in Oliver Stone's 1991 film *JFK*. After 1960, Nashel is inclined to dismiss Lansdale as an alcoholic and a "harmless curiosity." This assessment is based largely on anecdotal evidence; Nashel has not consulted the better accounts of Lansdale's fortunes during the Kennedy era such as Richard H. Schultz's *The Secret War Against Hanoi: The Untold Story of Spies, Saboteurs, and Covert Warriors in North Vietnam* (1999). The reality is more complex. Lansdale continued to move in the highest circles and had more than a little to do with civil approaches to counterinsurgency preferred by the Kennedy administration.

By the closing sections of the book Nashel has all but abandoned discussion of Lansdale, preferring to offer us postcolonial meditations on Vietnam's more recent past with many references to Motown, Coca-Cola, Ralph Lauren, and Dona Karan. Nashel is a cultural historian and a self-confessed admirer of "smart" writing. He has little time for pedestrian diplomatic historians who labor in what he calls the "La Brea tar pits" of the Cold War archives. However, more attention to the writings of the latter would have allowed him to avoid some obvious mistakes. Typically, Lansdale is mostly described (incorrectly) as a "CIA agent" rather than a CIA officer. If this study does not suit all tastes, then no matter. Lansdale left us an enormous personal archive, and one suspects that Nashel's book will not be the last on the subject.

RICHARD J. ALDRICH
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EDMUND F. WEHRLE. *Between a River and a Mountain: The AFL-CIO and the Vietnam War*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 304. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

This book fills an important gap in the historical literature, not just in the history of U.S. labor but in an oft-neglected element of Vietnamese history. Edmund F. Wehrle treats readers to a much-needed review of the relationship between labor in the United States and South Vietnam during the war years.

The course and aftermath of that tragic conflict witnessed a generational changing of the guard in the academic communities studying Southeast Asia and the American labor movement. Young radicals brought us a withering critique of American foreign and domestic policy, highlighting much that had eluded the Asia hands and labor intellectuals of the early postwar era. But "concerned Asian scholars" and "new labor histo-

rians" have their blind spots, too, and Wehrle's genuine attempt to understand the motivations of American and South Vietnamese labor leaders helps illuminate some of them.

Wehrle deftly shows how each of the two labor movements was bedeviled by a paradox. They were charged with an unbearable burden: reconciling their nature as mediating institutions of civil society with a Manichean Cold War environment that constantly forced them to take sides. We have by now been treated to many exposés of the hidden history of the AFL-CIO's postwar foreign escapades. But whereas the radical new labor history tended to dismiss American labor's anticommunism as a corrupt—or at best naïve—project of class collaboration, Wehrle actually takes the time to get into the heads of George Meany and his colleagues and understand what they were trying to do. The author demonstrates that Meany tried to create a coherent ideology of "free trade unionism" where autonomous labor organizations like those in the AFL-CIO formed an important part of a plural civil society. It was a social role that contrasted sharply with the communist trade unions, which were mere tools of the state and party for controlling labor.

Meany was not wrong about the nature of the Soviet bloc labor organizations. But his logic led the AFL-CIO ever more deeply into collaboration with the U.S. government and even the Central Intelligence Agency in attempts to nurture "free trade unions" abroad as bulwarks against communism. How much cooperation with the American government's foreign policy apparatus was possible before labor's autonomy was hopelessly compromised?

The Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT) was similarly "pinched between a mountain and a river" (p. 82), as one of the Vietnamese union leaders noted. Here again Wehrle mines terrain often ignored by radical scholars, showing the remarkable success of the CVT in building real, independent trade unions in the South Vietnamese working class. Persevering courageously in the face of violence dealt by both the Viet Cong and the South Vietnamese government—going so far at one point as to run a slate of candidates in elections, with great success—they constituted a rare social force trying to build a real pluralistic democracy in Vietnam. But their abject dependence on AFL-CIO and American government patrons for protection from the hard men of the left and right meant that their real autonomy was always in doubt.

Wehrle errs, I think, by assigning the Vietnam War considerable responsibility for the subsequent crisis of American labor. The war transformed everything about the American political scene *except* the labor movement: American unions remained loyal to a liberal Cold War world view even as that perspective otherwise disappeared from the national stage. The challenges that would decimate labor lay elsewhere: with trade, with deindustrialization, with a failed code of labor law. But in recovering a chunk of the *real* hidden history of AFL-CIO foreign policy—the movement's sincere attempt

and tragic failure to build free trade unions in the third world—the author has performed a singular service.

CLAYTON SINYAI
*Laborers International Union of
North America*

PAUL D. MORENO, *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 334. \$49.95.

In this book, Paul D. Moreno, author of a previous history of affirmative action and employment law, explains how white workers and trade unions restricted opportunities for African American workers in the labor market from the antebellum era to the twenty-first century. Moreno uses neo-classical economic theory to make his case. He asserts that a free market seeks the most efficient and economical use of the labor. As rational and calculating individuals, employers prefer to hire workers without preference as to race, ethnicity, or gender. Unions, by contrast, control and reduce the supply of labor, raising its cost; unions thus regulate the supply of labor by restricting entry on the basis of race or gender. Moreno focuses on how unions denied membership and job opportunities to African Americans.

Because a majority of white workers remained outside the union movement, they used their political power to obtain public policies that legitimated discrimination in labor markets. Moreno maintains that trade unions and public policies that benefit them not only discriminate against African Americans, but that they harm all citizens, including union members who win short-term gains at the cost of longer-term employment opportunities.

Moreno's application of neo-classical economic theory to historical discrimination in the labor market has a basis in fact. Trade unions do seek to regulate the supply of labor. They control access to apprenticeship for skilled trades and limit union membership in trades where employers obtain workers through union hiring halls or sign closed-shop agreements. Moreno provides abundant evidence and numerous instances of how, where, and when the railroad brotherhoods, the building trades unions, metal trades unions, and other organizations of skilled white workers denied membership and jobs to African Americans. Thus, for most of its history, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), an organization dominated by skilled workers, refused to combat racial discrimination in the labor market. Moreno also asserts that in sectors of the labor market where employers controlled hiring and unions were absent before the late 1930s, managers heeded the preferences of their white employees and discriminatory public policies to deny opportunity to African American workers. He suggests that when unionism penetrated mass-production industry through the aegis of the New Deal state, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions solidified pre-existing forms of discrimination and added new forms of discrimination to

the skilled trades. Rather than hypothesizing that the forms of job discrimination that were and still can be found in CIO unions resulted partly from the hiring policies of firms that had absolute control of employment before they were unionized and remained largely free to hire whomever they preferred after they bargained with unions, Moreno chooses to hold unions and white workers responsible for most discrimination in the labor market.

That unions and white workers often chose to discriminate against African Americans cannot be denied. For anyone who wants evidence to prove that charge, Moreno provides chapter and verse. His larger thesis, however, must be read with caution. He is often loose in his use of language and in his rendering of the past. One must question a historian who alludes to an alliance between John Calhoun and northern labor activists to protect plantation slavery with nary a mention of the "cotton Whigs" or the "masters of the loom" (p. 14). Or one who characterizes Reconstruction governments in the southern states as forms of "proletarian rule" that reeked of corruption and redistributed property unjustly (p. 33), while Reconstruction "ended in 1868" (p. 38). Some historians might question the rosy picture that Moreno paints of African American economic opportunity and material prosperity in the redeemed South, or his notion that the Jim Crow system developed despite employer resistance (p. 69). Or his frequent assertions that all strikes are characterized by violence and that the unions associated with the AFL practiced "trade union socialism" (p. 75). Only a singular scholar would characterize coal mine operators as "racial egalitarians" (p. 106). It is odder yet to write that the 1914 Clayton Act "implied that union labor was not a commodity but that nonunion labor would continue to be" (p. 120). Under the Wagner Act, according to Moreno, "employers were forbidden to tell the truth about union racial policies while unions were free to lie about the employer's position" (p. 228). Moreno refers loosely to militant African American automobile workers as "Black Power communists" (p. 259), and to trade unionists as "socialists." He cites the economist Paul Samuelson as follows: "The whole history of unionism has been . . . in determining how industries in decline are accelerated toward their extinction" (p. 277). Moreno finds that in the year 2000 African Americans controlled a labor movement (AFL-CIO) that had fostered an American socialism (p. 278).

Let Moreno speak for himself in explaining why he wrote this book. "Anticapitalist fables and folklore," he writes, "have obscured the way in which free markets have liberated and humanized our condition . . . freedom and equal opportunity produce unequal results. To condemn this kind of competition is to condemn freedom" (p. 300). His book disputes "the myth of labor's inequality of bargaining power, the myth that violence was more often used against than by unions, and

the myth that labor conflict is between labor and capital rather than among workers" (p. 300).

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PETER F. LAU. *Democracy Rising: South Carolina and the Fight for Black Equality since 1865*. (Civil Rights and the Struggle for Black Equality in the Twentieth Century.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2006. Pp. xiii, 334. \$40.00.

This book is an important contribution to the historiography on the African American fight for civil rights and equality. First of all, a synthesis of the black struggle in South Carolina fills a large gap and ties in neatly with the growing body of scholarship that in recent years has probed the history of the civil rights movement at the state level. A study of South Carolina has been overdue, and Peter F. Lau provides us with a highly readable account that traces the struggle of black South Carolinians from the end of the Civil War to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954) and its aftermath. The book is based on impressive research in archival and oral history collections and makes good use of the vast secondary literature. Lau's vivid narrative brings to life his protagonists and the places where they fought for racial justice, but he also integrates his story with a critical perspective on what he calls a "tragic history [of the civil rights movement] constructed around the search for lost opportunities" for sweeping social change (p. 11) that were destroyed by the anticommunist hysteria of the early Cold War and eventually replaced by a supposedly narrow agenda of desegregation, voting rights, and legal equality. Lau deliberately challenges this new master narrative and persuasively demonstrates that it has little to do with the perspective of black activists in South Carolina who "rarely made sharp distinctions between civil rights gains and economic justice, between legal-legislative victories and democratic transformation" (p. 231).

The favorite target of the new orthodoxy has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), whose legalistic and bureaucratic approach, it is said, was out of touch with the aspirations of the black masses. Like other recent accounts written by Adam Fairclough, Mark Schneider, and myself, Lau's book demolishes this distorting picture and restores the NAACP to its appropriate place at the center of the struggle for black equality. For more than five decades, he concludes, the Association "proved the black civil rights insurgency primary vehicle, giving shape to individual lives, local communities, South Carolina, the United States, and the wider world" (p. 225). Although he emphasizes the courage, perseverance, and resourcefulness of ordinary black people fighting racial oppression in the often vicious and brutal atmosphere of the Palmetto state, Lau also shows that the national leadership of the NAACP played an im-

portant role in encouraging and guiding this activism. For example, when the founders of the NAACP branch in Greenville assumed that women would play a mere auxiliary role, NAACP field secretary William Pickens made it clear that women had to be included as equal members (p. 98). As for the stereotype that the NAACP represented the "black elite," Lau gives us the wonderful story of Levi Byrd, a plumber who could not write a letter in standard English but founded the NAACP branch of Cheraw and was the driving force behind creation the NAACP state conference in South Carolina. Finally, the author refutes a key argument of the "tragic school," namely that the decline of the "popular front" left in the late 1940s was tantamount to a retrenchment of the black insurgency in the South (p. 175). As a matter of fact, NAACP membership in South Carolina swelled at the end of this decade, with the number of branches nearly doubling between 1946 and 1955. The NAACP legal campaigns against the white primary, school segregation, and unequal pay for black teachers as well as ongoing efforts at voter registration, Lau shows, successfully mobilized black South Carolinians at the grass-roots level and were seen as a radical challenge to Jim Crow by both the civil rights activists and the guardians of white supremacy.

Lau ends his story with the aftermath of *Brown*. This is perhaps a bit unfortunate because readers surely would have liked to learn more about the nonviolent direct action phase of the black struggle in South Carolina and the role of the NAACP in particular. By taking 1960 as a caesura, Lau implicitly revalidates the narrative that distinguishes the "radical sixties" from the "moderate fifties." All the same, this excellent book demonstrates that it is possible to write civil rights history with great empathy for local people without succumbing to "local peopleitis" and holding the historical actors to the normative standard of either triumphalist or tragic narratives devised by historians in search of a usable past.

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CHARLES C. BOLTON. *The Hardest Deal of All: The Battle over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870–1980*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2005. Pp. xxii, 278. \$45.00.

The centerpiece of the conflict over the modern struggle for racial equality was the school, as Charles C. Bolton persuasively argues in this empirical tour de force. Involving state resources, the prospect of social mixing, and the threat of lost racial privilege, the integration debate could not help but ignite intense passions. For whites, the axiomatic principle was the maintenance of racial separation—at almost any cost. For blacks, the issue was less clear. Would separate but equal serve the interests of African Americans in a society resolutely committed to white supremacy? Could integration succeed when whites devised countless subterfuges to make a mockery out of equality? Did land-

mark court decisions mean very much when they lacked federal enforcement?

Bolton takes us through familiar territory in the first few chapters: the development of segregated schooling, courtesy in part of Supreme Court complicity; the growing disparities between black and white schooling; the paradox of segregated schools as a source of African American independence and a millstone of economic powerlessness; the failure of public schooling in a chronically impoverished state; the rise of black activism in the 1940s, and the federal government as simultaneous source of desperately needed funding and incipient threat to segregated education. While familiar, Bolton captures the magnitude of educational inequality with compelling documentation. He also provides details that few other accounts have included. For example, the author probes beneath the obvious significance of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) decision to offer us this gem: in the *Cummings v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899) decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ratified a Mississippi court ruling that relieved state school boards of the responsibility of equitably distributing funds between the black and white systems. In other words, the Supreme Court provided the South a way to circumvent social equality ("separate but equal") and then winked at the ruse by permitting states to interpret for themselves what the formula required. The parallels with the second *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955) ruling, permitting integration "with all deliberate speed," are striking. In Bolton's analysis, the federal government and the courts operated at once as the ultimate sanction for segregated education and the most powerful spur for change.

Yet "separate but equal" ultimately became an albatross in Mississippi's tormented history. Despite intransigent opposition to integration, which ranged from proposals for a constitutional amendment permitting the state to dissolve its public schools to the notorious Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, progress did occur. Federal interest in education, black teacher activism, and the currents of change swirling about the postwar era compelled Mississippi's state legislators to take the formula seriously. Equalization only really began, Bolton argues, when state leaders realized that it was one of few alternatives to full-blown racial integration. Pressure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), from federal courts, and from astonishingly courageous black teachers—the latter of whom invariably faced retaliation for taking a stand on racial justice—pushed the state's white elite to remedy the deplorable deficiencies in black education. Rallying around equalization and buoyed by federal inaction, Mississippi arrived at the doorstep of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 having successfully defied *Brown v. Board of Education*. Into the maelstrom of the 1960s, state school boards were still clinging to segregation. This time it was through the chicanery of "freedom of choice," which placed the responsibility for dismantling segregation squarely on the shoulders of black parents and students. Only a Fifth

Circuit Court of Appeals decision finally ended the dual system, or so it seemed. Bolton's evidence suggests that the obstructionism continued. Many white teachers refused to instruct black students. For their part, school boards permitted segregated classrooms in supposedly integrated schools. The indecency continued into the Reagan era, as white students fled the elementary schools of Hattiesburg when a circuit ruled in 1987 that they had yet to achieve racial balance.

As much as Bolton credits black community action with the dismantling of segregated schools, the legal and administrative sphere dominates the analysis. Despite claims that "a steady stream of legal action by black parents" was key, the weight of Bolton's evidence suggests that "federal intervention" was indeed the decisive force (p. 169.) This is particularly critical since local whites were clearly winning the ground war against integration as late as 1969. If this is the case, then Bolton's book raises important questions about the limits of community action in fostering change. This interpretation runs against the current historiographical trend emphasizing local forces in the achievement of racial justice.

This book complements existing histories of NAACP legal action and community-level studies of segregated education. It provides a sustained discussion of the conflict over segregation in a state that was central to the modern civil rights movement. Equally important, it raises questions about the challenge of changing hearts and minds in a society that resists meaningful racial equality in the school, the supposed wellspring of American democracy.

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MATTHEW J. COUNTRYMAN. *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 417. \$42.50.

Matthew J. Countryman's book explores the complexities of race, class, and space in the northern civil rights movement. In the past decade, historians such as Robert O. Self, Martha Biondi, Thomas Sugrue, Heather Thompson, and Nikhil Singh have revealed many ways in which the struggle for civil rights in urban northern cities was not merely an appendage to the southern movement but an important fight in its own right against poverty, discrimination in housing, employment, welfare, and public education, police brutality, and neglect by entrenched political machines. Countryman's study of Philadelphia in the post-World War II years builds on this work by addressing the successes and failures of several generations of activism, from "mid-century American liberalism" to black nationalism, and finally to the Black Power movement.

Countryman argues that that despite a few largely symbolic gains, the mid-century liberal civil rights movement failed to address the real economic and social problems of black Philadelphians. The failures of

the liberal coalitions sparked activism in a new generation of black nationalist leaders. These leaders used economic boycotts, confrontational picketing, self-education, and neighborhood organizing to fight for many goals such as ending discrimination in the construction industry, gaining more community control over schools, ameliorating the conditions in urban slums through better housing policies, ending police brutality, and enabling more poor black Philadelphians to receive welfare. When new coalitions of Black Power advocates failed to effect broad changes, many activists turned to political organizing to make significant gains in electing "independent" black Democrat candidates to the state legislature and to the office of mayor.

Countryman recasts the northern civil rights movement, particularly with regard to the activities of black nationalists. He posits that the northern movement was not only a significant part of the overall national civil rights strategy, but that it also was reacting against a unique northern set of conditions: namely, the failure of the liberal government to fulfill its promises of democracy. As Philadelphia's governmental structures failed to prosecute claims of job discrimination and to provide promised equal job and housing opportunities, African Americans felt betrayed by the coalition of white legislators and black middle-class leaders who fought for these advancements.

Many African Americans began to conclude that reliance on their own community, rather than on the largesse of white progressives and middle-class black leaders in liberal civil rights organizations, was the only way to effect change. From the "400 Ministers" who successfully called on their congregations to boycott industries that practiced discrimination, to the shift of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the 1960s to black-only confrontational protests against construction site discrimination, these activists moved towards the tenets of self-reliance, and ultimately, to black nationalism. Countryman locates the origins of Black Power in the mid-1960s as a combining of forces like the Black People's Unity Movement (BPUM), the Black Coalition, the Black Panthers, and the Black Economic Development Conference. These organizations promoted racial consciousness and pride as well as community control over important economic, political, and educational institutions. Countryman argues that the black nationalists and Black Power activists offered an alternative strategy of activism that did not have to rely on middle-class black leadership or white patronage structures. Black Power advocates continued to encourage local democracy in neighborhood efforts throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Countryman details the work of dozens of civil rights organizations, from traditional to radical, which worked to reshape the racial landscape of Philadelphia. By explaining the origins, membership, and goals of each group, Countryman highlights the complex and often contested relationship between middle-class and working poor African Americans and between white

progressives and radical black activists. Countryman effectively ties the work of Philadelphians into the larger American civil rights movement by putting these organizations' activities in conversation with larger national trends.

Overall, this work is well argued, extremely well documented, and persuasive. The only issue that Countryman does not address fully is the masculinist language of many black nationalists. He claims that although the discourse of many black nationalists was patriarchal, their focus on community organizing enabled many women to step forward as important local leaders. But his single chapter on the gender dynamics of black nationalism does not address many other factors, including how black women felt about the often patriarchal language of male leaders. For example, Countryman asserts that black men's use of violence when picketing an all-white boarding school enabled them to "reclaim the prerogatives due men in a male-dominated society" (p. 174). This leaves the reader wondering how local black women felt about these "prerogatives." Countrymen mentions that patriarchal discourse often propelled black women toward feminism, but an exploration of that tension on the local level is lacking. Despite this omission, Countryman's book is an excellent contribution to the study of how local black leaders reshaped civil rights in the postwar urban North.

MEGAN TAYLOR SHOCKLEY
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MATTHEW C. WHITAKER. *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West*. (Race and Ethnicity in the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 382. \$35.00.

Once confined to the Deep South and the period between the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Voting Rights Act, the civil rights movement (or freedom movement, as some call it) has, under sustained scholarly pressure, expanded in so many dimensions so as to virtually require wholesale reconceptualization. In his biography of a Phoenix mortician and his wife, Matthew C. Whitaker contributes to this trend by investigating two individuals of both a class and a city not typically associated with the freedom struggle. While the story he tells lacks some of the drama of other movement accounts, it illuminates quite effectively an important and often neglected strain of African American politics from the past half century.

Eleanor and Lincoln Ragsdale came to Phoenix in the late 1940s following relatively privileged childhoods in other parts of the country. The city they encountered, Whitaker demonstrates convincingly, differed only marginally in its treatment of African Americans from the South. Digging in their heels, the Ragsdales slowly chipped away at the edifice of racism surrounding them. Whitaker attributes their activist strategy to the "black professional tradition" in which both were raised. Combining racial consciousness with entrepreneurialism and a strong work ethic, the couple focused on deseg-

regation—in schools, neighborhoods, and the labor market—in the belief that equality lay more in opportunity than in wealth redistribution or black nationalism.

If this approach seems unsurprising, the picture painted of the Ragsdales departs at times from what one might expect. Take, for instance, Lincoln's enthusiasm for what he calls "creative conflict"—browbeating a recalcitrant white elite so that a less confrontational colleague could subsequently extract concessions—which he deployed with some success well before mau-mauing became a well-known concept. Or take his friendship with Arizona's conservative knight Barry Goldwater, who despite his opposition to the Civil Rights Act donated frequently to Lincoln's various causes and even got him appointed to a minor federal committee during the Reagan administration.

Seeming incongruities like this encapsulate Whitaker's argument that a distinctive regional civil rights strategy emerged in cities like Phoenix. Drawing from the work of Quintard Taylor and others, he sets the Ragsdales' efforts within the context of the American West: the relatively low numbers of black residents, the presence of a sizeable Latino community, and other socioeconomic dynamics of the sunbelt encouraged unusual strains of activism. Lacking longstanding community institutions, for instance, the local black community had to find new organizational bases. Thus the Ragsdales' funeral home did double-duty as a community center for a population that lacked alternative meeting spaces. Ultimately, however, the particularities of Phoenix stand out less than its parallels to so many other parts of the country that resisted integration and equal opportunity for African Americans. The Ragsdales may have wielded an unusual combination of weapons, but the enemy seems depressingly familiar.

Some biographers wrap (and as often as not warp) the history of an era or movement around the history of their subject; others thread the history of their subject into the history of the movement. Whitaker does the latter, and it is the right choice; he takes pains, sometimes more than necessary, to underscore the broader currents of African American and civil rights history the Ragsdales navigated, and he is not afraid to leave the couple entirely for pages at a time. What emerges is not only a history of the couple's contributions to the movement but also a history of their view of that movement and the conflicts, internal and external, that shaped it. Particularly in its later chapters the book operates as a kind of conversation, albeit at times a one-sided one, between the Ragsdales and other activists with different goals or strategies. Whitaker admits his sympathy for the Ragsdales, yet is careful to flesh out the arguments of those who disagreed with them. In any event, the Ragsdales acknowledged toward the end of their lives that they ignored aspects of racial equality, particularly in the economic realm, that should have received more of their attention.

Dominant in studies of the early twentieth century, black professionals tend to fade into the background as

the chronology of civil rights moves into more recent decades. Whitaker challenges this trend, and his accessible and readable narrative demonstrates the importance of activists like the Ragsdales to our broader understanding of the movement. Some of the issues he addresses might have received more attention: the introduction, for instance, seems to promise an extensive investigation of the gender dynamics that shaped Eleanor's activism, but little of that materializes in the body of the text. Indeed, the book is much more about her husband than her. Yet along with other recent studies this one demands attention from scholars seeking to map out the "long" civil rights movement and assess its implications for modern American history.

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ALEXANDRA MINNA STERN. *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*. (American Crossroads, number 17.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 347. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book by Alexandra Minna Stern fills a significant gap in recent historiography. Built on both meticulous archival research and deft use of visual and cultural analysis, it offers an account of the networks of individuals, institutions, physical landscape, and public discourse that constituted eugenics in California. At the same time, Stern illuminates the sweeping influence on the contours of eugenics of some of the state's most prominent citizens, including David Starr Jordan, Luther Burbank, Ezra Gosney, Charles Goethe, and Paul Popenoe.

Stern's well-crafted analysis is organized around the concept of eugenic landscapes, by which she draws readers' attention to the "continuities" (p. 2) among the seemingly disparate histories of the U.S. Border Patrol, campaigns to save the Redwoods, and marriage counseling. She begins with an analysis of the "vocabulary of racial degeneracy and 'fitness'" (p. 30) shared by tropical medicine and eugenics at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International (PPI) Exhibit in San Francisco. The exhibit's celebration of American greatness, she argues, offered a valuable venue through which eugenic ideas entered into the state's public discourse. Stern then traces the personnel and policy connections among the Panama Canal Zone, the PPI Exhibit, and the U.S. Mexican border, whereby she reconstructs the eugenic logic underlying racialized screening and sanitation practices imposed on Mexican immigrants. Readers might be surprised to learn that, beginning in 1916, the bodies of Mexican immigrants were stamped with indelible ink to signify that they had completed required delousing procedures.

Following the landscape metaphor from the border to the interior, Stern traces how eugenicists' "nature-making" (p.120) practices defined the state's physical and discursive landscape. Her discussion of the cam-

paign to save the Redwoods in 1910 excavates the social networks connecting state and national eugenics leaders and provides a cultural analysis of the place Redwoods hold in national myths of white supremacy. As the practice of using tree rings to measure progress exemplifies, the majestic giants stand as silent witnesses to the triumphs of Western civilization. Stern also traces how eugenics became part of the very geography of the California state park system: two parks are named for Madison Grant, the author of the era's most virulently racist popular eugenics tract, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916).

Stern's exploration of the social landscape of California eugenics deals with more familiar topics in her account of state policies and practices related to sterilization, incarceration, IQ testing in public schools, and the deportation of immigrants. Foregrounding the gendered and racialized aspects of this history, she traces the eugenic threads linking the state agencies concerned with juvenile justice, social work, public education, and mental health by which authorities managed delinquent girls and Mexican Americans. Stern's analysis significantly advances our knowledge by offering the first sustained account of the impact state-sponsored eugenics had on Mexican Americans.

Contrary to the conventional view, which holds that Nazi atrocities discredited both biological concepts of race and eugenics, Stern argues that eugenics did not disappear after World War II. Instead, although eugenicists may have abandoned state-based eugenics, she argues they pursued a more individualist version on the domestic terrain of the nuclear family. Concurring with recent work by Molly Ladd-Taylor and Wendy Kline, Stern identifies the marriage counseling career of Popenoe as the key example of how eugenicists retooled their better breeding efforts by focusing on proper gender roles. As a historian of science, Stern's account focuses in on how "dominant paradigms in psychiatry, psychometrics, endocrinology, and sex research" shaped the "simplistic" and bio-determinist "sex-gender system" promoted by Popenoe in his popular advice column and the American Institute of Family Relations (p. 180). Yet in contrast to Ladd-Taylor and Kline, Stern argues that the 1950s, which saw a baby boom among the white and middle classes, were not simply the heyday of positive eugenics. She notes, to the contrary, that state apparatuses of negative eugenics aimed at the so-called "unfit"—sterilization, immigration restriction, and antimiscegenation laws—were not dismantled until the civil rights challenges of the 1960s and 1970s. She details the revolt against eugenic's hereditarian doctrines in California, including a detailed account of *Madrigal v Quilligan* (1976). This court case revealed a pattern of targeting Mexican American women for sterilization in Los Angeles County Hospitals during the late 1960s and early 1970s. While the women lost in court, State Assemblyman Art Torres spearheaded a legislative repeal of state-sanctioned sterilization that succeeded 1979.

Some readers may find that Stern's landscape met-

aphor is strained in the discussion of gender-based eugenics. But overall readers will find great value in Stern's ability to marshal a wealth of data about local state history and weave it into a rich narrative of the social, political, and scientific life of the nation, a narrative in which gender and race are central to understanding America's continuing fascination with better breeding.

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JOSÉ ALAMILLO. *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880–1960*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 220. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.

José Alamillo's study of Mexican citrus workers in Corona, California explores how leisure helped workers craft a unique cultural identity and resist the hegemonic influence of white citrus growers. In the process, it describes how Corona became "The Lemon Capital of the World."

Industrial paternalism made leisure one of the few parts of their lives that Mexican workers could control. Not surprisingly, therefore, Mexican workers found great satisfaction in leisure pursuits. But satisfaction and romanticization are different things, and Alamillo is careful not to romanticize the leisure culture of Mexican workers. Like their work culture, leisure culture was, at times, rough and patriarchal, as seen in the pool halls and baseball fields identified as male spaces. In further entrenching sexual segregation, Mexican workers undermined class solidarity and resistance to owner demands.

Nonetheless, leisure activities, such as baseball clubs and Cinco de Mayo festivals created an important base for political activism. Baseball players, for example, adapted their "teamwork" skills to promote union campaigns during the 1930s. Divisions between race and gender and repressive employer campaigns ultimately doomed such campaigns, but leisure activities again provided a space for political activism after World War II, when Mexican workers transferred the language of the "Good Neighbor Policy" to festival events, which propelled festival leaders into political positions that gave them access to community resources.

Alamillo knows lemons. He grew up at Santa Paula's Limoneira Company, a southern California lemon ranch where his mother packed lemons and his father and grandfather worked in the orchards. It was his grandfather who taught Alamillo "how to make 'lemonade' from the bitter 'lemons' in life" (p. xii). In graduate school, Alamillo found a parallel community story to document: that of the town of Corona.

Given the author's familiarity with both Corona and Limoneira, it surprising how decontextualized this otherwise fine study can be. Corona and Santa Paula were both dominated by the California Fruit Exchange, and

its major member, the Limoneira Company. Although, Alamillo mentions the relationship between Ventura County (which includes Santa Paula) and Corona during the 1941 strike, he neglects to discuss the economic relationship between Santa Paula and Corona, and therefore between Corona and all of southern California. The Limoneira Company's general manager (1899–1917) and president (1917–1950), C. C. Teague, was also director (1911–1920) and president (1920–1950) of the California Fruit Exchange, which oversaw Corona's citrus production, and the Exchange Lemon Products Company, based in Corona. A. C. Hardison, founding stockholder of the Limoneira Company, served as director and vice president of the Exchange Lemon Products Company for fifty-seven years (1920–1957).

For the most part, however, Alamillo's work is an important contribution to the field. In describing how leisure activities helped create bonds of community solidarity, Alamillo adds an important dimension to our knowledge of Mexican American history and California history. While he perhaps overreaches by calling his study of lemon workers new in scope (such workers have also been studied by me and Marta Menchaca), he does help us understand the broader reach of citrus culture by looking at Mexican workers living in southern California's "Inland Empire," a region overlooked by Chicano and citrus scholars.

More importantly, however, this book demonstrates how community-based oral history techniques can breathe new life into the writing of history. Corona's Mexican workers became active participants in the writing of their own story by sharing with Alamillo their lives, their photos, and their network of community contacts. They allowed Alamillo to become part of their community, but they did not forsake authority over their lived experiences. At times, the citrus workers became the scholars, teaching Alamillo their history. At other times, Alamillo was the scholar, helping workers understand why their lives developed as they did. By establishing a basis of trust, Alamillo delved deep into community memory, uncovering the truth about enjoyable events such as movies and baseball, and painful experiences such as the 1940 strike, which left the community divided. Projects such as this make scholars more than "pickers" of history. As Alamillo stated from the onset, he was compelled to write this book because of his community roots, and after harvesting the community's history, he has given back to them "lemonade": pride in their community and a legacy of research for future students and scholars to explore.

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RUDY V. BUSTO. *King Tiger: The Religious Vision of Reies López Tijerina*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 260. \$29.95.

"King Tiger," so dubbed by the press, is the flamboyant, defiant Mexican American activist Reies López Tijerina, best remembered for his daring raid on a New Mexico courthouse in 1967 but then all but forgotten (or forsaken) by both his militant supporters and historians in general. By probing his religious motivations, the author of this intriguing and erudite book, Rudy V. Busto, examines Tijerina's eccentricities, shifts in consciousness and behavior, and disappearance from historiography. While sympathetic toward his subject, the author attempts not to place the man back on a pedestal, but rather to bring his remarkable life into focus through the content and tenor of the religious texts that he wrote and preached. To many, Tijerina's rantings, insistences, and certainties may seem bizarre, bordering on or lodged in insanity, but Busto meticulously traces their origins and development through the charismatic leader's religious training and beliefs integrated with and mediated by his life's experiences.

Reies López Tijerina was born in 1926, in south central Texas, the fifth of eventually ten children in a poor, sharecropping family subject to a racial caste system that early on embittered the youth. Proselytized by evangelical Protestants, he embraced Pentecostalism and in 1944 entered an Assemblies of God seminary and became an itinerant preacher in that faith. Within a decade, however, he had become disillusioned with the sinfulness and corruption in both religious and secular institutions everywhere and so founded a utopian community outside Phoenix, Arizona. Called the Valle de Paz (Valley of Peace), it succumbed within a year to the pressures of unpunished vandalism by outsiders, theft charges against Tijerina, and commercial agriculture and residential development in the area.

Long subject to extraordinary visions and dreams which for him carried powerful religious meaning, Tijerina experienced a "superdream" in 1956 after which he proclaimed himself designated to fight for the return of New Mexico lands usurped by Anglos from rightful Hispanic owners after the U.S.-Mexican War. The fiery campaign, which led him to study assiduously land grant documents in Spain, Mexico, and the United States, culminated in the heralded attack on the Tierra Amarilla courthouse (a symbol of Anglo injustice) on June 5, 1967. He and his followers hoped to kidnap the state's prosecuting attorney, who had been harassing them, but the official did not appear as expected. Still, a jailer and deputy sheriff were wounded in the raid, and Tijerina became the target of law enforcement.

Jail time followed in both state and federal prisons, the latter in a psychiatric ward. Once its hero, Tijerina split with the militant Chicano movement over its irredentism and turned to treatises on the origins of Iberian Catholics in the New World (based on Old and New Testament findings that diminished Mexican American claims to indigenous bloodlines). Finally, he preached that God's justice would prevail through the Apocalypse (an atomic holocaust) with a New Age to follow.

Busto deftly traces the religious urgings of Tijerina's extraordinary ministry (both political and spiritual), mainly through two of the controversial man's pub-

lished texts: sermons delivered during his Pentecostal stage and later his memoir, a long, swirling, and challenging account of his thinking, which other biographers of Tijerina have set aside because of its obscurities and difficulty. Busto, however, tackles it head-on, and in clear language ties its teachings to its author's motivations and activities. "The drama in the text comes not from the human actors," Busto writes, "but from guessing when and how the hand of God will intercede. The religious quality renders it problematic as Chicano autobiography or history, not so much in content, but because of the relationship between the narrator and the God that controls the text" (p. 169).

The strength of this book lies in way it privileges religion intertwined with life's circumstances to produce a fuller, more interesting, and intriguing portrait of its subject in comparison with those studies by historians who shy from examining and analyzing religion, spirituality, and faith because of problems with "proof" or the traditional tastes of the academy. Busto's approach is exemplary, similar to that charted by Carlo Ginzburg in his classic work *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1980), in which the main character's instincts, insights, and intuition play such an important role in formulating his understanding of the world in which he lived. Busto carefully contextualizes (and documents in customary ways) Tijerina's spiritual pilgrimage with his down-to-earth happenings and encounters. Beyond that, he analyzes the rise and fall of Tijerina in Mexican American historiography and lets the chips fall where they may. In this regard, I suspect he will receive a response.

PAUL J. VANDERWOOD
San Diego State University

MARTIN MEEKER. *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communication and Community, 1940s-1970s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 321. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.

In this book, Martin Meeker argues that the emergence of gay and lesbian communities in the United States was largely the result of massive changes in the ways that individuals could connect to knowledge about homosexuality and connect with one another. He downplays the popular explanation that the examples of civil rights movements, the militancy of other minorities in the 1960s, and the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969 were responsible for the astonishing metamorphosis of once isolated and fearful homosexuals. He wishes to demonstrate instead that pre-internet communication networks were the vital engines of social change and cultural invention for homosexuals.

Meeker begins by tracing some primitive, "quasi-private" attempts by homosexuals to connect with one another, such as the "Illiterary Digest," a 1943 mimeographed circular sent by its writer, who was in the military, to other gay G.I.s. Meeker also shows how homosexuals used print media intended for a more general readership in order to make contact with one an-

other. For instance, *The Hobby Directory*, published from 1946 to 1952 as a forum for men to correspond about their hobbies, sometimes ran ads that had coded significance, such as an ad from a thirty-three year old man—whose hobbies were physical culture and wrestling, as well as vocal music and theater—looking for men "who combine physical and cultural ideals with high standards of friendship" (p. 24).

As Meeker points out, the Mattachine Society, which began in Los Angeles in 1951, was the first ongoing organization to help homosexuals connect to others for social and political reasons, and thus to begin to create community. The goal of connecting homosexuals to one another was further promoted by the publication of "homophile" magazines, beginning in 1952 with *ONE*, founded in Los Angeles by several Mattachine members; in San Francisco, the *Mattachine Review* began publication in 1955. That same year saw the establishment of the first lesbian organization in America, Daughters of Bilitis, which began its own magazine, *The Ladder*, in 1956. All three magazines, Meeker argues, provided a source for information and an entrée into an "imaginary community" even for those homosexuals not living in big cities; and both Mattachine and Daughters of Bilitis continued to foster connection among homosexuals by establishing chapters around the country. Unfortunately, however, Meeker produces few figures to demonstrate how widespread the readership of these magazines or the membership of these organizations actually was.

But whether or not the magazines or the organizations were effective in connecting large numbers of homosexuals, by the end of the 1950s, as Meeker shows clearly, information about homosexuality could be found everywhere. Lesbian pulp novels were prominently displayed on the paperback book racks of corner drug stores and sold millions of copies (undoubtedly to straight readers as well as lesbians); they often pointed female homosexuals to lesbian meeting places, especially in New York's bohemian Greenwich Village. In 1959, Jess Stearn's *The Sixth Man*, advertised as "a startling investigation of the spread of [male] homosexuality in America" (pp. 67–68), was on the *New York Times* bestseller list for thirteen weeks; and his 1964 book about lesbians, *The Grapevine*, while not a bestseller, had wide distribution and alerted readers to the existence of the Daughters of Bilitis, which was discussed in six chapters of the book. Stearn's books, which dealt with homosexual life in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, provided, Meeker says, a "geography" of the gay and lesbian world and suggested to many gays and lesbians the existence of a "homeland" (p. 68). The 1960s also saw the publication of a spate of homosexual guidebooks that led those who desired contacts to various places they might find them, not only in major metropolises but in smaller cities as well.

By the mid-1960s, lengthy discussions of homosexuality were appearing in national publications such as *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the *New York Times*. In 1967, *CBS News* aired an hour-long special on male homo-

sexuality. Clearly, homosexuality was no longer "the love that dared not speak its name." Those who loved members of the same sex and had once thought themselves to be singular anomalies now knew through various communication networks as well as the mass media that there were many others like them, and that they might connect with one another through a shared identity and form a community.

Since the publication of John D'Emilio's *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (1983), several books have attempted to trace the early history of how gays and lesbians began to achieve a public face in America, including, most recently, Marcia Gallo's *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (2006) and James Sears's *Behind the Mask of the Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (2006). Meeker's book adds to that discussion by demonstrating the important role of communication networks in giving gays and lesbians an identity and connecting them to one another.

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KATHERINE J. PARKIN. *Food Is Love: Food Advertising and Gender Roles in Modern America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 296. \$47.50.

This book is a delectable history of food advertising since the late nineteenth century. After analyzing 3,000 ads in 150 issues of the *Ladies Home Journal*, and ads in other magazines, Katherine J. Parkin concludes that the advertising industry primarily marketed food to women, using six major themes. The first theme was that food was an expression of love, particularly love that women could give their families. Second, advertisers tapped into women's insecurities about their changing social roles by identifying manufactured food with greater independence and freedom. The ads showed that despite this freedom women were still concerned with feeding their families. Third, ads associated food and women with social issues such as Americanization, patriotism, and economic mobility. Fourth, ads depicted men as authoritarian and women as trained to please the male soul through food. The fifth theme in food ads was that women protected family health through wise purchases of manufactured food. And, last, ads incorporated themes of sexuality and beauty to make food appealing to women. These themes provide the foundations for the book's chapters.

Besides analyzing actual ads, Parkin examines the records of J. Walter Thompson Company, which was the world's leading advertising agency until the latter part of the twentieth century. The Thompson account with Proctor and Gamble put its ads on the cutting edge of selling manufactured food. Also included in the book is a review of the advertising research done by the famed child psychologist John Watson in the 1920s and

that of Ernest Dichter in the 1950s and 1960s. Dichter did pioneer work in motivational research and founded the Institute for Motivational Research.

An important issue raised in the book is whether or not ads reflect cultural conditions or constitute efforts to change culture. The conclusion is that advertisers primarily sought to shape and control public opinion. I think the author's description of ads for Jell-O demonstrate, and this may be a pun, how advertising sought to "mold" public willingness to accept a new type of food. An interesting spin was making Jell-O appear homemade because it required mixing water, pouring the mixture into a mold, and placing it in an ice box. Advertisers, as this book demonstrates, worried that the public might prefer homemade over manufactured food. They spent a great deal of time crafting ads that suggested either that heating processed foods was home cooking or that convenience food tasted just like home cooking.

I enjoy reading books about consumerism and the role of advertising in shaping popular culture. However, and this may simply reflect my personal tastes, I think Parkin's book might have been strengthened by closer attention to the history of the food industry. Certainly food manufacturing changed over the twentieth century. The creation of new food products required advertising to educate people and motivate them to purchase these products. The author chose to organize her book around particular themes; I would have enjoyed a clearer picture of the historical parallels between changes in advertising and changes in the food industry. It might also be useful to show the interrelationships among government regulation, food manufacturing, and advertising, or among the purchasing power of families, the percentage of the household budget spent on food products, and the economics of advertising and food manufacturing.

The above suggestions reflect my bias and they are not intended to put a negative cast on a very readable book filled with significant information about advertising, gender roles, and consumerism. For scholars interested in these topics, this is an important book to read.

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LINDA EISENMANN. *Higher Education for Women in Post-war America, 1945-1965*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 280. \$45.00.

This volume provides a bracing reminder of the pervasive assumptions regarding gender roles that governed policy making in the period after World War II. While it is true that women professionals have yet to achieve parity with men in numbers, leadership, or compensation, Linda Eisenmann's discussion of higher education policy demonstrates the fundamental shift that has occurred in the relationships among gender, opportunity, and domesticity. While much of the

ground covered in this book will be familiar to students of U.S. history, Eisenmann suggests that, at least in terms of higher education policy, women have indeed come a long way.

A former assistant director of Radcliffe's Bunting Institute, Eisenmann approaches higher education from a policy perspective. The book began as a thirtieth anniversary tribute to the Bunting Institution but evolved into an overview and critique of the major organizations involved in educational policy in the postwar years. Her subjects range from the American Council on Education's Commission on the Education of Women (ACE CEW), the American Association of University Women (AAUW), the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW), and the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) to major national foundations including Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller. She explores each of these groups in some detail, particularly their research on women's employment and proposals for job training and career preparation.

Joining a new tide of revisionist writing on gender in the 1950s, Eisenmann makes it clear that women's employment, professional training, and career development were much on the minds of policy makers, despite an intensely domestic ideology that assumed women would "always put home needs first" (p. 28). Although women participated in the workforce in increasing numbers after the war, they continued to be seen as "incidental" students and peripheral workers. Research on women's educational goals and programs for female students concentrated more on "helping women make adjustments" to their domestic roles than on altering social institutions or challenging gender ideologies (p. 1). Eisenmann terms this approach "adaptive activism" because, while advocating for women's career and professional opportunities, policy makers—whether male or female—accepted traditional gender roles. Eisenmann seems troubled that groups like the AAUW and NADW were "quieter, less demanding, and more accommodating" than the second wave feminists of the 1970s and insists that these groups nonetheless focused attention on women's needs and managed to disseminate their research findings widely (p. 5).

The very success of organizations like the AAUW and the NADW in promoting equality and demanding professional recognition, however, rendered them obsolete. Both organizations had been founded in an era in which women were excluded from the academy and professional life. By the late 1960s, these groups, among others, actually succeeded in convincing policy makers that "woman-power" constituted an essential element in modern American life. This, combined with increasingly vocal calls for gender equity inspired by civil rights struggles, meant that young college women in the 1970s began to enjoy more opportunities than had their older sisters. The AAUW managed to reinvent itself and survived as a major national advocate for women's education and equal rights. The deans of women did not fare as well. Their professional existence was premised

on the idea that men and women had different needs as students. As women's education—and women's social life on campus—became increasingly similar to that of men, deans of women were replaced by deans of students who served a coed population.

Eisenmann ends with an exploration of continuing education and the development of Radcliffe's Bunting Institute. During the 1960s and 1970s, Radcliffe, along with a number of public universities and private colleges, pioneered in programs for older women. Most of these were initially funded by private foundations including Carnegie and Rockefeller. Where most continuing education offered special programs that allowed women to complete their degrees or obtain professional training, Mary Bunting, who became president of Radcliffe in 1960, began to offer support for women already launched on professional careers. In the language of contemporary feminist analysis, Eisenmann observes, Bunting, like continuing education advocates generally, believed that women have fundamentally different life needs than men and thus require different, albeit equal, opportunities. As Eisenmann observes, however, in recommending different treatment for women, Bunting "came close to lowering her own expectations for what women might accomplish" (p. 197). Still, Eisenmann suggests, the continuing education plans developed for women introduced institutional changes that now mark programs for "under prepared" and "non-traditional" students. Although none of the groups Eisenmann discusses advocated for fundamental changes in gender roles, their programs, she argues, provided "entering wedges" for subsequent feminist transformations. And, while this book may provide more detail than many readers require, it nonetheless documents the extent to which educational opportunities for women expanded during the last half of the twentieth century.

SUSAN LEVINE
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GRETCHEN RITTER. *The Constitution as Social Design: Gender and Civic Membership in the American Constitutional Order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 381. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

"This book is about gender and civic membership in American constitutional politics, from the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment through second wave feminism," writes Gretchen Ritter. "Civic membership," she explains, involves not only individuals' "legal and political status" but "also refers to the broader political, legal, and social meanings that attach to one's place within the polity" (p. 3). Ritter's goal is to "create a more historically and theoretically comprehensive account of the role of governing institutions in shaping the terms of civic membership for men and women in the United States" (p. 13). Historians will recognize her book as a work of historically informed constitutional criticism and social theory, and Ritter's approach will

most appeal to readers who welcome sentences such as "embodiment can bring things to civic membership that are positive and productive, such as relationality and the potential for particularity" (p. 309).

Historians will readily accept Ritter's argument that "prior to the Nineteenth Amendment, women's civic membership was conceived of in relational terms and they were represented in the public realm by male family members" (p. 63). Ritter offers an insistently downbeat view of the importance of the Nineteenth Amendment's guarantee of female suffrage, arguing that the Reconstruction era's separation of civil rights from political rights meant that by 1920 "voting was an insignificant aspect of citizenship and democracy" (p. 27). Scholars familiar with the African American freedom struggle may cavil at that claim, and at Ritter's further assertion that "voting was not regarded as a defining aspect of one's civic status" in the pre-World War II era (p. 63). Historians who have portrayed women's labor force involvement during that war as a liberating experience may disagree with Ritter's argument to the contrary. "New validations of labor status and military status worked to elevate the civic position of American men over women," she writes, notwithstanding how after the war "veterans' rights were available to all veterans regardless of their sex" (pp. 5, 209).

Large segments of Ritter's book are devoted to extensive recountings of significant twentieth century Supreme Court opinions, and readers who are largely unfamiliar with U.S. constitutional history will find Ritter's case accounts richly informative. But Ritter's interest in constitutional cases is primarily doctrinal rather than more broadly historical. Her account of *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), the landmark decision that struck down state criminalization of married couples' use of contraceptives, for example, accurately summarizes the judicial opinions but misidentifies one of the two appellants, Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut medical director Dr. C. Lee Buxton, as "Timothy Buxton" (p. 271).

Ritter's treatment of second wave feminist achievements during the 1960s and 1970s is comprehensive and straightforward. Equality may have been that era's most widely shared ideal, but "for the courts, political officials, and the American public, the commitment to equality was qualified and ambivalent when it came to women" (p. 217). As Ritter rightly observes, "the equality approach was limited by the ways in which the courts found women to be irreducibly different from men" (p. 259). Her treatment of reproductive rights case decisions is solid if unremarkable, but many abortion rights activists may angrily dispute her claim that choice "is a male concept, rooted in a notion of autonomy and mental supremacy that clashes sharply with our understanding of the position of a pregnant woman" (p. 294).

The book's final concluding chapter disappointingly fails to articulate a compelling synthesis of Ritter's argument. Instead, readers looking for a clear summation of Ritter's perspective must return to portions of her first two chapters, where Ritter declares that "the

search for equality within liberal political structures will always lead to problematic and limited outcomes for women" (p. 64).

In her introductory pages, Ritter states that American women's "autonomous legal and political status" is "still not fully recognized" and says "women still face resistance to the idea that their sex does not matter to their civic membership." But Ritter's argument that "it remains uncertain what it would take for women to secure a civic membership that provides them with equal rights and status" (p. 3) seems increasingly problematic at a time when Representative Nancy Pelosi has become Speaker of the House and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton is universally acknowledged as a leading presidential contender.

DAVID J. GARROW
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CRAIG R. COENEN. *From Sandlots to the Super Bowl: The National Football League, 1920–1967*. (Sports and Popular Culture.) Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 342. \$39.95.

Although the National Football League (NFL) reigns as the unquestioned king of the American sporting landscape, the professional football organization has endured a surprising dearth of academic study on its origins and history. Despite the proliferation of popular biographies and historical accounts of individual teams, the NFL lacks an appropriate number of monographs devoted to the historical inquiry of professional football. Thus, Craig R. Coenen's book is a very welcome contribution to this area of scholarship.

Coenen begins his study with a brief comparison of collegiate and professional football during the early twentieth century and correctly notes that the professional version, unlike its collegiate counterpart, struggled mightily for public respect. The tenuous financial situation of professional football combined with the mercenary nature of many professional players repelled many potential fans. Coenen also notes perceptively that early professional football initially gained a foothold in the commercial market by promoting former star college athletes, such as Harold "Red" Grange, over individual teams. Although exceptions to this formula existed in areas like Green Bay, where the community supported (and continues to support) the team with great fervor, the infusion of more respectable college talent contributed to the modest rise in popularity of the NFL by the 1930s. In addition, the author outlines the experimentation in rule changes designed by the NFL to inject more scoring into games that were predominantly defensive contests during the formative years of the league. Coenen makes a convincing argument that the arrival of World War II, though damaging to the quality of play on the field for NFL teams, enhanced the stature of the league since most teams continued to compete during the war years. This, according to Coenen, cemented the status of the NFL as an elite

professional sports league since it did not shut down during the extremely difficult period.

During the 1940s professional football witnessed its first substantial and dramatic increase in fan support, which Coenen largely attributes to the NFL's competition with a professional rival, the All American Football Conference. The competition, though in the short term financially harmful to the NFL, ultimately forced the league to create a better product on the field. This improved product, combined with the declining status of professional baseball and the emerging medium of television provided an ideal environment for professional football to flourish. As with most historians, Coenen identifies the 1958 NFL title game as a turning point in the league's history, although he does accurately assess the continued problems associated with professional football during the late 1950s and early 1960s, including the lack of, for example, collective television contracts for NFL teams.

Such disunity and the insulated nature of NFL owners led to another conflict with a rival professional league—the American Football League (AFL). As with the earlier competition with the AAFC, Coenen notes that the AFL-NFL war ultimately benefited professional football, despite bidding wars for star collegiate players, which effectively increased overall player salaries and eroded league profits. The eventual merger of the two leagues is also dealt with quite competently by Coenen, who details the importance of television contracts to this eventual coalition and the ultimate creation of the Super Bowl as the culmination of this relationship.

Overall, this is a very competent piece of scholarship that outlines, from an academic perspective, an area of historical inquiry that has been relatively neglected. My only real criticism of Coenen's book is that it would be a much stronger work if several items in the conclusion that connect developments from the earlier years of the NFL to the contemporary era were explored in more detail. Coenen makes the astute observation in the conclusion, for example, that the NFL would be the only professional league that would generate a profit today if no gate receipts were collected. He also addresses extremely complex contemporary issues, such as labor strife, in a few concluding passages. Although normally the criticism of not expanding the topical focus of a monograph might not be justified, the relative brevity of the book leaves significant room to explore these topics in detail. Nevertheless, this is a commendable piece of scholarship which should prove valuable as future historians wrestle with the topic of professional football.

STEVE BULLOCK
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MICHAEL F. ROBINSON. *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 206. \$39.00.

Is modern exploration principally a scientific endeavor? Or is it primarily a commercial enterprise, driven by mass-media interests, cults of celebrity, and nationalist visions of cultural superiority? The answer depends on specific circumstances, but rarely does it boil down simply to one or the other. The tension between scientific inquiry and the many other imperatives involved with campaigns of discovery in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries forms one of the core themes of this book. Michael F. Robinson's well-written and intellectually sophisticated study of U.S. Arctic exploration from 1850 to the early 1900s.

Even more central to Robinson's project is the goal of painting a "new portrait" of American polar explorers that "removes them from the icy backdrop of the Arctic and sets them within the local tempests of American cultural life" (p. 3). In other words, Robinson's book is more about the United States, as seen through the prism of the Arctic, than it is about the Arctic itself. This is not to say that Robinson neglects the history of polar exploration—far from it—but to recognize that, in his words, he is more interested in how "stories of exploration," whether they unfolded in the north or elsewhere, "struck a special chord with U.S. readers inclined to see them as parables of national history and identity" (p. 20).

Rather than providing a comprehensive survey of U.S. activities in the far north, Robinson subjects a series of polar expeditions to close examination, showing how each, over time, mirrored changing concerns, aspirations, and ideals in America itself. His first chapter, "Building an Arctic Tradition," illustrates how a national myth, which Robinson terms "Arctic fever," emerged during the early to mid-1800s. "Arctic fever" was reflected not just in the cultural ephemera of the time, or popular interest in the plight of Britain's lost polar hero Sir John Franklin (the search for whom prompted America's first Arctic expedition in 1850), but also in works by figures like Emily Dickinson, Edgar Allan Poe, Washington Irving, and Frederick Church. Five chapters and a conclusion follow, dealing with America's first Arctic hero, Elisha Kent Kane; the rivalry between Isaac Hayes and Charles Hall during the 1850s and 1860s; the horrific failure of the research venture launched by Adolphus Greely to commemorate the International Polar Year in 1881; the contrast during the 1890s and 1900s between Walter Wellman's attempts to fly to the North Pole by airship and Robert Peary's overland treks through the Arctic, reliant only on muscle power; and the infamous controversy that erupted in 1909, when Peary and Frederick Cook advanced competing claims to have reached the Pole first. Along the way, Robinson shows how fundamental issues evolved over six decades of American history: expectations about what polar expeditions were meant to accomplish changed over time, as did conceptions of masculinity, the role of commercial forces and the media, attitudes towards race, and the degree to which technology was appreciated or disdained as a tool in the service of exploration.

This book makes an obvious contribution to the historiography of nineteenth and twentieth-century America, as well as to polar studies *per se*. It also joins a growing body of work that studies the way a nation's polar expeditions are organized and celebrated in order to gain a better understanding about the country itself. Beau Riffenburgh and David Murphy have done this for Great Britain and Germany, respectively, as have I in the case of the USSR. Authors pursuing this line of research run the risk of falling into one or both of two traps: first, skimping on the history of the actual expeditions and, second, overstating the parallels between a country's polar history and its overall historical development. Robinson adroitly sidesteps both pitfalls. His narrative is clear and engaging, and his analysis of the interplay between polar expeditions specifically and American culture in general strikes me as insightful and convincing (although, admittedly, I am not a specialist in U.S. history). In one or two places, the thesis seems slightly forced, and I would have liked to hear more about other nations' Arctic experiences by way of comparison. Still, the only substantive problem is that this is almost too slim a volume to contain all the intriguing questions Robinson raises about gender, ethnicity, the binary opposition between civilization and wilderness, national pride, and the history of science. If a book's only flaw is that it leaves the reader wanting more, however, the author must certainly be considered to have succeeded in his or her task.

Anyone interested in modern U.S. history or the history of polar exploration will read this book with profit and enjoyment. It deserves—and will hopefully reach—a wider audience as well.

JOHN MCCANNON
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SUSAN R. SCHREPFFER. *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xii, 316. \$35.00.

This book asks two basic questions: why do humans climb mountains? Does gender make a difference? To answer these questions, and more, Susan R. Schrepfer explores the world of American mountaineering from 1860 to 1960, focusing on the Sierra Club, the Sierra Nevada mountains, and the Yosemite region. She carries the story to 1964, suggesting that mountaineers became environmental activists, aiding in passage of the Wilderness Act.

So, why do humans climb mountains? There is no simple answer. When asked why he wished to climb Mt. Everest, the famed British climber George Mallory, who died in his attempt, testily replied, "because it is there." Schrepfer provides a much more sophisticated, nuanced answer. Individual challenge and achievement were part of the motivation, yet mountaineering could also reflect American imperialistic urges. When Sierra Club member Nathaniel Fish McClure climbed Mt. Pinatubo in the Philippines, he did not hide his sense of racial and cultural superiority, noting that his native

guides refused to accompany him "out of fear or superstitious dread" (p. 60). Time and again early climbers' accounts emphasized the need for endurance, strength, intelligence, and caution, traits they believed Americans best demonstrated.

But empire is not the major theme of this book. Rather, Schrepfer is particularly fascinated with gender, and specifically with whether men and women approach climbing differently. It is here that the book breaks new ground. Initially, Schrepfer intended to integrate men and women in the story, but then she determined that "this approach compromised the richness of each." So she focused on a history of mountaineering and conservation in which "gendered perspectives twist and turn, converge and diverge" (p. xii). This was a wise decision, for although some men such as John Muir described the natural world in what she labels the "feminine sublime," most did not. Male mountaineers considered mountains as hostile, placed there to test their masculinity and their ability to overcome fear. They saw mountains as the enemy, to be attacked, conquered, and mastered. Men sprinkled their accounts with military metaphors.

Women viewed mountaineering as an activity where they could revel in the freedom of open space and emancipation from the strictures of civilization. They enjoyed nature as a place of equality and sensuality, where they might be free from urban artificialities of appearance and social etiquette. They saw wild nature as neither savage nor alien, but possessing the familiarity of gardens with the warmth of "home": wild mountains were "places where humans belonged." In short, "women domesticated wildness" (p. 121). These climbers enhanced the public's perception of female competence, and, politically, provided an argument for equality. A woman astride a 14,000 foot peak might advance women's rights just as surely as if she had marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City.

For historians who have embraced the stereotype of the reserved Victorian women, wedded to the home and essentially living in separate spheres from their male counterparts, Schrepfer's book will require revised thinking. A hundred years ago women were in the mountains, making notable climbs and brushing aside such cultural impediments as cumbersome dresses and frilly bonnets. They often led climbs when they could overcome male prejudices. Miriam O'Brien, who led the first all-woman team up the Matterhorn in 1929, maintained that "women could lead only when men were not present" (p. 117). They would not, however, be denied participation. Through the Sierra Club, the Mazamas of Portland, and other alpine clubs, they proclaimed their love of wilderness and mountains. During the interwar years women made first ascents, winning the admiration of the climbing fraternity. They also assumed leadership roles in various hiking and conservation clubs. But mountain accomplishments waxed and waned in response to the nation's cultural inclinations. For example, following World War II a conservative reaction swept across the country and women all

but abandoned the mountains, retreating to hearth and home. This impulse did not last for long, and by the early 1960s such leaders as Nancy Newhall and Rachel Carson were campaigning for wilderness and against environmental pollutants.

This book joins a widening body of literature that uses gender analysis to enlarge our appreciation of the past century. By placing women on center stage, Schrepfer provides a more rounded, albeit complicated, understanding of the conservation movement. From the days of Hetch Hetchy to the push for the Wilderness Act of 1964, we now know that environmental fights were spearheaded by *both* men and women. While men were often reluctant to acknowledge their female counterparts, women quietly fought conservation battles as they modestly climbed American peaks. With her fine writing, impeccable research, and innovative conclusions, Schrepfer has given us an important book that expands our understanding of twentieth century conservation history. It is a splendid cultural excursion very much worth taking.

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LYNNE HEASLEY. *A Thousand Pieces of Paradise: Landscape and Property in the Kickapoo Valley*. (Wisconsin Land and Life.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press in association with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 2006. Pp. xii, 279. \$34.95.

The serene Kickapoo Valley of southwestern Wisconsin seems immune from national controversies, but what happens here is part of a larger drama. In writing this book, Lynne Heasley sought to accomplish two things: to "uncover histories of property that are less well known and to place them alongside the histories we think we know well," and "both clarify and complicate the property relationships that have shaped great stretches of the country" (p. 8). Heasley astutely notes that American attitudes toward land ownership involve "a model of property in which the primary relationship is between you and a thing, rather than between you and other members of society" (p. 7). In deciphering the landscape of the Kickapoo Valley, she reveals the diverse actors and a sometimes contentious public discourse that operate at varied levels.

This book is in the best tradition of two fields—historical geography and environmental history. Its text, photos, and sketch maps enable readers to understand the Kickapoo Valley while better appreciating the tensions facing other American rural areas. This book, then, provides a case study of how landscape and life are interrelated. Because the Kickapoo Valley sprawls across five counties, and Heasley wanted to decipher what was happening valley-wide, she studied three representative townships (Clinton, Stark, and Liberty) in considerable detail. Although the Kickapoo Valley was long home to Native peoples—after all, the name itself is Algonquian for the river's tortuous course ("one who goes here, then there")—it has a rich pioneer past

reaching back to the early nineteenth century. The area was home to yeoman farmers, and its forest resources proved especially attractive. This long history notwithstanding, Heasley's study is largely based on the last seven decades of the twentieth century, a time that witnessed numerous trends in land use and land tenure. For example, a small portion of Liberty Township was in absentee ownership in 1930, but by 1995, most of it was. During this same period, acreage in cropland declined while forested land expanded. Similarly, trends in land management changed. Contour strip cropping, so stunningly revealed on the book's beautiful dust jacket, had become common by the 1950s. Given her concern about the health of the land, Heasley discusses in detail soil conservation measures. She also examines the spread of ranching, the use of the river for fishing, and increasing land fragmentation/subdivision. Although this is a superb study of how the land itself is changing, it is even better as a series of interwoven human stories.

In Clinton Township, Heasley treats the tension between Amish and non-Amish lifestyles evenhandedly. She candidly notes that Amish farming is not as environmentally sensitive as one might assume (the waters in Amish areas were most polluted, for example.) As loggers, too, the industrious Amish were so successful that lumber companies began contracting with them. But, rather than criticizing the Amish (as many locals have done), Heasley sympathetically shows how the landscape reflects their shared vision of "a community idea for the kind of life they should lead on the land" (p. 125).

Like many river valleys, the Kickapoo was plagued by catastrophic floods and seemed a perfect candidate for damming. The Corps of Engineers purchased thousands of acres for the LaFarge dam, but soon went head-to-head with the Sierra Club and many locals. Strong political resistance then emerged—so strong that it brought the proposed project to a halt. That, Heasley notes, led to the land becoming a reserve that drew hunters and horseback and ATV riders. However, local disenchantment with these activities led to yet another series of dialogues and debates about what would ultimately happen to the area—and who would have a say (and role) in that future. Shareholders coming forward included the Indians (the Ho-Chunk Nation). These native peoples claimed that the valley featured many sacred sites. Ultimately, their claims were recognized as the Ho-Chunk Nation became one of the many organizations in "a hybrid of public and private ownership" (p. 191) that protected the land and its historical/cultural resources.

In the concluding chapter, Heasley stands back far enough to show how philosophical divides can be crossed. She concludes that "alongside economically centered and individualistic notions of property, democratic and fluid visions of property have also been powerful" (p. 198). Heasley contends that a community's ability to achieve its desired outcomes can be comprehended using environmental outcomes as a yardstick

for assessing what has been achieved; the ultimate question to be asked is: "*Which communities self-consciously accommodated the widest array of values in their decisions?*" (p. 200). That is how things work in the Kickapoo Valley, and Heasley implies that they might work that way elsewhere—provided that values are brought out into the open, and all voices are heard.

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THOMAS DUBLIN and WALTER LICHT. *The Face of Decline: The Pennsylvania Anthracite Region in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 275. \$24.95.

This book addresses the painful topic of deindustrialization in the United States. Thomas Dublin and Walter Licht examine in detail the experience in the anthracite region of northeastern Pennsylvania, one of the first areas to witness the collapse of its major industry. Long before globalization made its way into our vocabulary, the anthracite region witnessed the loss of jobs, out migration of the young, and ineffective union leadership. The industry began with the efforts of local entrepreneurs to develop anthracite mining in response to energy needs in major coastal ports such as Philadelphia and New York City. Eventually, canals and later railroads provided the critical transportation that made anthracite affordable and readily available for individual and industrial consumers. The metropolitan-based railroads assumed control of anthracite mining. These market-driven institutions confronted miners, their families, and communities in struggles over wages, safety, and even the future of the region.

The tension between capital and workers emerged most visibly during the Great Depression. Responding to the economic crisis, coal companies began to shut down more costly mines, idling many miners. The companies concentrated production in the most profitable operations where they kept a full complement of miners employed. Companies, notably the Lehigh Navigation Company in the Panther Valley in Schuylkill and Carbon Counties, also opened up strip mining operations that demanded less labor and proved far more lucrative. Loss of jobs, irregular work, and unpredictable income posed a threat to the miners' very existence. Faced with such dire events, community leaders and miners proposed the equalization of work as a way to spread income around to all miners and their families. This involved keeping open marginal mines, limiting strip mining, and giving all workers minimal hours of work. Ironically the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) at first opposed the equalization and called for miners to honor the contract the UMWA had signed with the companies. Eventually, the workers prevailed and the Panther Valley scheme provided a model for other regions.

Tension between the demands of the market and those of the community and miners appeared again dur-

ing the demise of the anthracite industry after 1950. Facing declining markets, coal companies often under the leadership of those who had little direct contact with the region and minimal interests in the fate of its people chose to divest themselves of mining operations, profit from the buying and selling of coal lands and mining facilities, and ultimately acquiring new enterprises in prospering industries. Eventually the coal companies built successful conglomerates with no ties to the industry or the region.

In the bitterest of ironies the UMWA chose to use miner's pension funds to acquire mining companies and become a major force in bituminous mining. It neither addressed the fate of the anthracite industry nor its miners and their families, who faced the difficult times of the post-World War II era solely with their own resources. In many cases community leaders with strong support from miners and their families developed their own agencies and plans to attract new industry. Communities such as Scranton built industrial parks that served as sites for new companies. These often remained in the region for decades and provided employment for hundreds of citizens.

Miners also forged their responses to the economic decline. In a collective strategy, family and friends and neighbors assisted each other in finding new positions elsewhere. Others chose to commute to keep their ties with the region. A smaller group remained in the region and faced unemployment and the family stresses as their wives found jobs and began to make a larger and larger share of family income. This undercut the patriarchy that had shaped families in the region for the previous century. The children of mining families opted to leave the region, especially as their parents encouraged college education.

The authors insightfully place the decline of the industry in an international context. Competition from new sources of mining such as China and India contributed the shutting down of mining throughout Europe and Great Britain. Unlike the United States, the policies of continental and British governments and unions such as nationalizing the mines, retraining, subsidies, and other measures enabled miners to avoid the stark choices that faced their counterparts in the United States.

Dublin and Licht raise critical issues and surprising findings in their study. The miners and their communities showed amazing strength in coping with the power of the anthracite-based corporations and challenges of decline demonstrates the persistence of collective action. Ironically, the changing market demands for energy and the search for profits by coal companies meant the collective and community responses, though successful in the short run, could never overcome the forces of the market, both domestic and global. The authors tell a grim tale that rings true in many regions of the United States and helps us understand the demise of a once central energy industry.

EDWARD J. DAVIES II
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GILES SLADE. *Made to Break: Technology and Obsolescence in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. 330. \$27.95.

Giles Slade's book is an engaging overview of the American consumer's relationship to disposability, fashion, innovation, and "obsolescence" in mass-produced commodities of all sorts during the twentieth century. It will be useful as an introduction to these issues for casual readers and secondary students. As a historical monograph, however, the work fails to break new ground, privileges anecdotal example over historical explanation, and relies almost exclusively on published primary and secondary sources. University students and scholars of the relationship among consumer culture, technological systems, and corporate strategy will need to look elsewhere for an adequate synthesis or starting point.

Some of the shortcomings of the book are related to the way the text is structured. The six-page introduction is insufficient to carry the weight of the century-long "collection of stories" (p. 6) that follows. Chapters proceed in roughly chronological order, but without a clear analytic organization; some focus on particular products (automobiles, microchips), while others focus on technological systems of persuasion (radio and advertising) or on particular historical periods (the Depression, the height of the Cold War). And one chapter in particular, "Weaponizing Planned Obsolescence," bears practically no relationship to the rest of the book (a pity, because it is the chapter that makes the greatest use of primary unpublished sources). There is no conclusion to speak of, only a final chapter that brings the story of technological obsolescence up to date with a discussion of toxic metals found in cell phones, personal computers, and consumer electronics. There is no bibliography, and while sparse endnotes provide a starting point for citation analysis, throughout the book many claims, terms, and even points of quantitative evidence are left wholly undocumented.

Even putting aside these editorial complaints, Slade's story lacks any careful historicization of terms, specification of historical agency, and consistency of historical argumentation. Slade uses the overall concept of "deliberate obsolescence" for practices as disparate as paper packaging, automobile style changes, and electronic miniaturization. His analytic framework consists of further unpacking this idea into "technological obsolescence" ("obsolescence due to technological innovation"), "psychological obsolescence" ("a way to manipulate consumers into repetitive buying"), and "planned obsolescence" ("techniques to artificially limit the durability of a manufactured good") (pp. 4–5). This simple typology is unconvincing, however, lacking any sustained analysis of (or even background on) capitalist production processes, mass communication persuasion processes, and technological diffusion processes. Throughout the book, consumers are treated as a single undifferentiated mass, easily influenced by the agencies of mass communication—a style of argumentation that

has been out of favor in mass media research for at least half a century. The absence of any theoretical grounding leads Slade to make overly broad claims that never coalesce into an argument (and often end up contradicting each other). Has advertising "conditioned us to want more, better, faster" such that today "just about everything we produce in North America is made to break" (pp. 1, 7), or is it "neophilia" and "cascade effects" that "explain the sudden popularity" of disposable products (pp. 266–268)? Slade's claim that, at the start of the twenty-first century, "modern consumers tend to value whatever is new and original over what is old, traditional, durable, or used" is indeed suggested by the anecdotal evidence he presents; however, this generalization begs the more interesting historical questions of which consumers? during what times? in what contexts? for what products? and, of course, why?

These shortcomings are unfortunate in a book where the author so clearly cares about the issues he presents. In his concluding chapter, Slade expresses the belief that "During the next few years, the overwhelming problem of waste of all kinds will . . . compel American manufacturers to modify industrial practices that feed upon a throwaway ethic" (p. 281). I hope that Slade's work can introduce a wider consumer audience to the many ways that commodity production, distribution, and disposal have long been wrapped up in public health and environmental concerns. But an academic audience that already sees these broad connections will have to look elsewhere for new insight into pressing issues.

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ROBERT W. MORROW. *Sesame Street and the Reform of Children's Television*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 226. \$50.00.

In a time when Tickle-Me Elmo speaks in the imperative voice, American parents listen obediently, fearful of failing their children. It is hard to imagine that there was a time when the products of the Children's Television Workshop (CTW, now Sesame Workshop), like Disney before it, were not synonymous with media that are good for children, and status markers to boot. Robert W. Morrow's engaging and straightforward book takes us back to that moment in the late 1960s when *Sesame Street* struggled into existence, and when programming was not yet brought to us by the letter "S."

Morrow has laid the book out in an accessible fashion, starting with a basic historical overview of media effects arguments as they have unfolded in the United States. Beginning with discourses about the dangers of popular periodicals and newspapers in the late nineteenth century, it moves through early arguments for the regulation of the exhibition and content of motion pictures at the beginning of the twentieth century, to the Payne Fund Studies, with a brief mention of radio. When he arrives at television, of course, he slows down,

balancing the discussion between calls for the regulation of the medium in the 1950s and early examples of children's programming such as *Ding Dong School*, *Captain Kangaroo*, and *Howdy Doody*. Chapter two offers a well-organized look at debates around preschools in the early 1960s. This chapter is particularly compelling where it emphasizes the enormous social and political burden that preschools were expected to carry as primary sites for addressing larger issues of social and economic inequality. Placing preschools (and early education) in the context of the failed promise of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the Civil Rights Act, and Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, Morrow details why the "preschool moment" created significant interest in (and pressure on) programs such as Head Start, and an environment critical of television's impact on the lives of young children. Chapter three offers an institutional prehistory of *Sesame Street*. This narrative is built around the work of founding architect Joan Ganz Cooney, and adds nicely to the portrait provided in Heather Hendershot's *Saturday Morning Censors: Television Regulation before the V-Chip* (1998), dealing with the hard-won institutional, ideological, and intellectual battles that were fought just to get *Sesame Street* funded, let alone developed and produced. In his fourth and fifth chapters—which are short enough that they easily could have been combined—Morrow lays out, respectively, the CTW "model" and the realization of that model in the show's first season. What links these two chapters is the importance of the model: CTW had to create programming that had quantifiably beneficial effects on children (particularly poor children of color) and that earned competitive ratings. Chapter six details the buzz that accompanied *Sesame Street*'s premiere (for it truly was a unique moment in the history of American public television), and the seventh and final chapter explores the intense public debate around the program, which encompassed a variety of institutional actors, from the National Association of Broadcasters (cautiously seeking to discredit the show in order to avoid creating a benchmark for the regulation of network children's programming), educational theorists both applauding and decrying the program, and television critics doing the same. Given the weight that *Sesame Street* bore in terms of addressing social inequality, this intense heat and light is understandable, and Morrow does a good job of portraying the nuanced political maneuvering that followed the show's initial successes.

In some ways, though, the book's admirable attention to detail is its primary shortcoming. While Morrow does a very good job of leading us through the maze of competing public and private institutional interests that both impeded and facilitated *Sesame Street*'s creation and ultimate success, it is sometimes hard to see the street for the Muppets. What is occasionally missing from this very serviceable institutional history is a sense of *why* the program stood in for much larger social, political, and material forces, such as one gets in Hendershot's study of television regulation, or in Ellen Seiter's *Sold Separately: Children and Parents in Consumer*

Culture (1993). While these social tensions are laid out in early chapters, they are then subsumed within the subsequent narrative (built largely around Cooney) about the struggle to get the show aired; that dramatic narrative actually contributes to the diminution of our understanding of the program's larger social significance. This, coupled with the occasional first-person reference to Morrow's research program, makes what is otherwise a valuable institutional study at times seem like a piece of advocacy (however well deserved) that deprives the reader of a full sense of the legitimate and not-so-reasonable critiques of the program or the larger CTW project. (Consider, for instance, *The World According to Sesame Street*, a recent documentary about Sesame Workshop's international push, which also featured conservative columnist Robert Novak demanding that an HIV+ South African Muppet be kept out of the United States.) It also backgrounds the important and often undertheorized assumptions about media effects, distributed education, or the privatization of public space that have accompanied *Sesame Street*'s phenomenal success. If you can wangle an interview, just ask Elmo about those.

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JANET GOLDEN. *Message in a Bottle: The Making of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 232. \$29.95.

Janet Golden's versatile cultural and medical history of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) in America is an enlightening addition to the literature on the social history of medicine, alcohol and drug problems, and women's health. Golden uses the idea of "framing" to analyze and convey how the meanings of FAS have changed over time and how its multiple meanings have been continuously negotiated. The book examines which explanations and prescriptions about alcohol consumption during pregnancy were privileged when, and by whom. The main frames she distinguishes, roughly chronologically since the identification of FAS in the early 1970s, are as a medical diagnosis, a public health problem requiring public awareness campaigns and warning messages, a criminal problem blamed on deviant mothers, and a defense used by adult criminals afflicted with the syndrome. In this way, Golden provides a fascinating study of the complicated historical processes by which FAS became medicalized and then demedicalized, or moralized, over the past thirty years.

Influenced by historians of medicine such as Owsei Temkin, Charles Rosenberg, and Allan Brandt, Golden places her interpretation between the strict social constructionist and positivist positions on illness. She asserts that FAS is real but, as with all diagnoses, cannot be understood apart from social beliefs. She therefore pays close attention to cultural contexts in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s that influenced the way FAS was perceived and treated. The study excels at connecting debates over FAS with American society's changing un-

derstandings of birth defects, alcoholism and substance abuse, and women's rights, including the increased visibility of women alcoholics, the emergence of feminist perspectives on health and policy, and the debate over abortion and the status of a fetus.

The book moves effectively among diverse arenas as it examines scientific research and debate, clinical practice, popular media coverage, national and local public health campaigns, bureaucratic and congressional policy making, and courtroom battles. Golden focuses on many significant questions such as why FAS wasn't identified before the 1970s; why it came to be accepted as legitimate when earlier in the century Americans and the medical establishment widely accepted that drinking alcohol during pregnancy was harmless; whether the "one-size-fits-all message of abstinence" (p. 31) was effective in preventing FAS when the vast majority of FAS babies were born to chronic heavy drinkers; and whether alcoholic beverage manufacturers incurred any responsibility for this alcohol problem.

Most interesting is the account of how the medical and public health frame that sought to help both mothers and children transformed into an effort to "police pregnancy" (p. 111), threatening women's privacy and effectually pitting irresponsible mothers against innocent fetuses. She views the criminalization framing of FAS as a way to control women and as a "marker of maternal misbehavior" (p. 55). Most vulnerable to the effort to punish mothers, both in the legal system and in popular media's moralistic stories, were poor women and women of color who lacked treatment and other sources of support. Golden both probes and critiques the moralization of the diagnosis and sympathizes with the position that mainstream American society has unfairly blamed alcoholic mothers instead of adequately assisting these addicted women with treatment and other support. Here Golden and other critics are perhaps too sanguine in believing that there is a less coercive approach to address the problem: an effective way to prevent severely addicted women from giving birth to FAS children in a way that preserves the women's autonomy. Adding to her analysis, she notes the paradox in most Americans' attitudes toward the syndrome: they are willing to accept that FAS exists and that drinking mothers are at fault for birthing mentally disabled children, yet they avoid the logical position that individuals born with FAS lack personal agency and cannot be held responsible for their crimes. In the end, the book emphasizes Americans' enduring ambivalence about defining and preventing FAS. The dilemmas about women's privacy and the role of public policy remain contentious.

As she shifts among the various arenas, Golden demonstrates command of scientific and medical literature, popular media coverage, including television news programs and women's magazines, congressional and federal agency sources, and legal proceedings. Golden's prose is accessible and engaging, and she is to be commended for interpreting complicated issues for a general reader in a well-paced style with compelling ex-

amples and stories. This book would work well as a text in an undergraduate class on society and medicine or gender and health. At the same time, Golden's well-researched and documented study will enhance the knowledge of professionals in many fields, including history, gender studies, medicine, communications, and sociology, providing them with greater appreciation of the dynamic nature of "making" disease and the complex relationships among medical diagnoses and media, politics, gender, and social class in recent American society.

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MARIE GOTTSCHALK. *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge Studies in Criminology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 451. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$28.95.

This book examines the U.S. "carceral state," which includes millions of prisoners, parolees, and probationers along with millions more close relatives, discharged convicts, corrections employees, and residents of towns with imprisonment as the main industry. The U.S. carceral state is distinguished by its huge size, harsh punishments, and continuing use of the death penalty. This scholarly study focuses on two main questions: what are the political institutions that explain the United States' unprecedented reliance on mass imprisonment? Why has there been so little public opposition to the carceral state?

Marie Gottschalk chooses to prioritize politics and political institutions, which proves fruitful. She shows, for example, how progressive activists opposing rape and domestic violence sometimes join forces with conservative law-and-order groups to support harsher punishments (such as mandatory arrests and long prison sentences) that contribute to the carceral state. She highlights the relative weakness of the U.S. welfare state to explain why victims' rights is seen as a crime-related phenomenon in the U.S. but as a welfare issue in Europe. And despite the fact that crime and punishment were local matters for most of U.S. history, the author reveals that historical bursts of federal concern with issues such as social purity, prostitution, and prohibition were building blocks of the federal carceral state that emerged in the 1970s.

The book places significant emphasis on the place of race in the rise of the carceral state, from the convict leasing system of the nineteenth century to the rise (and fall) of the prisoners' rights movement in the twentieth century. Several chapters analyze the history of capital punishment in the United States, based on the contention that the struggle over the death penalty has had "enormous spillover effects" (p. 198). For Gottschalk, the key spillover effect has been to put public passion at the center of U.S. penal policy.

The author is a small "d" democrat who does not

trust the demos. She does not want popular sentiment to play a significant role in penal policy. She goes so far as to compare public influence in penal policy to the Roman mob throwing Christians to the lions. She criticizes California's system of initiatives and referendums for providing "combustible fuel for penal populism" (pp. 219–220). Meanwhile, she praises Canada and Western Europe for abolishing capital punishment regardless of the will of their citizens. The author justifies her distrust in the same way that today's progressives advocate theories of "deliberative democracy": they condemn raw public opinion as subject to mass impulse and elite manipulation, but place their faith in the informed citizenry. Gottschalk's justification is based on two questionable assumptions. One is that only uninformed people support capital punishment. The related assumption is that informed citizens necessarily oppose capital punishment.

Missing from this otherwise comprehensive, comparative study of U.S. political institutions is an analysis of why informed, deliberative Americans might support the carceral state, including the death penalty. Do they agree with the civic leaders and public officials who seek to maintain order in a nation where both the rhetoric of liberty and the perceived threat of licentiousness are ubiquitous? Do middle-class, white citizens benefit from penal practices that target marginal people, especially minorities, for incarceration? Does an enduring sense of justice-as-vengeance inform public attitudes about punishment? The author emphasizes the importance of the U.S. public prosecutor institution to explain why the victims' rights movement hardens the penal environment in the U.S. but not elsewhere; perhaps she should have put more emphasis on why victims' rights advocates feel fully justified in promoting harsh penal practices in the United States.

Consider the possibility that it is not the relative weakness of the U.S. welfare state but its very strength in the minds of penal reformers that explains limited opposition to the carceral state. Ever since the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons set out to reform criminal law and jails in postrevolutionary Philadelphia, penal reformers' impulse has been to sequester convicts and deviants from society, "treat" them for prolonged periods to heal their souls and improve their behavior, and then release them back into free society. In effect, penal reformers tasked the state with providing for the welfare not only of law-abiding citizens but also of convicts. The conservative position has not been to oppose long-term incarceration; it has been to oppose "rehabilitation" with some version of "retribution," which usually entails longer sentences under harsher conditions. With both the left and the right favoring incarceration as the first line of punishment, it is not surprising that few people have opposed the carceral state.

The book concludes with recommendations for dismantling the carceral state. Gottschalk wants to reduce the prison population by more than seventy-five percent, eliminate race and ethnic disparities in the prison

system, ensure that prisoners are treated with respect and dignity, and abolish capital punishment. She suggests, convincingly, that the mounting costs of mass imprisonment are unlikely to undo the carceral state: leaders are willing to pay those costs, even when budgets are tight. Ultimately, citizens must establish "solidarity with the expelled of society" (p. 239). If we cannot do it ourselves, we might be moved in this direction by international human rights organizations that shine a spotlight on the cruelty of our carceral state. By the author's own reckoning, however, America's political institutions contribute to the carceral state and its citizens use democratic processes to promote the carceral state. Perhaps efforts to dismantle the carceral state must begin by making a case that we the people "ought" to oppose it, ultimately, because that is the "right" thing to do.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MATTHEW MULCAHY. *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783*. (Early America: Context, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 257. \$45.00.

Those living in the Caribbean or the American South are poignantly aware that land-falling tropical storms, with their high winds, tornadoes, heavy rain, pounding surf, flooding, and storm surges, create havoc and carve immense swaths of devastation. Hurricanes Andrew, Charley, Ivan, Camille, and most of all Katrina represent liminal encounters with nature's fury, events etched into our collective consciousness because of what they hit, the suffering they leave behind, and the unique paper (and electronic) trails they generate. Social and natural disasters can serve as probes into society, as evidenced by the accounts of the London fire of 1666 or the Lisbon earthquake and tsunami of 1755. In his path-breaking and original book, Matthew Mulcahy has creatively exploited the paper trails left by major seventeenth and eighteenth-century hurricanes as probes into changing social relations in the British Caribbean. These documents include planter's diaries, memoirs, books, newspaper articles, and government reports discussing either relief efforts or policy.

Mulcahy's book begins with experiences of the first permanent British settlements in the region in 1624 and extends through the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. An early chapter aptly frames a set of "troubling questions" raised by the relationship of "English culture to American nature" (p. 11). These issues are largely related to settler's limited ability to tame and transform the wilderness into a productive and settled landscape. Planters' expectations of making the climate more wholesome by cultivation were continually frustrated by the desolation of hurricane visitations, each of which carried the power to "begin the World anew" (p. 28).

Some planters considered the storms their enemy, but it was an enemy that could never be defeated. Storms devastated crops, deposited salty seawater on prime agricultural fields, and claimed the lives of slaves. A mitigating rhythm of planting, production, shipping, and battening down the hatches emerged, based on the experience that hurricanes were most likely to make landfall between June and September. While early colonists easily dismissed Native American beliefs that linked hurricanes to supernatural forces, many maintained the storms were either periodic punishments or warnings originating from the hand of a biblical God. Later settlers sought meaning in the nascent mechanical philosophy, yet reserved final judgment on the prerogatives of divine providence.

A chapter on architecture in the greater Caribbean focuses on the influence of hurricanes and earthquakes on building styles. The designs of planters' dwellings, slave quarters, and public edifices were shaped by environmental realities. If the entire built environment was razed periodically by these natural forces of "creative destruction" (p. 118), so, too, was it rebuilt by slave labor following each disaster. Two subsequent chapters on humanitarian relief efforts recount how the halting efforts of local charities in the early eighteenth century gave way to more organized governmental efforts involving subscriptions, loans, and public funds appropriated by Parliament. Such aid was typically earmarked for the benefit of planters and colonists, but because of communication, transportation, and other delays, "it took weeks, sometimes months, and occasionally years before this outside aid was collected, sent to the colonies, and distributed among victims" (p. 142). It was the slaves, often left homeless and subject to disease and malnutrition, who suffered most from such delays. Elites had more resources and began rebuilding immediately using slave labor to reassert their social position.

An appendix lists major tropical storms that made landfall and caused significant damage in the Caribbean between 1624 and 1786. The effects of hurricanes on mariners in the region, although not addressed by the author, could be studied using ships' protests and other maritime sources.

The moral heart of the book remains the plight of the slaves, and I cannot help feeling that the issue demands further attention. After all, as Mulcahy writes, these colonies were "slave societies" (p. 96) with bound inhabitants outnumbering free by some twelve to one. Such analysis would require additional kinds of evidence to that found in the documents cited here. As an experiment, try subsisting on a typical slave diet, "inadequate in the best of times" (p. 104), of a *weekly* ration of a pint of rice, a pound of salted fish, some starchy vegetables, and supplemental fruit. Then imagine cutting the ration at least in half, taking away access to safe drinking water, and living without shelter while maintaining or even increasing your workload.

As the author concludes, "Living in the Greater Caribbean meant living with risk and volatility" (p. 190).

Given events in recent memory such as Hurricane Hugo and the eruption of Mount Serrat, it is safe to say that this meaning is still alive and that the poorest sectors of society will likely be both hardest hit and slowest to recover from natural disasters.

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FREDERICK H. SMITH. *Caribbean Rum: A Social and Economic History*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 339. \$59.00.

Fermented beverages, including even some won from the juice of the sugar cane, have been around for millennia. But the first recorded distilled liquor made from sugar cane is probably only about four centuries old. It is said to have been distilled first in Barbados, around 1630. Rum, then, is a modern beverage, one that turned up long after tea, coffee, and chocolate had been carried to the West, tirelessly touted as polychrests, and then introduced successfully into European patterns of consumption, particularly in the industrializing cities.

Rum does not seem to most of us quite so wholesome as these other beverages. Most people (perhaps especially those who do not regularly drink rum) are likely to think of this modern product in connection with pirates, the Royal Navy, calypso ditties, sand, sunshine, and the Caribbean—the so called "sugar islands." Frederick H. Smith's book centers on the Caribbean region. Though not the first home of sugar, the Antilles are the first home of rum. In eight chapters, chronologically arranged, Smith traces rum's local—and to a lesser extent, global—history, up to the present. In the Antilles, that history is of course closely related to the history of sugar and to the labor that has produced it, for almost exactly five centuries. Rum is different because it is a producer's "extra," processed from the leavings of sugar production. But it also differs because rum is a consumption good of prime importance among Caribbean folk, besides being a major export and earnings source like sugar.

Since Smith is interested in the sociology of psychoactive substances, he uses rum to tie together the lives of Caribbean peoples: the work they do, the substances they consume, and the rituals of everyday life. In an early chapter on Caribbean rum in the seventeenth century, Smith writes of the indigenous Carib people of the islands, who were soon supplanting their own fermented drinks with those they could trade for or cadge from visiting Europeans. A later chapter on "ancestors and alcohol" takes the reader to West Africa, to lay bare how the African past provides background for the alcohol consumption of the enslaved in the New World. Throughout both of these chapters, rum glints in the descriptions of the events of daily life—births, weddings, funerals, the social, and the religious—like light on water. The author believes that the ubiquity of rum in the region has intensified its consumption. But he also believes that the bitter history of Caribbean labor, together with the chronic insecurity that slavery and the

plantation imposed upon those who labored, positively conditioned that consumption.

The changing nature of Caribbean life is mirrored in this story of a single psychoactive substance. As slavery ended in island after island; as global sugar production became more diffuse; as Europe became a (beet) sugar producer; and as the European colonial grip began to slacken (and that of the United States to grow), the plantation system and the politics that lay behind it changed as well. Rum had always been a secondary product in the islands. As the nineteenth century waned, however, there were local pressures to increase its production. The retreat of Europe and the advance of the United States played a direct part in the change. The U.S. colonial presence and U.S. capital provided powerful stimuli to increased sugar production; rum followed along quite naturally. Then, in the mid-twentieth century, and especially after the success of the Cuban Revolution, U.S. policy would alter the place of Caribbean sugar in the world economy, not only with regard to Cuba, but even in terms of alternative sweeteners. The rise of high-fructose corn syrup, for example, can be linked quite directly to the North American political response to the rise of an independent Cuba. But Smith's story does not go quite that far forward in time.

Since the author is a serious student of the social contexts of consumption, it is a little surprising that he has not included in his survey such works as Jordan Goodman, Paul E. Lovejoy, and Andrew Sherratt, eds., *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology* (1995), or William Jankowiak and Daniel Bradburd's *Drugs, Labor and Colonial Expansion* (2003). Both of these collections include contributions and introductions that seem quite relevant to this author's purpose. But that is a minor cavil.

This is a book of many virtues. Its author, an anthropologist, has tried to write serious history and—in the opinion of this nonhistorian—does so creditably. Smith's book is also interdisciplinary in orientation, and makes full use of anthropology's strengths, both archaeological and ethnographic. By silhouetting rum's saga against the broader background of the region, he lets the reader keep the global in view, even while focusing on the local. Historians of the region will find his overview exciting.

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SAMUEL FARBER. *The Origins of the Cuban Revolution Reconsidered*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 212. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This interesting and polemical book revisits a question that has puzzled scholars of Latin America since the early 1960s: how to explain the radicalization of the Cuban revolution of 1959. None of the organizations that opposed the dictatorial government of Fulgencio Batista in the 1950s sought to build a communist state in the island. Yet Fidel Castro's proclamation that the

Cuban revolution was of "socialist character" in April 1961 did not take anybody by surprise. In less than two years, Cuba's economy and society had experienced a radical transformation. The republican state, its army, and the traditional political parties had collapsed. The former elites, domestic and foreign, had been displaced. Most economic activities had come under state control.

Scholars and political analysts have debated for decades whether these drastic changes can be attributed to Fidel Castro's mischievous leadership, to the myopia of American imperial policies, to the opportunism of Cuban communists and the Soviets, or to popular pressures. The best scholarship on the Cuban revolution, however, has moved away from the monocausal explanations of the past and emphasized the interaction of complex domestic and international factors in the radicalization of revolutionary policies. Samuel Farber's provocative study follows this path. The author studies carefully, sometimes with illuminating detail, the first two years of the revolutionary process, to analyze how domestic and international actors influenced events and shaped the direction of the revolution. He gives significant attention to the cultural and institutional contexts in which these actors operated, not only to make sense of their actions, but also to assess the possibility of alternative responses.

In order to explain the formulation of contradictory policies in Cuba and abroad, Farber identifies fractures and divisions within each of these actors. Castro presided over a revolutionary coalition that included factions of various ideological persuasions. Although all of these figures depended on Castro's leadership for legitimacy, they were not passive. For instance, those with communist sympathies promoted links with the Soviet Union. There were fractures within the U.S. and Soviet governments as well, so their policies were not always coherent.

One of the most polemical elements of this revisionist study concerns the relative importance of popular sectors in the radicalization of revolutionary politics. Although a chapter of the book is devoted to the question of whether the revolution was driven "from above or from below" (p. 112), Farber clearly emphasizes the importance of the "above." The result is an explanation of the Cuban revolution in which "the masses of revolutionary followers" (p. 115) played a limited role: "the claim that mass pressures from below, particularly during 1959 and early 1960, left Castro no other option but to stay the radical revolutionary course is not credible," the author argues (p. 114). Farber portrays the radical shift as a process "controlled from the top" (p. 121) and "the Cuban masses" as "the objects rather than the subjects of history" (p. 69).

Historians will read these assertions with a healthy dose of skepticism. They will also find much evidence in Farber's book to sustain their doubts. For instance, in February 1959 Castro condemned spontaneous land seizures and announced a forthcoming agrarian reform. Even after the law was passed the government seized

lands “in response to peasant complaints and requests” (p. 122). Revolutionary authorities became concerned with the intensity and frequency of strikes and asked the unions for patience. The government organized the execution of Batista’s henchmen to prevent informal lynchings—surely an indication that they feared the populace taking justice into their own hands. This is ultimately an empirical question, to be researched carefully in the future, but the evidence in this book suggests that popular pressures did play an important role in the radicalization of the revolutionary process. Farber, however, is to be commended for expressing his arguments clearly and for raising questions for future research. This is one of the many merits of this book.

Less commendable is the author’s tendency to polemize with adversaries and opinions that are not always properly identified. There are scattered references in the text to the views of “right-wingers” (p. 61), to the “common sense explanations” of North Americans “left of the political center” (p. 69), to “the predominant view among Cuban Americans in South Florida” (p. 5), and to “myths propagated by supporters of the Castro regime” (p. 109) that are not substantiated and therefore difficult to assess. Instead of engaging the growing scholarship on the Cuban republic, the author debates views proposed in the media or in cultural journals such as *Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana*. By entering these debates Farber shows that the study of the Cuban revolution continues to be a political minefield. What we need, however, are serious studies that offer new perspectives and information on pre- and postrevolutionary Cuba. This book constitutes an important step in this direction. Students of Cuba, Latin America, the Cold War, and inter-American relations will benefit greatly from it.

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GERALD HORNE. *Black and Brown: African Americans and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920*. (American History and Culture.) New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 275. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$20.00.

The revolution that burned across Mexico in the early twentieth century did not stop at that nation’s borders. As the northern part of the country became a vast stage across which the armies of Porfirio Díaz, Francisco Madero, Pascual Orozco, Francisco (Pancho) Villa, and Venustiano Carranza marched and counter-marched, the tides of war spilled across the U.S. frontier.

Long before Villa’s 1916 raid on Columbus, New Mexico, hundreds of thousands of refugees fled north to safety. For President William Howard Taft, preventing the violence from spilling onto American territory remained the main priority. His successor, who shifted to a policy of active intervention in Mexican affairs, also sought to secure the border region. To that area, they dispatched the substantial force of African American

soldiers who are the primary focus of Gerald Horne’s book.

The book displays a fine level of craftsmanship. Horne combines primary source documents from archives located throughout the United States with oral histories and the secondary literature to produce a clear picture of competent warriors commanded to guard a long and brutal frontier while simultaneously enduring from fellow Americans a level of racially based contempt and abuse. The lengthy bibliography and more than 700 footnotes give evidence of a prodigious amount of research.

Correctly, Horne notes that the conflict in Mexico exacerbated racial tensions on the U.S. frontier. Relations between Anglo Americans and Hispanics, tense even in the best of times, turned more violent during this period. Here the Plan of San Diego (1915), which called for driving all Anglos from a substantial swath of the United States, receives due consideration. Whether this proclamation represented the fantasy of a table of drunkards or the product of a few serious persons remains in doubt. However what does not stand in question are the hundreds of violent deaths that took place as fear and loathing seized much of the frontier population.

For African Americans who knew of similar violence against their own in much of the United States, these actions proved hard to tolerate. When racism turned into violence directed against these soldiers, they responded in kind. Horne provides a description of the Houston Mutiny of 1917, in which a contingent of soldiers reacted to a policeman’s beating of one of their own by killing five police officers and twelve civilians. Following subsequent courts-martial, the United States executed nineteen of these soldiers. Horne’s treatment of such events is precise.

In a nuanced analysis, he correctly points out that in some frontier communities residents responded to the protection these troops offered by lessening the hostility traditionally displayed toward blacks. However, his judgment of the punitive expedition undertaken by General John J. Pershing and the Buffalo Soldiers in pursuit of Pancho Villa’s forces requires a response. Pershing’s orders in part directed that Villa be driven so far back into Mexico that he could never again threaten the United States and that his forces be struck in the process. Here, the Buffalo Soldiers succeeded. They inflicted some 400 casualties on the *Villistas*, who never again troubled the U.S. border. While Horne accurately cites both the extraordinarily difficult conditions under which the expeditionary force operated and the losses they suffered in an ill-planned advance upon Mexican Army forces at Carrizal, the degree of success these troopers achieved merited greater mention.

Horne also considers the cultural and intellectual impact of the Mexican Revolution upon African Americans. The concept of *la raza cósmica* (the cosmic race) proved particularly attractive. In this construct, Mexicans declared themselves to be a single race that included African, Indian, and European components in

one grand whole. This provided a welcome contrast to the segregation then common in the United States. Given the 1922 invitation of Mexican President Alvaro Obregón to African Americans to settle in Mexico and the friendly reception that prominent African Americans such as Langston Hughes received, the new regime enjoyed considerable respect among them. Similarly, Mexican painters attracted the attention of a generation of African American artists just as Mexican enthusiastically embraced jazz musicians from north of the border.

In summary, this is a well-researched and highly readable work. For scholars and students of the periods, Horne's book will be required reading.

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MICHEL GOBAT. *Confronting the American Dream: Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 373. \$23.95.

Much of the scholarship pertaining to Latin American history, particularly works that address U.S.-Latin American relations, proceeds from the core assumption that the hemisphere exists as a client of the great power to the north. Dependency theory dominates the academic discourse on the region. Clearly, much of this school of thought remains based upon unavoidable disparities in power that define and express an unequal relationship between the American "colossus" (to use John Coatsworth's description) and the smaller, relatively weaker nations that also occupy the hemisphere. However, while dependency theory retains its utility in many respects, it has increasingly been challenged for what it fails to explain. A newer generation of scholars—a group that includes Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Julio Moreno—has expanded upon previous work by Louis A. Pérez and addressed the limitations of American influence in Latin American politics, economics, and culture, examining the factors that sometimes deflect power or shape it beyond its original intent. Cumulatively, this revisionist school of thought has significantly challenged conventional wisdom regarding the hemisphere and opened the discourse to a new debate on the depth and relevancy of American power.

Michel Gobat's book very effectively recognizes the position of strength enjoyed by the United States in Nicaragua during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. American economic and strategic interests placed the United States at the forefront of Nicaraguan affairs, at which point Washington attempted to solidify and expand its influence. However, rather than stop his analysis at the point in the narrative where Nicaraguans confronted the familiar dichotomy of either Americanization or anti-Americanism, Gobat delves into the complex political, economic, and cross-cultural influences that both defined the U.S.-Nicaraguan relationship and expressed Nicaragua's own sense of ambiguity

about its place in the American empire. For example, even though William Walker's filibuster invasion was a disaster for Nicaragua, according to Gobat, "it strengthened elite Nicaraguans' infatuation with the U.S. road to modernity" (p. 5). Nicaragua confronted what was, for all intents, a series of Faustian bargains in which the country sacrificed portions of its local traditions and national identity for the sake of perceived progress.

The unexpected consequences that resulted from these decisions express a fascinating and complex story of just how much American imperial rule marked Nicaragua in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dollar diplomacy, intended to introduce market reforms, improved the economic and political status of the peasantry at the expense of established landlords. American efforts to promote cultural modernity, articulated in Protestant missionary work as well as the growing popularity of American sports and leisure activities, provoked a backlash among the traditional, conservative elements of Nicaragua's old social oligarchy. As the book unfolds, Gobat very successfully builds a case that superficial assumptions about imperialism and its contents are often wrong. By penetrating the many layers that comprise a bilateral relationship, the author illustrates the inconsistencies, contradictions, and mistakes that inhabit the patron-client system in actual practice.

The same apparently contradictory tendencies appeared in internal Nicaraguan affairs as well. In the later chapters that address Augusto Cesar Sandino's revolution against the United States, Gobat examines the seemingly strange alliance that emerged between old elite conservatives and the populist rebel leader from Masaya. Revolutionary nationalist principle allowed these adversaries to set aside their historical conflicts and cooperate against the threat presented by American interests. While Gobat is careful to delineate just how closely this convergence of conservative and rebel ideas moved, the relationship itself is an important and overlooked component of Nicaraguan history.

Gobat's research is outstanding. His extensive use of both American and Nicaraguan archives creates a sense of balance that permeates the narrative. More importantly, the author is not content to rest on the material relevant to decision making at the national level. Instead, Gobat introduces information derived from municipal archives located in the key city of Granada, and from the personal papers of Nicaraguan protagonists such as Juan Batista Sacasa and Emiliano Vargas Chamorro. Moreover, citations derived from first-hand Nicaraguan and American accounts of events both refine Gobat's main points and provide the reader with a real sense of the political and socioeconomic atmosphere that surrounds his narrative. Collectively, Gobat's research provides his work with a breadth and depth that is rarely found in historical studies of Latin America.

This is perhaps one of the finest works produced by the new generation of Latin American historians. Intent on revising the current conventional wisdom on

Latin America's relationship with the United States, Gobat exceeds his goals. The author's narrative style and scholarship clearly will set a high standard for years to come.

MICHAEL D. GAMBONE
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ANA MARÍA LORANDI. *Spanish King of the Incas: The Epic Life of Pedro Bohorques*. Translated by ANN DE LEÓN. (Illuminations: Cultural Formations of the Americas.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 258. \$34.95.

Argentine ethnohistorian Ana María Lorandi examines the life of Pedro Bohorques, a Spanish adventurer who in the mid-seventeenth century managed to persuade much of the indigenous population of colonial Tucumán to accept him as the new Inca and support a rebellion against the government. Yet her book is much more than a simple biography of the Andalusian rogue/revolutionary. She weaves the strands of microhistory into a tapestry revealing the social tensions and violence that beset colonial Peru. Besides her interest in Bohorques himself, Lorandi is at least equally concerned with the questions of why the Indians accepted his claim and even supported his revolutionary aims and why some Spaniards initially supported him before turning against the "Inca." Her sources include the judicial proceedings against Bohorques and an account of his rebellion penned decades later by the Jesuit Hernando de Torreblanca, a participant who wrote to exculpate himself and his order of any responsibility for the tumult.

Bohorques stepped into historical light in the mid-1600s, but Lorandi begins her analysis much earlier. She first examines the well known social dimensions of early Spanish colonialism in the Andes, as Spaniards and Creoles competed for control of indigenous labor, and miscegenation spawned new ethnic groups that added to the viceroyalty's social turmoil. Frequent rebellions showed the instability of Spanish control. Lorandi then analyzes the creation of collective and individual memory. Indigenous peoples who had been conquered and exploited by the Incas created a new, more favorable memory of their former oppressors. They created the myth of Inkarrí, which predicted the Inca's return to rescue them from the Spaniards. Lorandi ties the Inkarrí myth to Andean and Spanish proclivities for asserting status through genealogy and through claims based on service to either the Inca or the Spanish monarchy. Inter-marriage between the conquerors and the Incan aristocracy made such status claims culturally complex. Meanwhile Spaniards and Creoles created their own interpretation of the Andean world. They imagined the fabulously wealthy utopias of El Dorado and the Great Paytiti, whose siren call enticed Spaniards such as Bohorques into the jungles east of the Andes.

With that extensive background, Lorandi finally focuses her attention on Bohorques, to show how he cre-

ated his own historical myths, which gave him influence in both indigenous and Hispanic societies. To the latter he claimed knowledge of the hidden treasures of Paytiti, which he could access through his indigenous allies. These assertions won him support from governors, missionaries, and most Spaniards in the region. Only Bishop Melchor Maldonado y Saavedra consistently doubted Bohorques's claims. The others were willing to tolerate his close relations with the unconquered tribes in the hope that he would open Paytiti to colonial penetration or make it possible for missionaries to convert the non-Christian tribes. To the Indians in Tucumán Bohorques offered a different historical memory and a different identity: he claimed descent from Paullu Inca. Although the indigenous inhabitants of Tucumán's Chalchaquí valley were not related to the Incas, they accepted Bohorques as their leader because he seemed useful to them in their resistance against the Spaniards. The tribes had no institutional means of unification and thus needed a figure such as Bohorques. Nonetheless when he moved to make himself ruler of an independent kingdom, many of the chieftains withdrew their support, even though he promised to free them from colonial oppression. They understood that he was endangering their tenuous relations with the Spaniards. In short, Bohorques was an actor trying to play conflicting roles simultaneously. Arrested in 1658 and imprisoned in Lima, he was executed in 1667.

The book is not always easy to follow. Lack of an index is a handicap, and Lorandi provides no road map to orient the reader. In the earlier chapters, Bohorques disappears from the stage for long periods, while the author creates the historical and anthropological context for the reader to understand her protagonist more fully. Only in the second half does Bohorques assume center stage. Lorandi might have provided fuller details of Bohorques's career at the outset. Until its final chapters the book has little chronological structure to help organize it. Its micro-historical focus makes it something akin to an extreme close-up of an impressionist painting. Yet when Lorandi occasionally steps back and offers the reader a broader view of the canvas, the tiny globes of micro-data coalesce into a vibrant historical panorama.

At the end, however, Lorandi adroitly weaves everything together. Little by little, without always telling the reader what is coming, Lorandi reveals sections of her historical tapestry. By the end she has shown Bohorques as someone who exploited indigenous and Spanish historical memories to create his own identity. She comes to see him not as a rogue and self-interested adventurer but as a lone hero, who failed because he refused to give himself fully to either side and thus satisfied neither. This masterful book requires careful reading but offers profound insights into the ethnic and social tensions of the colonial Andes.

KENDALL W. BROWN
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JANE E. MANGAN. *Trading Roles: Gender, Ethnicity, and the Urban Economy in Colonial Potosí*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 277. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

The silver city of Potosí has long been described as a male space. Home of the Andes' richest mountain, it was the destination of tens of thousands of drafted indigenous mine workers, along with equally numerous Spanish officials, priests, merchants, and street hustlers. Jane E. Mangan reminds us that Potosí had another dimension, a female and mostly non-European one as important as that of the miners, merchants, and refiners. This book, which joins a burgeoning historiography on indigenous market women in the colonial Andes, traces the fortunes of food and beverage vendors and small-scale creditors from about 1550 to 1700. Mangan concludes that in a bonanza economy prescribed social boundaries blurred and disappeared. Money never bought women of any ethnicity or status a seat on the Potosí city council, but it did win respect in the form of prime real estate purchases and lavish bequests.

Exploiting notary records and town council minutes, Mangan gets right down to the street level of life in early colonial Potosí. Her main area of interest is the so-called Gato de las Indias, an indigenous outdoor market buried beneath today's mint and archive. First, however, she pauses to describe the city's first great silver cycle: a swift peak in production following Viceroy Toledo's 1570s "reforms" (*mita*, mint, and mercury), followed by a near century-long decline. Mangan then outlines the development of the city's multitiered urban marketplace. Here in the high, dry Andes as many as 110,000 people needed to be fed, clothed, and housed. Everything was imported, and silver, or the promise of it, fueled all trade. At the top were bankers and arbitrageurs who sold raw silver to the royal mint, and at the bottom were street vendors: sellers of coca leaves, maize beer, and wheat bread. In between was a range of mostly male, and frequently Spanish-born, shopkeepers, from poor *pulperos*, or grocers, to wealthy *mercaderes*, or dry goods dealers. These men often sought to use the city council to persecute enterprising indigenous women.

At the core of the book is Mangan's detailed and original analysis of Potosí's female food and drink vendors, mostly indigenous women who after migrating with spouses or patrons chose to settle in the city. These enterprising women quickly formed complex social and economic networks. By virtue of being both indigenous and female, they were exempt from tribute payment and the *alcabala* sales tax, facts that encouraged other women of color to join their ranks, at least in dress and comportment. Whatever their exact ethnicity, Potosí's market women took full advantage of these exemptions. Still, as Mangan clearly describes in her discussion of the town council's harsh rules and decisions, they faced numerous obstacles in trying to get ahead. Like most

urban strivers, all sought to accumulate capital and improve the lot of their children. Giving to religious confraternities was also required in this era of Baroque display.

Next is an absorbing chapter on taverns and bakeries, which students of other early colonial cities such as Mexico, Lima, and Quito will find familiar. Like Quito's *obrajes*, or primitive textile mills, Potosí's larger bakeries served as quasi-prisons, often for African men and indigenous draftees. As members of a sort of old boys' club, if not quite guild, their owners' access to penal labor and other advantages made it hard, as Mangan shows, for uncaptialized female bakers to break in and compete. She gives the example of a free woman of African descent to illustrate the point. Maize beer, the other major comestible in the city of silver, was of constant concern to the city council. Like *pulque* in Mexico, *chicha* was blamed for everything from sloth to murder. In one surprising episode, Mangan relates how the town council's 1604 ban on maize flour, the prime ingredient for *chicha*, simply forced female brewers to switch to wheat. In need of bread, Potosí's "Heffeweisen interlude" came to an abrupt end.

Mangan then turns to the labyrinthine world of petty credit. Instead of church loans, the author examines short-term lending by shopkeepers and street vendors, a spottily documented but pervasive phenomenon. A chronic cash shortage among Potosí's working poor forced petty lenders to keep running tabs for up to a year. Always living on promised rather than real wages, borrowers pawned what little they could, and often had to sell their labor through short-term contracts simply to pay for groceries. For lenders, notaries and literate friends were a critical necessity, while borrowers found themselves hard pressed to come up with something valuable enough to pawn. Unsurprisingly, the city council accused pawnbrokers of fencing stolen goods. Though not the author's point, this chapter testifies to the power of elites to hoard and export silver even at its most voluminous source. Still, Mangan does find evidence of silver ore and raw ingots circulating as primitive cash.

Mangan's overall argument, implied by the book's title, is that Potosí's unusually vibrant marketplace made possible a kind of social mobility (in both directions) that was virtually unthinkable elsewhere in colonial Spanish America, and probably much of the early modern world. Unmarried indigenous mothers with no capital could and did become prosperous and respected householders, sponsors of religious cults, and celebrated rescuers of the sick and orphaned. At the same time, Spanish-born men with noble ancestry and respectable inheritances could and did lose everything to become indebted laborers. Such men, as Mangan documents, found themselves pawning stolen silver to these same indigenous women for a loaf of bread.

This is an elegantly argued and deeply researched contribution to colonial Andean history, and also a fascinating window on everyday life in colonial Potosí. By turning from the much-studied world of silver produc-

tion to the harder to quantify realms of circulation and subsistence, Mangan introduces us not only to indigenous, African, and mixed-ancestry market women but also to the city's countless *mitayo* mine workers, Spanish grocers, African slaves, and many others. This Potosí, like the one portrayed by the celebrated chronicler Arzans y Orsúa, is rich with contradictions. There is class and ethnic conflict, and a constant battle of the sexes, all in the name of providing the city's "fuel for living," its caloric (and alcoholic) labor power.

KRIS LANE

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ALIDA C. METCALF. *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 375. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.

In this new book, Alida C. Metcalf presents her analysis of the first century of European interactions with the native peoples of Brazil. The first generation(s) of contact in sixteenth-century Brazil has been long overdue for such a study. Drawing chiefly from Jesuit letters, Inquisitorial records, and other printed and manuscript sources, Metcalf has crafted an important and original account of colonial Brazil and its indigenous population.

In chapter one, Metcalf defines the "go-between" and places the issue in a wider historical and anthropological context. Go-betweens are of three types: "Physical/Biological, Those who create material links between worlds; carriers of plants, animals, and disease; bearers of children of mixed race [:] Transactional, Those who facilitate social interaction between worlds; translators, cultural brokers, negotiators [:] or Representational, Those who write, draw maps, and represent the 'other' culture through words, texts, or images; historians" (p. 12). Based on this very wide definition, the first inclination of the reader might be to label Metcalf's book as a "first contact study" of the New World, such as the works of James Axtell, and Stuart Schwartz. This would be accurate only for the first two chapters, "Go-betweens" and "Encounter," wherein she traces interactions of the Portuguese as they made their way down the West and Southern African coasts into the Indian Ocean littoral, setting the stage for their arrival in Brazil. What follows is a chronological and thematic framework that makes this work unique and ultimately very ambitious. Chapter three, "Possession," discusses the various types of go-betweens used by the Portuguese crown to cement its claim on the colony. This includes the struggle between the French and the Portuguese, again seen through the agency of the go-between. Conversion is the subject of chapter four. In it, Metcalf clearly shows the conflicting interests of the church (chiefly the Jesuits) and the colonists regarding the native population, specifically obtaining and controlling their labor. In both this chapter, as well as later on in others, Metcalf examines the dynamics of encounter and its aftermath in each of the captaincies (large hereditary land grants begun in the

sixteenth century). It is something of a given in the literature that captaincies succeeded or failed because of their relations with the native populations, which is only logical. Metcalf takes this several steps further, showing us how and why and (when possible) via what agents the Portuguese succeeded or failed. Chapter five, "Biology" draws from the work of Alfred Crosby and those who have studied the impact of disease on native populations in Spanish America, such as Noble David Cook. Metcalf is able to extract a great deal of information about the timing and spread of diseases from the available documentation. Chapters six and seven, "Slavery" and "Resistance," round out the work. Again, using the focus of the go-between, Metcalf outlines the ebb and flow of Indian slavery, drawing us to why and how the transition to African slavery would occur by the end of the century. Chapter eight, "Power," discusses the importance of the go-between while also acting as the author's conclusion. Her work begins with the Portuguese being a small, relatively powerless group, clinging to a handful of isolated coastal outposts. This group was totally dependent on good relations with the native population. By the end of her study, the Portuguese control large sections of Brazil's coastal areas.

Metcalf studies all of the major themes of sixteenth-century Brazil, using the go-betweens as her focus. This is no easy task, since these people are extremely elusive. Sometimes they can be discovered in the documentation; frequently, however, their presence is not so obvious. Even in the case of European convicts (where one might expect such detail), names or descriptions are rarely stated in source material. Metcalf has done an exemplary job of finding and identifying these shadowy figures. This work also provides a solid foundation for subsequent studies that might apply her thesis of the go-between in Portuguese interactions with non-Europeans elsewhere in the former empire and beyond, in India, South East Asia, Japan, or areas of Africa. As an interactive study, it is linked to earlier works by Walter Rodney and Sanjay Subrahmanyam.

This is a beautifully written, creative, insightful work that attains the author's multifaceted objectives. While earlier studies of the native populations of colonial Brazil, such as the work of John Hemming, were (and remain) important contributions in understanding Portuguese America, Metcalf has added a new title to the must-read list.

TIMOTHY J. COATES
College of Charleston

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

ANDREW M. RIGGSBY. *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 271. \$45.00.

Julius Caesar's *Gallic War* is the only extensive account of a Roman war we have written by the general who fought it. It apparently was unique in its own day, too. Commanders regularly sent the Senate a report at the

end of campaigning season; and in memoirs they might justify and celebrate their achievements; but Caesar, it seems, hit on the brilliant idea of writing at the end of each year short narratives that would inform readers of his doings, separately from his senatorial dispatches. Joined together, they became his *Gallic War*. He needed to influence (the argument runs) opinion in Italy and Rome, where after his controversial consulship in 59 B.C. his enemies were howling for recall and a criminal prosecution.

Although serial publication cannot be proven conclusively (and a rival theory holds that the work came out only at the end of the campaign), *The Gallic War* always should have been of interest to students of Roman politics, yet it has often been neglected. Several prominent publications in the wake of World War II considered to what extent it was baseless propaganda, and a useful volume edited by Kathryn Welch and Anton Powell, *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter: The War Commentaries as Political Instruments*, appeared in 1998. Now in Andrew M. Riggsby's stimulating new book we have an important reexamination, focusing not on distortions but on Caesar's message to his readers. "I am concerned," Riggsby writes, "with the likely or possible effects of *De Bello Gallico* rather than its meaning in some potentially pure sense" (p. 8). Riggsby announces in an introduction that his preferred method is "intertextuality": that is, he relates Caesar's own writing to other types of discourse. The seven chapters that follow take up these discourses (for instance, the Roman conception of space, traditions of ethnography, and ideas of *virtus*, in chapters one, two, and three). The earlier chapters discuss how Caesar describes Gauls and Romans, arguing that sharp distinctions between the two peoples are resisted, with the implication (developed in chapter four) that both will come under his sway. The book then turns to Caesar's own self-fashioning, in relation to the form in which he wrote (chapter five), Roman views about the "just war" (chapter six), and aristocratic self-promotion (chapter seven). Caesar casts himself as "uniquely outstanding in terms of extremely conventional categories" (p. 207); the text is not gross lies, but more propaganda in the sense of a "communication . . . that tends to shape the beliefs and values of its audience" (p. 210).

Students of *The Gallic War* will be grateful for refined observations on Caesar's technique as a writer (for instance, how military technology is made a theme of the book). They will also benefit from some meticulous expositions, e.g., what *commentarii* really are (pp. 134–150), or what Romans felt they had to justify about their wars (pp. 158–170). This is an artful book, which valuably contributes to the understanding of Caesar's narrative. Yet the "intertextual" approach does have two drawbacks. First, the author, in elaborating on his various discourses, neglects what was happening in Rome in the 50s B.C., even though this often helpfully explains the burdens of Caesar's text. Nowhere is the reader told that the German leader Ariovistus had been made a "Friend of the Roman People" in Caesar's consulship,

only for Caesar to turn on him in war the following year. A key reason why Caesar places the Germans "across the Rhine" in his famous opening chapter is so that he can later justify this betrayal: Ariovistus and his Suebi are not where they belong. More generally, Caesar retails his individual campaigns not merely because of the need for a "just war," but because his foes were itching for any provocation to recall him and could point out that he had left his designated province and was skimming off large amounts of plunder for himself. Whenever published, *The Gallic War* was a counterblast to specific allegations of Caesar's enemies.

Second, any historian trying to gauge the effects of *The Gallic War* must contend with the possibility that this book helped bring untold destruction on rich cultures underappreciated today because they did not leave behind a written literature. We need to see *The Gallic War* as part of an outpouring of writing on Caesar's part, including dispatches to the Senate, hundreds of letters to individuals back at Rome, and communications sent within Gaul itself. The written word enabled Caesar, as it would the conquerors of the New World centuries later. Through it he communicated intelligence but also gained favorable opinion back home, drew more recruits, and won extra funding. In the end, he carried through a devastating conquest and established a model for similar catastrophes later. It is, then, ultimately unsatisfactory to study Caesar's writing apart from the war itself. By ignoring the other side's (unwritten) story we become the latest victims, not of Caesar's sword but of his pen.

JOSIAH OSGOOD

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R. MALCOLM ERRINGTON. *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 336. \$45.00.

R. Malcolm Errington offers an explicitly revisionist interpretation of the history of the later Roman Empire between the deaths of the emperors Julian and Theodosius. He writes in reaction to most recent writing about the period, which has tended to concentrate on social, cultural and intellectual developments. Errington focuses on the role of the Roman state, its structures and mechanisms, and its reactions to a changing world. Hence he lays heavy emphasis on the functions of the emperor and how the Roman state was actually run. His book sets out to apply to the later fourth century the reactive model of imperial government set out by Fergus Millar in his *The Emperor in the Roman World: 31 BC-AD 337* (1977) for the three centuries between Augustus and Constantine. Given this approach, it is hardly surprising that Errington reaches the conclusion that even under Theodosius "law and order, which maintained the existing social structures and above all preserved the taxation base of the empire, was always the primary consideration; aggressive Christianizing was not" (p. 259).

Errington reaches his overall interpretation through a series of interlocking narrative chapters dealing with different aspects of imperial government and administration. The first chapter of part one ("Actors and Events") examines what one might anachronistically call the stability of the throne by looking at the various proclamations of new emperors, challenges to the power of established emperors by usurpers, and the establishment of the Theodosian dynasty, while the second chapter surveys imperial military and diplomatic activity along the northern and eastern frontiers of the empire and in Africa. In the military sphere at least, Errington has no difficulty in demonstrating that, however systematic, professional, and well-planned Roman actions may have been, they remained "responses to challenges from outside" and were never the result of premeditated Roman initiative (p. 75). Part two explores the differences between East and West with chapters on the government, the city of Rome, and the city of Constantinople. Much of the matter of these three chapters consists of the close and careful exegesis of the fragments of imperial legislation preserved in the Theodosian Code. Errington shows, time after time, that emperors legislated only for the territory that they ruled and administered. This is the most important and the most convincing section of the book, for it surely establishes beyond possible doubt that the division of the empire by the brothers Valentinian and Valens into two separate administrations instituted a permanent division of the Roman Empire. After 364 there were always two separate administrations and two separate administrative hierarchies in East and West, which were never again reunited in any practical way, even during the brief span of years when Theodosius exercised political and military control over the whole empire.

Part three, which discusses "Religion and the State," cannot be commended with the same confidence. It suffers more than the first two parts from the fact that Errington advances his general interpretation through narrative. There is not necessarily anything wrong with that procedure, but Errington too often presents modern hypothesis or reconstruction as attested fact. A trivial example concerns the recall of Theodosius before he became emperor in 379. According to Errington, Theodosius emerged from retirement in 377 and "is recorded in active service in Moesia or Pannonia early in 378" (p. 29). The military command in question may be recorded, but its date is not clearly attested, and Theodosius's recall has usually been dated after, not before, the Battle of Adrianople. A more serious example touches Errington's claim that neither Valentinian nor Theodosius "took a major initiative" in regard to the religious affairs of the empire (pp. 210–211). On Errington's presentation, Theodosius recognized the usurper Magnus Maximus as a legitimate emperor in 384, and his narrative makes inferences from this date (p. 33). But Egyptian papyri imply that it was significantly later, during the summer of 386, that Theodosius recognized Maximus as his imperial colleague, and correct chronology suggests that his recognition was motivated by Maximus's recent protest against the "persecution" of Ambrose in Milan. In his attempt to minimize imperial interest in and engagement with religious and ecclesiastical matters, Errington also omits some relevant episodes. In the last year of his reign, Valentinian wrote to the churches of Asia Minor urging them to accept the term *homoousios*, and, apparently in the autumn of 378, Gratian sent the general Sapor to use force to restore eastern pro-Nicene bishops deposed under Valens. Such actions imply that the Christian emperors after Julian showed a greater concern for defending what they considered correct Christian belief than this book is willing to concede.

T. D. BARNES

University of Toronto

SHMUEL SHEPKARU. *Jewish Martyrs in the Pagan and Christian Worlds*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 414. \$70.00.

In the last two decades there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in the phenomenon of *Kidush ha-Shem* ("sanctifying the name of God"), especially during the time of the First Crusade. Studies by prominent scholars such as Daniel Boyarin, Robert Chazan, Jeremy Cohen, and Israel Yuval attempt to explain and understand this remarkable phenomenon, which, unlike its Christian counterpart, runs contrary to Jewish legislation and was categorically discouraged by the leaders of Jewish communities throughout the ages. Shmuel Shepkaru's book is part of this scholarly trend.

Like many scholars before, Shepkaru assumes that martyrdom has played a formative role in the Jewish world, and he investigates how it came to exercise such a vital influence on Jewish thought. According to him, in order to understand the concept and occurrences of Jewish martyrdom one has to investigate first the ways in which the notion of *Kidush ha-Shem* and Christian martyrdom evolved in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. Hence, his investigation turns on a double axis: it examines the function of martyrdom in the group itself, and it examines it in relation to the group's changing environment. The result is a linear history of martyrdom from its alleged beginnings in the Hellenistic period to modern times.

Shepkaru's working hypothesis is that martyrdom is not a Hellenic Jewish product but a Christian concept that developed in the Roman cultural climate and only gradually made its way into Judaism. This, of course, is not at all new. Glen Bowersock argued that more than two decades ago, and many scholars have followed suit. In the context of Jewish martyrs, one should particularly mention Simha Goldin's *The Ways of Jewish Martyrdom* (2002), which implemented Bowersock's observations very convincingly indeed.

Shepkaru begins his investigation with a chapter that examines the Book of Daniel and the apocryphal I and II Maccabees, which contain the first Jewish "martyrological" stories. It was on the basis of these stories that the origins of martyrdom were ascribed to Helle-

nistic Judaism. In the second chapter, Shepkaru focuses on first-century literature, especially Philo of Alexandria, Josephus Flavius, and IV Maccabees, in order to demonstrate how "the Roman noble death ideal, which Roman imperialism introduced to the region, was internalized and adorned in biblical grabs by Philo and Josephus" (p. 35). The third chapter is dedicated to early rabbinic texts, which, as Shepkaru rightly points out, were written in part with the Christian martyrs in mind. Nevertheless, as he argues, "compared to the pre-Talmudic accounts of voluntary death, the rabbinic concept of obligatory death shows a considerable diminution" (p. 104). The fourth chapter—which, in my opinion, is the best chapter of the entire book—deals with Byzantine Jewish literature, such as *Sefer Yosippon* and *The Chronicle of Ahimaatz*. In it Shepkaru masterfully demonstrates how Byzantine Jewry played a major role in the transmission and transmutation of the Jewish martyrological concept, chiefly by reversing "the rabbinic restrictions on voluntary death" (p. 107), which resulted in the revival of martyrological tradition and provided a justification for active forms of self sacrifice. It is a splendid chapter, full of insights and thought provoking ideas. The next four chapters focus on the Jewish martyrs of Western Europe (especially France and Germany) in the time of the Crusades, and their commemoration in the later Middle Ages. The last chapter, which attempts to connect the medieval phenomenon of *Kidush ha-Shem* with the Holocaust in six and a half pages, is a drastic simplification, not to say a travesty.

Shepkaru's book has much to recommend it. It is lucid, well written, and thoroughly documented. It summarizes much of the relevant literature on the subject, and it offers a panoramic view of Jewish martyrdom that stretches from the Hellenistic period to the later Middle Ages. No doubt it will be warmly welcomed as an introductory survey by both teachers and students. However, one should also stress that it has very little that is new in it (apart from the chapter on Byzantine Jewry), and in many cases Shepkaru's discussion leaves much to be desired. Scholars who are interested in the topic will still find other studies, such as Boyarin's *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (1999) for the earlier period, or Chazan's *Humanity and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (2000), Cohen's *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusades* (2004), and Goldin's book for the later period, more authoritative.

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ISRAEL JACOB YUVAL. *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Translated by BARBARA HARSHAV and JONATHAN CHIPMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xxi, 313. \$49.95.

KENNETH STOW. *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters; Continuity in the Catholic-Jewish Encounter*. (Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 316. \$55.00.

Both books under review are written by eminent historians of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity in medieval Europe. Both seek to explain the emergence of Christian ritual murder and host desecration charges against Jews that began to mark this relationship in the twelfth-century, and both do so by ranging widely across space and time. The two resulting interpretations are, however, profoundly different. Israel Jacob Yuval focuses on the perceptions members of the two religions have of each other. He believes that rabbinic Judaism developed very much in response to Christianity, and that Christian perceptions of Jews (including most controversially the charge of ritual murder) developed very much in response to Christian awareness of real aspects of Ashkenazic Jewish culture. Kenneth Stow, by contrast, understands these charges as entirely the product of Christian theology. Christians, he argues, have always represented their belief in their election as the true Israel in terms of the purity of the Christian body (individual, corporate, Eucharistic), a purity that must be defended from the dangerous threat posed by a contaminating Judaism. The blood libel is, for him, an (inevitable?) byproduct of this belief and its performance.

The core of Yuval's thesis appeared in an article he published in *Zion* in 1993. In that article he argued that the accusations that Jews killed Christian children, accusations which first surfaced in Western Europe in the 1140s, were the product neither of new developments in Christian theology or politics, nor of the revival of charges recovered from ancient sources. Rather, they were a Christian reaction to changes in Jewish culture. Christians knew that some Jews had been willing to kill their own children rather than have them be killed or converted by Christians during the massacres of Rhineland Jews by crusaders in 1096. They knew, too, that some of these Jews were developing a liturgy in which they cursed and prayed for vengeance upon their persecutors. If Jews were cruel enough to kill their own beloved children, Christians may have reasoned, why should they not vengefully kill the children of Christians, whom they hated? The article provoked a storm of criticism, some of it angry, much of it published in a double issue of *Zion* in 1994. This book (the title is a quotation from Gen. 25:23, God's announcement to Rebecca of Esau and Jacob's impending birth), first published in Hebrew in 1999, represents Yuval's rebuttal of the criticism as well as a vast expansion of his argument.

Just how vast that expansion is becomes clear in chapter one ("Introduction"). Yuval believes that "ours is . . . the first generation" that lives in a "post-polemical age," and can therefore write history without worrying about maintaining the "uniqueness" and "authenticity" of Judaism or Christianity. Even those who share his

optimism about the age may wonder whether Yuval is not himself "counter" rather than "post" polemical. If previous generations struggled for autonomy, Yuval struggles with equal but opposite force for codependence (which he calls "dialogism" without definition of the term, though his sense is clearly not Mikhail Bakhtin's). Moreover, wherever previous scholars tended to see influence running from Judaism to Christianity, Yuval reverses the flow: "whenever we find a similarity between Judaism and Christianity, and we do not have grounds to suggest a shared heritage, we may assume that it is indicative of the influence of the Christian milieu on the Jews, and not vice-versa, unless it may be proved that the Jewish sources are more ancient" (p. 21). Given just how vast the shared heritage of these two faiths is, and how contested the dating of nearly every major source in this book (indeed one of the major arguments of Stow's book is a redating of one of these sources), this position is more a pretheoretical commitment than a philological principle.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of this commitment comes in chapter two ("Rome or Jerusalem: The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Hostility"), dramatic precisely because it is focused not on the Middle Ages but on the early history of both religions in antiquity. In it Yuval compares the texts (Haggadah) and ceremonies (Paschal sacrifice, afikoman) of Jewish Passover with those of Christian Easter in order to argue for a reactive dependence of the former on the latter in the first centuries of the Common Era. This comparison leads to an even more provocative, although substantially unargued point: "the Oral Torah [i.e. the Talmud and all of Rabbinic Judaism based upon it] is, in the deepest sense, a Jewish answer to the Christian Torah, the New Testament" (p. 90).

The remaining chapters return the focus to Northern Europe in the late eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. Chapter three ("The Vengeance and the Curse: Hostility to Christianity among Ashkenazic Jewry") outlines the development among the Jews of Ashkenaz (but not among those of Spain or other Mediterranean lands) of an ideology of messianic vengeance against persecutors, and suggests that Christians were well aware of this vengeful ethos. Chapter four ("Intersecting Stories: From Martyrdom to Ritual Murder Accusations") takes up again the central themes of his *Zion* article. Chapter five ("Inverted Ceremonies: The Host, the Matzah, and the Quarrel") follows the medieval history of the ancient themes discussed in chapter two in order to chart Jewish awareness of evolving Christian Eucharistic practice through the changing Jewish treatment of ritually significant foods (leaven, matzah, Haroset), and conversely, to chart Christian awareness of these Jewish practices through the changing focus of host desecration and ritual murder accusations. Finally chapter six ("The End of the Millennium (1240): Jewish Hopes, Christian Fears") suggests that Christian fears of the Jews, as expressed through blood libels, were directly correlated to Jewish messianism and apocalypticism. As the Jews' anticipation of their messianic

avenger increased with the advent of the year 5000 in their calendar (1240 A.D.), Christian anxiety about the danger posed by Jews grew as well.

In the thirteen years that have passed since the appearance of the article from which this book grew, it has become clear that Yuval's work was part of a broader shift. Ivan Markus in medieval Ashkenaz and Daniel Boyarin and Seth Schwartz in late antiquity were just a few of the scholars who were working at much the same time to relate their histories of Judaism to the histories of the societies within which it developed. If Yuval's arguments have provoked more anger, it is perhaps because they insist on codependence precisely where the balance of power seems most blatantly asymmetrical: in charges of ritual murder. "We must ask where these fantasies came from and what purposes they fulfilled; in short, we need to study rationally the history of irrationality," he writes (p. 289). Even those who agree with his answers to these questions (namely, that Christian fantasies are intimately related to Jewish ones and vice versa) may still want to ask what differences there might be between the fantasies of the powerful and those of the weak.

In his book Stow takes the opposite tack, focusing on the fantasies of the powerful. The book's tripartite title is sufficient sign that it is about many things. It is ostensibly a treatment of the Christian image of the Jew as dog, with some focus on the exegesis of verses like "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs," and "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs" (Mat. 15:26, 7:6). More generally, it is an exploration of medieval ritual murder and host desecration accusations by Christians against Jews, and of the pre- and postmedieval history of those accusations. It is also in part a study of the historical and philological practices of the Catholic Bollandists, whose seventeenth-century collection of saints' lives (the *Acta Sanctorum*) gave scholarly form to the stories produced by these accusations and transmitted them to the modern world. Occasionally it engages medieval Jewish reactions to these accusations and the violence they provoked. But above all, it is a plea for Catholic theologians to intensify their reexamination of a supercessionist theology that the author believes has continuously generated the Christian need to imagine the Jews as dangerous dogs attacking the bodies (individual and collective) of the faithful.

In the preface Stow maps out the admittedly complex structure of the argument that will follow, and explains that the book "is primarily a history of continuous and continuing mentality, which seeks to explain . . . why a constant set of unchanging principles has underlain periodic variations . . . With this thought fixed in his or her mind, the reader's compass will hopefully point always north" (p. xiv, emphasis in original). The reader is also urged to keep two motifs "constantly in mind." The first "is purity and its maintenance in the face of suspected Jewish aggression." (The threatening dog seems a subsidiary metaphor within this broader problem.) The second is supercession, the idea that Christianity, as the

"sole legitimate possessor, of the divine promise and choice," has replaced the Jews as the true Israel. The two motifs are interrelated, the author suggests, because stories about the successful repulsion of Jewish aggression were the mechanism through which "the Church sought authentication for 'supercession'" (pp. xxvvi). The demonstration of this interrelation through the specific example of the threat that dogs and Jews pose to bread, Eucharist, and Christianity constitutes the book's principle task.

An extensive introduction sketches the importance of some of these themes in Catholic theology, beginning with the writings of Benedict XVI and John Paul II in the present, arching backward through medieval and patristic examples (particularly Cyprian and John Chrysostom), and rooting itself in the New Testament. Wherever possible the emphasis is on establishing a long continuity (the threat posed by dogs to sacred bread is traced back, for example, to the Hittites). Unlike other recent works on the identification of Jews with animals (e.g. Claudine Fabre-Vassas on the pig), Stow does not attempt to excavate the deep structure of the Jew as dog. He is content to demonstrate, through a few examples, its appearance in diverse times and places: in one paragraph Gregory the Great, Rupert of Deutz, and a sixteenth-century Roman trial record appear side by side.

This procedure may not be robust enough to sustain the claim that the dog is a central image in Christian thinking about Jews, but the particular canine image seems less important to Stow's overall argument than the more general link between Jewish enmity and Christian purity. The argument for strong continuity on this more general point will doubtless also prove controversial, partly because of the disinclination to accept such arguments in contemporary historical writing on Christian-Jewish relations, and partly because it does entail a certain loss of historical resolution. (At one point, for example, Stow wonders why Agobard, who flourished some three centuries before the first ritual murder charge, did not himself make the accusation, since his writings contain all the conceptual elements necessary to genocide.) Nevertheless, the value of the arguments that Stow makes in the introduction, in chapter one ("Ambivalence and Continuity"), and in chapter seven's concluding vision toward the future ("Denouement") comes precisely from their demand that we take these continuities seriously.

Chapters two through four make more local arguments about the production of blood libel narratives. Chapter two ("The Bollandists and Their Work") provides an overview of the seventeenth-century editors of the *Acta Sanctorum* (for whom "strengthening belief in ritual murder and the Host libel was tantamount to strengthening belief in . . . the Virgin and the Eucharist"; p. 58), using the martyrology of Good Werner of Oberwesel (1287) as a prime example. Chapter three ("Richard of Pontoise and Philip Augustus") moves backward in time to show how the Bollandists carefully edited their narrative of the alleged ritual murder of

Richard of Pontoise (1179) in order to make it appear that Philip Augustus's expulsion of the Jews from France in 1182 was motivated by his belief in their guilt. Although dogmatically motivated, Stow argues, the Bollandists' reconstruction was intuitively accurate in its reconstruction of the Jewish policies of Louis VII and Philip Augustus. In the light of this reconstruction, chapter four ("The Jewish Version") rereads a set of twelfth-century Hebrew letters concerning the burning of some 30 Jews in Blois in 1171. The reading is intended to show that, contrary to what was previously thought, the letters are not the praise of royal protection that they seem to be but rather were written years after the fact as an ironic critique of the bloodthirsty piety of princes. In other words, both the seventeenth-century Catholic and the twelfth-century Jewish writers agree with the author's thesis about the enduring centrality of Christian fear of Jewish pollution.

The fifth chapter ("A Useable Past") explores the centrality of that fear in scholarly debates of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It focuses on the conflict between, on the one hand, the modern Bollandists and their liberal allies who sought to deny the truth claims of ritual murder accusations, and on the other, their ultramontanist opponents in the Vatican (notably Cardinal Merry del Vall) who sought to maintain those claims. Chapter six ("Purity and Its Discontents") takes yet another tack, and argues that the Catholic fear of pollution, though it claims to be spiritual, is in fact carnal: "Catholicism rejected one system of contact-impurity, one system of 'carnality,' and in its place substituted another" (p. 136). Stow shows how some medieval and early modern Jews and Christians (the Nizzahon Yashan, Angelo di Castro, Martin Luther) themselves attempted to make this point, and sharpens his own point in the process: Christian spirit has not replaced Jewish flesh. We are talking not of supercession, but of "two systems of contact purity locked in unrelenting competition" (p. 157).

In this last formulation we may hear an echo of Yuval (whom Stow cites sparingly). If so, the echo is faint indeed. Stow's study focuses almost exclusively on one system, the Christian, whose massively asymmetrical power he sees generating the representations that interest him. Yuval, by contrast, holds both Jewish and Christian cultures in a "dialogue" (p. xix) whose symmetry burns fearfully bright. Between these two poles there remains much room to navigate.

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BROURIA BITTON-ASHKELONY. *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 38.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 250. \$45.00.

Pilgrimage has often been viewed askance by Christian theologians, inasmuch as it has no obvious basis in Scripture and implies that divinity is more accessible in

one place than in another. So the argument goes, but almost always there has been more to it than theology: for this reason, debates over pilgrimage can reveal much about contemporary concerns or local rivalries. While many scholars have explored the origins of pilgrimage and the creation of the Holy Land as a destination and concept in late antiquity, Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony has made a singular contribution by focusing on the fourth and fifth-century debates that attended those developments, epitomized on one side by Gregory of Nyssa's warning that Jerusalem pilgrimage might cause "spiritual harm" and on the other by Jerome's assertion that it was "part of the faith." Such pronouncements have often been quoted out of context; as Bitton-Ashkelony observes, the views of such authorities were more complex, as is only revealed through a comprehensive examination of each case. The result is a nuanced study that seeks not to explain an emergence of consensus on the practice, but to distinguish a variety of late antique attitudes, arguments, and their causes.

After noting that late antique intellectuals never identified or critiqued pilgrimage as an expression of "popular" religion, Bitton-Ashkelony devotes successive chapters to Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine, arguing that their criticism, vacillation, or silence regarding pilgrimage to Jerusalem must not be interpreted as a rejection of the practice of pilgrimage per se. At home in Cappadocia, both Gregory and Basil of Caesarea actively encouraged pilgrimage to local martyr shrines, promoting these as holy places. Gregory's negative critique of pilgrimage is only found in one letter, and there only with respect to Jerusalem pilgrimage. Why his particular stance towards Jerusalem? Bitton-Ashkelony speculates that the problem was Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem and his effort to enhance the authority of his own see by proclaiming the special sanctity of his city. Gregory's letter, she proposes, "echoes a direct or indirect debate" (p. 57) between the two over "the extent to which a local leader could build on the local territory of divine grace . . . to transform it into a territory of power" (p. 64). The evidence is, indeed, indirect, but the argument fresh and cogent. In Jerome's case, she observes that he was actually the first to seek scriptural justification of Jerusalem pilgrimage and promote it as a Christian obligation; knowledge and virtue were its ultimate goals, which Jerome maintained could be especially attained in the Holy Land because there were so many monks there to visit. Bitton-Ashkelony plausibly argues that the letter he later wrote to dissuade Paulinus of Nola from visiting Jerusalem reflects not a rejection of the practice, but an effort to prevent this potential patron from visiting monastic rivals at Jerusalem during the Origenist controversy. As for Augustine, Bitton-Ashkelony finds no reason to presume (given his promotion of saint's relics and shrines) that he was opposed to physical pilgrimage or the idea of sacred space. His silence on the matter merely reflects a lack of interest in it—or rather, his preference to focus instead on the role of objects or places in promoting Christian prayer, memory, or the emulation of saintly virtue.

The final two chapters deal with monastic culture and the rise of monasteries as alternative pilgrimage destinations. Bitton-Ashkelony observes that the major Eastern monastic authorities of the day, while not disparaging Holy Land pilgrimage, tended to emphasize monastic contemplation, or else the monastic cell, as the most effective means of attaining the goals of inner transformation; that attitude, once combined with concerns lest monks leave monastic communities or risk the dangers of Jerusalem travel (including exposure to Chalcedonian doctrines), eventually gave rise to the promotion of the concept of a "Second Jerusalem"—that is, an alternative, local holy place where the basic goals of Jerusalem pilgrimage could be just as easily attained.

These concluding chapters seem less fully drawn than the others. Although the monastic authorities that Bitton-Ashkelony surveys here (Evagrius, Palladius, Theodoret) were undoubtedly the most influential for later tradition, their attitudes were wholly premised upon a philosophical understanding of monastic life; for alternative views, there could have been discussion of Holy Land pilgrimage motives depicted in fifth and sixth-century hagiography (e.g. imitation of Jesus or People of Israel) or Shenoute (atonement for sins). More references to the "Second Jerusalem" concept would have also been helpful; since only one clear example is given, it is not proven that this was a major conceptual development of late antiquity. Nonetheless Bitton-Ashkelony successfully demonstrates and describes the competitive factors involved in late antique discourse on Holy Land pilgrimage; in particular, her exposition of local interests and concerns helps explain why no single pilgrimage site became predominate in this or any period of Christian history.

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MICHAEL J. ENRIGHT. *The Sutton Hoo Sceptre and the Roots of Celtic Kingship Theory*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 387. \$60.00.

Michael J. Enright is one of the most inspirational scholars currently researching the connections among archaeology, art history, and social and political theory. In his latest book, he takes a particularly enigmatic artefact, the carved whetstone or "sceptre" excavated from the great ship burial at Sutton Hoo in 1939, and sets out to explore its meaning. Enright's central argument rests on the assertion that a single theory of Celtic kingship is represented by two exceptional carved stone artefacts widely separated in time, the earlier being the Pfalzfeld pillar from the territory of the Treveri, carved around 400 B.C., and the later the Sutton Hoo "sceptre" deposited about A.D. 625. Both are interpreted as manifestations of beliefs and cultural behaviours associated with a cult centered on the sun, and on fire more generally. This Enright links with the practice of metallurgy in later prehistory and the "Dark Ages," and also, via connections between metal-work-

ing and power, with the craft of kingship. This is therefore a sustained analysis of a specific artefact by reference to the thought-world of the craftsman responsible and those commissioning the work, and the politico-cultural manifestations of that religious perspective across a period of 1,000 years.

Enright begins by critiquing previous discussions of the "sceptre," particularly Rupert Bruce-Mitford's argument (1978) that it should be interpreted within a Germanic and Anglo-Saxon cultural context. He is equally unimpressed by suggested parallels with Roman consular prototypes. He opts instead to develop the radical alternative, which he first outlined in 1983, that the "sceptre" should be viewed in an exclusively Celtic context. In the book's second chapter he explores parallels with the Pfalzfeld pillar, arguing that the Sutton Hoo "sceptre" should likewise be viewed within the context of La Tène art, and alongside a range of poorly dated insular and Irish ornamented whetstones. The "sceptre" was, in this view, in its totality a Celtic design; its iconography should be interpreted in that context, as "an emblem of a Celtic solar cult and a statement of a king's relationship to it" (p. 85). Enright then goes on to analyze numerous Irish myths for evidence to support this central contention, identifying the central deity by this means, as well as ranging more widely to draw in parallels from Homer and Troy, Iceland and Sweden. He concludes by proposing that the iconography particularly of the faces at top and bottom of the "sceptre" symbolize binding speech or truth-telling associated with kingship.

There are several difficulties with this thesis, some of which are fundamental. The two artefacts that Enright chooses to place at the center of his discussion—the Pfalzfeld pillar and the Sutton Hoo "sceptre"—do display some iconographic parallels, but they are less obviously interconnected than he asserts and may have very different meanings. There are, for example, potentially significant differences between the basal faces on the pillar, which are upright but mouthless, and those of the "sceptre," which are upside down but feature mouths. In both instances it is arguable whether or not speech is key to the symbolism inherent in these designs, rather than, for example, sight, given that both feature prominent eyes. This is at its core an attempt to make meaning from the physical manifestations of cultures that were primarily oral, in which the potential for error is very considerable indeed. This potential is exaggerated by the methodology used, which is to develop a particular theory (for example, the argument that whetstones were intrinsically associated with the human tongue, and so with speech) that is possible but scarcely proven, and then to treat that association as "secure" (p. 89) and proceed to a new level of interpretation with that as a given. The result is a thesis that is highly vulnerable to criticism just because successful challenge to any single facet of the argument must necessarily negate the whole.

Such challenges are not difficult to mount. A theory that requires the presence of a La Tène artificer of the

highest calibre in East Anglia c. 625 producing this piece for the East Anglian court needs surely to explain why so little of his work or that of the long tradition to which he belonged has survived from early England. And how likely is it that the religious iconography of two works in stone 1,000 years apart should carry the same set of meanings to their contemporaries? On balance, Enright's central thesis should be treated with considerable caution and some skepticism, even while his work is acknowledged as a dazzling if eclectic display of cross-cultural exploration into the problematic world of the religiosity of illiterate societies. But the Sutton Hoo "sceptre" must remain enigmatic: it has few if any close parallels, and its message today remains very largely a matter of guesswork.

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HARALD KLEINSCHMIDT. *Perception and Action in Medieval Europe*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2005. Pp. viii, 198. \$80.00.

Harald Kleinschmidt's new book addresses the history of aesthetics and ethics, understood broadly as standards of perception and concepts of action. At its heart lies a deceptively simple-sounding argument: the relationship between perception and action changed during the course of the European Middle Ages. Modern Europeans are presumed to regard perception and action as separate; a person receives exterior impressions, an active cognitive process intervenes, and the individual then decides upon an appropriate action. It was not always thus, or so Kleinschmidt asserts. His quarrel is with theorists from John Locke to Max Weber who have assumed that perception and action are intrinsically discrete concepts. Kleinschmidt claims that by recovering an early medieval, group-oriented outlook, we can appreciate how unique to modern Europeans and North Americans that assumption really is.

The first three chapters investigate the history of the five senses, arguing that the demise of early medieval group-centered identities dissolved the link between perception and action. Chapter one deals with seeing and hearing. As long as an area such as visual perception was subordinated to group-bound standards, then an image from a Carolingian Gospel book, for example, could be understood as a direct command to the viewer to pray for the emperor. Skimming quickly over a vast art historical terrain, the author argues that in the twelfth century "the innate relationship between perception and action was severed when artists began to place priority on depicting spatial hierarchies" (p. 35). In the realm of music, from the tenth century onward the church rejected "the effect-provoking capacity of aural perception" (p. 37) that it associated with pre-Christian cults of the dead, and insisted on measurable temporal sequences that apparently impacted musical audiences only in a "diffuse affective sense" (p. 41). Chapter two investigates the miraculous case of villagers in Kölbig who, as divine punishment for singing and

dancing in the churchyard instead of attending Mass, were reportedly forced to dance for an entire year around 1015. Here Kleinschmidt argues that as kinship structures changed and the church gained power, a village such as Kōlbik entered a liminal period where “the cult of the dead could still be linked to the enactment of songs and dances,” but the villagers “found it difficult to return to normal life in their village because they could not receive the supportive energy that they may have expected from the priest or their locally residing kin members” (pp. 52–53). Chapter three takes issue with Lucien Fèbvre and Norbert Elias in assessing changing perceptions of smell, touch, and taste. In sixteenth-century urban areas, new standards of smell perception first directed elites to control their own malodorous emissions, emphasizing a self-regulation that defined urban sophisticates against rural and lower-class boors. Similarly, aristocratic notions of interpersonal touching shifted from ideas about purposeful transfers of energy to new norms that stressed the avoidance of unintentional contact, while an early medieval understanding of meals as reinforcements of social order within groups had already given way in the eleventh century to an emphasis on the quantity and quality of food that established elites’ distance from their social inferiors. If the chronological and regional relationships between these changes remain unexplained, the author clearly sees all of them as helping to shift sensory perception from a mechanism of group integration to a marker of social difference.

As standards of perception changed, so did concepts of action, according to Kleinschmidt’s final two chapters. Early medieval people understood action as process rather than goal-oriented, since goals were predetermined by the divinity or group leaders, communicated orally, and then pursued in group context. Only after the eleventh century did action become identified with goals set by the actors themselves, communicated to others in writing, and pursued according to a new “agricultural work ethic” (p. 118). A wide-ranging final chapter argues that in the thirteenth-century aesthetics shifted from a way of mediating between various group-specific standards of perception to a means of reflecting on visual perception and beauty, while ethics moved from a question of conflict resolution between groups to one of moral judgments about actions.

In spite of its thought-provoking thesis and use of interesting evidence, this is a frustrating book. Its sweeping claims often rest on loosely connected anecdotes, debatable assumptions, and aggressively speculative assertions. For instance, when the author records Anselm of Canterbury’s statement that *facere* “could be used to replace virtually any other verb,” and his conclusion “that *facere* was the most general expression for doing” (p. 102), the reader may well find this a noteworthy detail. Asserting on this basis, however, with no additional intervening analysis, that Anselm “seems to have imagined action as primarily process-oriented” raises as many questions as it answers. The prevalence

of such leaps of faith renders Kleinschmidt’s larger arguments less than entirely convincing. This book will provide plenty of food for thought for historians of medieval culture, but it may be more to the taste of scholars interested in modern aesthetics and ethics, who will encounter here a challenging attempt to historicize these fields and the relationship between them.

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ANNE REIBER DEWINDT and EDWIN BREZETTE DEWINDT. *Ramsey: The Lives of an English Fenland Town, 1200–1600*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 455. With CD-ROM. \$79.95.

The small Huntingdonshire town of Ramsey must surely be one of the very best documented medieval English communities, and its status as an abbey-town that remained unincorporated even after the Dissolution makes it an obvious exemplar of a very common urban type. Both authors’ long-standing association with the book’s particular methodology, and their many years of work on the extensive documentation of the Ramsey Abbey estates, lend Anne Reiber DeWindt and Edwin Brezette DeWindt’s book the air of a valedictory for the Raftis school of English medieval social history (the approach established by Fr. Ambrose Raftis at Toronto’s Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in the 1960s). Based initially on the rich survival of manorial court rolls and similar documents pertaining to the Ramsey Abbey estates, this long-term research venture produced a number of finely detailed and path-breaking studies of medieval manorial and small town governance and society. Taken together, they demonstrated the effective use of manorial records at the micro level, vastly enhancing our understanding of that fundamental medieval English milieu as they did so.

Valedictories allow us to reflect upon and celebrate scholarly achievements of substantial, wide-ranging importance, and that is certainly appropriate in the case both of the Raftis school and the DeWindts’ role therein. They also tend to summarize earlier accomplishments rather than break new ground. But the book under review does have its contemporary elements: it comes packaged with a CD-ROM data base, and may be supported for advanced classroom or research use by Edwin DeWindt’s English translation of Ramsey court rolls, which may be accessed online.

The book is, as its authors insist, not a biography of its chosen community. It may perhaps best be likened instead to a cubist portrait, in which seven thematic chapters form around the introductory framework provided in the opening three. Save for two successive chapters devoted to the disputes between the townspeople and their post-Dissolution manorial lord, Henry Cromwell, which are essentially narrative in form, we have summary treatments of town/abbey relations; of demography and -social relations; of governing structures and the responsibility of the oath-takers in staffing them; of occupations and making a living; of women;

and of "family matters," the latter including economic characteristics and roles of family members. The book concludes with an epilogue considering the ordinariness and also the uniqueness of the community, and a rather wistful reflection on the value of local governance and loyalties to the democratic ideal.

This is a gracefully—sometimes even lovingly—written work, obviously reflecting both the lifelong engagement of both its authors with the subject and the enormously rich sources that support its investigation. It does, however, somewhat teeter between two stools in its aims and potential audience. Among the aims spelled out at the beginning are the intent to shatter persistent myths: about the putative tripartite division of medieval society (those who worked, fought, and prayed); about the intrusive dominance of aristocracy over the lives of the common man and woman; and about the silence and passivity of medieval women. In taking pains to lay them to rest, the authors appear to be writing for the layperson or undergraduate. The provision of a glossary of terms, most of which would be familiar to other scholars in the field, and the patient explanation of common concepts and terms certainly enhances this intent. Were the work to appear in a reasonably priced, softcover edition (and perhaps if its 104 pages of notes, many of them extensive and explanatory, were abridged), it might well make an effective tool for classroom use.

Scholarly readers will no doubt find the book a rich trove of anecdotal examples and wonderful bits of evidence to enliven their own writing and teaching. But they are also likely to find it more adept at affirming what are now longstanding views, many of them established by earlier work of these authors and their colleagues of the Raftis school, than at charting particularly new directions. They will probably note the sundry missed or attenuated opportunities for further engagement with current discourse, or the relegation of some such engagement to endnotes rather than text. They may well wish for further contextual reflection on how Ramsey compared with other ecclesiastically dominated and well-documented towns, both larger ones like Coventry, Exeter, Bury St. Edmunds, and Wells or small ones like Ewelme or Morebath (the last three nowhere mentioned in the text). In all, this is a wonderfully written work of variable appeal, which might be (publisher willing) appreciated more in the classroom than in the specialized research library.

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JAMES G. CLARK. *A Monastic Renaissance at St. Albans: Thomas Walsingham and His Circle. 1350–1440.* (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 316. \$99.00.

Recent years have seen a revival of scholarly interest in the religious orders of late medieval England. Particular attention has been given to nuns and nunneries,

reflecting the historiographical interest in medieval women. With some notable exceptions, the male orders and houses have received less attention. James G. Clark has nevertheless been almost a campaign leader for the monasteries, especially the Benedictine houses. That campaigning style and ambition underlie this volume, which is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation.

The volume addresses the intellectual and educational contexts of the Benedictine houses in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, centered on developments at St. Albans and its satellite houses, and on the chronicler Thomas Walsingham and his contemporaries. Despite its title's seeming limitations, the book is not narrowly focused: the St. Albans confederation is always set against the broader background of the English Benedictine community, and of educational and intellectual developments at Oxford University.

The introduction provides initial scene setting, offering a robust defense of monasticism in late medieval England and decrying its marginalization in recent historical writing. Having got the polemic out of his system, Clark settles down to the main burthen of his concerns, delivered in seven thematic chapters.

Chapter one expands on the scene setting, with a more specific focus on St. Albans and its associated houses. This general contextualization gives a wide-ranging and highly readable discussion of matters ranging from the nature and size of the community to financial affairs, relations with the surrounding town, and relations with the crown and papacy, providing essential background for what follows.

The next three chapters offer a coherent discussion of the intellectual climate in which the monks of St. Albans—and other Benedictines—lived and worked. The house's internal educational arrangements, and the monks' university experience at Oxford, are dealt with in chapter three. "Books" are the focus for chapter four, which among other things looks at the monastic library and its maintenance, scribal activity, and private book ownership. Chapter five surveys "Patterns of Reading," testing how books actually fitted into the education, and the various categories of reading matter available. This suggests that St. Albans was somewhat conservative—even backward—in its attitudes, relying more on old texts than new material.

Only now does Walsingham become prominent in the volume, as the focus of chapter five. His writings are surveyed, and his works assessed. This chapter marks a transition into a more striking analysis of the intellectual environment, whose import emerges as the volume progresses. Clark points to Walsingham as an embodiment of what might superficially appear as "humanist" or "Renaissance" traditions, especially in allowing the texts to speak for themselves, and his revival of twelfth-century attitudes.

Chapter six broadens this assessment by analyzing "Classicism" as a strand of thought and writing in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, especially as reflected in the works of selected St. Albans monks. It concentrates on eloquence and rhetoric, but also

notes the use of classical sources, and book collecting. How widespread this movement was remains unclear: there is an unavoidable impression that what is depicted is a small coterie rather than a general trend, perhaps more confined to Oxford than widely disseminated. Moreover, "It would be mistaken to describe [these writers] as humanists: their work must be examined on its own terms," and "their classicism represents less the cultivation of old values than a concern to defend, preserve, and refine the old" (p. 238). Nevertheless, the chapter offers a significant engagement with wider issues of cultural history, placing English Benedictine intellectual endeavors alongside currents of northern French "humanism" to suggest a significant change in the intellectual climate, which might be a kind of local proto-renaissance. Chapter seven moves on to engagement with other "Public Issues," somewhat sketchily—and perhaps less satisfactorily—covering the responses at St. Albans to external issues like the schism, Lollardy, the Anglo-French Wars, and politics. The conclusion reverts to the advocacy of the introduction. Clark again argues that historians have often misunderstood and misrepresented monasticism's contribution to late medieval England, asserting that it was generally greater than is usually assumed. Indeed, he argues that Walsingham and his fellow Benedictines, in and beyond St. Albans, were involved in unappreciated cultural development, "perhaps even an insular renaissance" (p. 274) decades before the vaunted activities of Duke Humfrey and his circle.

This is a refreshing volume. Clark has garnered and coordinated a great deal of information, working through a truly impressive range of manuscripts (several of which provide illustrations) and an extensive array of printed primary and secondary material. He offers a significant contribution not merely to the reassessment of monasticism in late medieval England, but to wider English—and indeed European—cultural history.

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SANDY BARDSLEY. *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 214. \$49.95.

Although much has been written about the perceived dangers of unruly female speech, Sandy Bardsley is the first historian to focus on the activity known as "scolding" and to set it in a broad literary and socioeconomic context. She shows, for example, how the discourse about deviant speech, the "sins of the tongue," became entrenched in the courts as well as in literature, as rising elites who exercised local power sought to silence disrespectful and resentful subordinates. Nonetheless in the late Middle Ages the words spoken by women were condemned in a particularly forceful way. In advice literature and in stories, plays, and poems intended for entertainment, the speech of women was seen as threat-

ening to disrupt the peace and order of the street, the church, and the home. The claim by the wife of Noah that she and other wives would be better off without their husbands is only one example of how authority could be challenged when women gathered together. In the years following the Black Death, when increased migration was disrupting the old order of society, scolding emerged as a legal category and was seen as an offense against the unity of communities.

At the heart of the book is the data Bardsley collected from more than 600 court cases of individuals accused of scolding between 1311 and 1530, taken from courts throughout the country. This is supplemented with evidence for the years 1400–1450 from the town of Middlewich, for which she has a detailed data base that enables her to locate the scolds within a familial and socioeconomic context. Although anyone could be charged with being a scold, including a married, well-off male, the most likely person was a single or married woman who had been involved in a feud with another family. "In a typical court presentation, husbands fought one another with their fists, while their wives fought with their voices" (p. 129). What distinguished a scold from other women was that she had verbally attacked her opponent in a public place and used words that were seen as particularly inflammatory. A man might be accused of being a "thief" and a woman with some variation of the term "whore." Unlike some earlier but narrower studies, which have found scolds among the poorer and less politically powerful sections of society, Bardsley found that scolds could come from a range of statuses below that of the aristocracy and gentry. She suggests that the main reason that scolds were persecuted with greater diligence in some places and at some times than at others was the presence or absence of local officials who cared particularly deeply about the issue.

The book ends with a wide-ranging discussion on how the connection between women and illicit speech affected women's power. In the early Middle Ages, in those parts of the country where women had the right to raise the hue and cry, they had had an opportunity to use licit, sanctioned, public speech. Once that opportunity disappeared, a woman who spoke loudly in the public domain ran the risk of being accused as a scold. Even more importantly, the accusation sent the message that the female voice should not be taken seriously. Her subsequent punishment, even though it might have been just a small fine, could well have discouraged other women from speaking out in public. Attitudes toward woman's speech thus helped to maintain the patriarchal system of late medieval England that acted as a curb on other changes. This is a slim but very significant book.

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WILLIAM CAFERRO. *John Hawkwood: An English Mercenary in Fourteenth-Century Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 459. \$35.00.

Italy in the fourteenth century was full of conflict, "good fat war" as Bernabò Visconti called it in 1370, and the subject of this book was its most famous practitioner. Born in Essex around 1320, John Hawkwood first made his mark as a soldier in the early 1360s as a member of the Great Company (soon renamed the White Company) that made its way to Italy following the peace of Brétigny. He spent the remaining thirty-four years of his life fighting in the peninsula's incessant interstate warfare. In 1363–1364 Hawkwood took over command of the White Company in the service of Pisa. Between 1368 and 1372 he fought for Visconti, the ruler of Milan. In 1372 he moved into the employment of Pope Gregory XI, who was willing to pay him more. Then in 1377 he took service with the Republic of Florence. The deal was brokered by Visconti, who at this point was in rare alliance with Florence, and it included a prestigious dynastic match with the tyrant's illegitimate daughter Donnina. For the rest of his life Hawkwood served Florence well, especially during its great contest with Visconti Milan in 1390–1392. But he was not exclusively in Florentine pay: his masterpiece, the victory at Castagnaro in May 1387, was won for the Paduans against the Veronese, and he campaigned in the kingdom of Naples several times during the 1380s. Hawkwood's many employers rewarded him lavishly for his skills, and the landholdings that he accumulated were as scattered as his campaigns: there were estates or houses in Romagna and the march of Ancona, the south, and in the territories of Florence, Cremona, Perugia, and Bologna. It was a career of glittering success and renown, its posthumous culmination the great fresco that the Florentines commissioned from Paolo Uccello in 1436, forty-two years after Hawkwood's death.

Thanks to Hawkwood's high political and military profile, and his multifarious investments, his public life is remarkably well documented. William Caferro's account will surely be definitive, for he draws on documentation from over twenty archives and his knowledge of his topic is unsurpassed. Anybody who is interested in Hawkwood will find this not only a comprehensive but also an engagingly written book. Caferro has an eye for the telling quote, a fondness for anecdotes and jaunty chapter titles: "The fox and the lion," "In the service of God and Mammon," "At home in the Romagna," "Two weddings, a funeral, and a disputed legacy." This makes for an enjoyable read, but at times one regrets that the chance for revealing analysis has been missed. There is a current tendency to tell the military history of the fourteenth century largely in narrative terms: one thinks above all of Jonathan Sumption's multivolume history of the Anglo-French war, which this book resembles in its density, impressive archival base, and overall approach. Underlying trends are constantly hinted at but nowhere systematically investi-

gated, at least not in the book under review. Caferro describes himself in his preface as "an economic historian in the first instance," and the destructive and desperately unyielding warfare that he describes here calls out for sustained study of its economic repercussions. The McFarlane/Postan debate raises its head in the conclusion but is sent packing with the comment that "the debate lies outside the scope of this study." The suggestion is made that the practice of hiring foreign mercenaries constituted a drain on the Italian economy because they exported their earnings, and Hawkwood certainly planned at the end of his life to return to England; this argument has been much discussed in the context of the war in France, and it deserves to be taken further for Italy. The conclusion also has thought-provoking but sadly brief remarks on what Hawkwood's career has to tell us about the contemporary sense of identity. It is telling that the most interesting chapter in the book is a scene-setting one about the organization and practice of warfare in fourteenth-century Italy that raises similarly important questions. Caferro demonstrates expert knowledge of this period and its sources. It is apparent from his footnotes that he has already explored some of these major topics elsewhere; and it is to be hoped that he continues to do so.

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SUSAN MOSHER STUARD. *Gilding the Market: Luxury and Fashion in Fourteenth-Century Italy*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 322. \$59.95.

This wide-ranging book on the late medieval marketplace for luxury goods by a historian of enormous erudition and experience brings a lifetime of research to bear on the world of luxury consumption and what Susan Mosher Stuard terms the advent of "fashion" in fourteenth-century Italy. Stuard states that "this is a study of fashion rather than style" (p. 11). She defines "style" as originating in the courts, whereas "fashion" she sees as flourishing in market towns. And while Stuard, well known for her many contributions to the scholarship of late medieval gender issues and medieval Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and trade in the Adriatic, here provides a broad overview of the marketplace growth for expensive consumer goods for fashionable living in key Italian towns and the concomitant social and political reactions to these new spending patterns on objects of luxe, or *le pompe*, this should not be taken as primarily a book on clothing. Rather, this magisterial synthesis focuses on the relatively small but visually prominent component of the overall luxury component of the market beginning with the early flush decades of the 1300s through the economic convulsions suffered from the demographic disaster of the Plague of 1348 and the contraction still being felt at the end of the century. It was after the mid-century population loss that secular markets for gilded wares opened up, as the remaining wealth was concentrated in the hands of the

few. Stuard argues that savvy retailers were quick to capitalize on this new demand and to make Italy the major supplier of luxury goods for not only the rest of Europe, but also, to some extent, the cities of the East.

Chapter one begins with a description of the outlandish styles the author suggests were only put together due to the fact that wearers lacked proper mirrors in which to see how “garish” their attire appeared. (Reflective mirrors were a late Quattrocento Venetian development.) Here, Stuard demonstrates her deep research roots in the medieval economy, focusing on the emergence of a robust luxury market in the Italian towns. The new popularity of “fashion” set up a dilemma between the need for commerce and production on the one hand, and the need for “order and hierarchy” on the other. The continual passage of sumptuary legislation attempted to regulate the consumption of luxe, as she notes, but its efficacy was limited, as the populace was conflicted between its desire for “rich” appearances and the need to limit these appearances judiciously.

Chapter two takes up the proliferation of expensive items available in the late medieval marketplace, from “well-crafted” textiles including cloth of gold, and heavy silver belts (the *sine qua non* of fourteenth-century fashion), buttons (for the new taste in “tight fit”), buckles, borders, brooches, and decorated daggers, but also silver plate. She asserts that while there was nothing new in this century, there *was* an increase in the availability of goods, which stimulated demand. The consumption of fashionable goods at this time is still seen primarily as a rightfully “masculine pursuit” by scholars, which she says makes the sumptuary legislation imposed against women easier to understand (p. 35).

Chapter three takes up the men of fashion who consumed with unprecedented freedom. The outfitting of urban men, while relatively unconstrained, allowed them new opportunities for sartorial self-definition, making them targets of derision from social commentators such as Sacchetti for their taste in gorging on gorgets and flouting fringed outfits of bright colors, with elaborate linked silver and gilded belts.

Chapter four then turns to the efforts to control the consumption of women, primarily through an examination of sumptuary legislation across the peninsula. Fourteenth-century Italian society was deeply conflicted about the female taste for luxury. Here, Stuard brings forward evidence that women acted with outraged agency when it came to their clothes. Using examples primarily from Venice and Florence, the author sees opportunities for women to display themselves prettily, to craftily evade legislation against luxury, and to pay *gabelles* for wearing restricted emblems and devices on clothes. Stuard argues that women could choose their public presentation with some freedom and that even a working-class woman with the right outfit “could pass for something she wished to be,” that is, could reinvent herself (p. 120).

Chapter five examines the costs of these luxuries,

which limited consumption to the very rich, and tended to visually polarize Italian society into haves and have-nots. Chapters six and seven then close her study with a look at gold and silversmiths, purveyors to the wealthy, and the banking and long-distance trade, which facilitated the entire enterprise.

My only caveat to this impressive study is that it is devoid of any in-depth study of fourteenth-century fashions in clothing, and while the general taste for fashionable living is abundantly documented, the title of the book could be slightly misleading. The gilded marketplace includes here a broader definition of fashion, which I would define more closely as “fashionable living.”

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

BRIAN W. OGILVIE. *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 385. \$45.00.

The title of this survey of natural history (principally botany) would have struck Renaissance scholars as oxymoronic or paradoxical: for them, only *definitio* belonged to the realm of *scientia*; *descriptio* is an inferior partner, linked to the sensory and the particular. Brian W. Ogilvie is well aware how the nascent discipline of natural history would have been seen in an Aristotelian context, and his use of this collocation is made to underline his contention that there is a continuity of practices that link the efforts of sixteenth-century natural historians to those of later centuries.

Ogilvie’s book (which gives pride of place to botany) is divided into four roughly thirty-year periods, beginning in 1490 with the reform of medical pedagogy by humanists (notably Niccolò Leonicensio) that posed the first concerted challenge to the authority of ancient writers over issues of *materia medica* and the identification of plants. This phase was followed by the loosening of the bonds tying botany and zoology to medicine, and the emergence of large-scale illustrated publications on plants, animals and fish, in which the demonstrative use of images did not go unchallenged. The third period saw the increasing involvement of collectors at various levels and the development of botanical gardens both inside and outside the universities; this was followed toward the end of the century by the systematic study of the large body of data collected. This periodization accords well with that proposed by other scholars.

Ogilvie’s principal interest lies in the second and third phases, and in the formulation of the “science of describing” with its new “technology of observation,” its field practices, its collaborative character, its transmission of information and specimens, and its herbaria and gardens. Conrad Gessner and Carolus Clusius are privileged sources, but Ogilvie’s range is much wider

than just these two. He shows how natural historians adapted the humanist practice of collating and assessing textual evidence to the critical appraisal of the eyewitness reports of others; the exemplary cases he studies in depth are the walrus, the medicines of India, the bird of paradise, and the banyan tree. He notes that the descriptive Dioscorides, not the more philosophical Theophrastus, is adopted as the model for the content and presentation of enquiry into nature. His account of Andrea Cesalpino's and Adam Zaluziansky's attempts at classification of the end of the sixteenth century stresses the latter's pedagogical rather than taxonomic concerns, and the failure on both their parts to develop a system that could accommodate as yet undiscovered plants and animals, or that attended to plant anatomy in enough detail.

The book has many merits. It is attractively written, lucid, and well illustrated, and it makes excellent use of the extensive existing scholarship. Ogilvie shows a shrewd appreciation of the relationship of natural history to the Republic of Letters and to the various versions of community (ideal, local, and international) in which natural historians operate; indeed, he could have profitably extended his investigation by looking at some of the collections of medical letters, notably those of Giovanni Manardo, Johann Crato von Krafftheim, Baudouin Ronse, and Johannes Hornung, which contain much interesting information for his theme. They reveal much about the intense rivalry between Italians and the German nation that is not given much prominence here, and throw some doubt on the prevalence of collaboration over competition (Ogilvie does not comment on the bitter feud between Pietro Mattioli and Gessner recently examined by Candide Delisle in an article in *Gesnerus* [2004]). He comes to judicious and persuasive conclusions about the links between humanists and natural historians, the new sensibility that the latter evince, the interrelation of observation, interrogation, and corroborative testimony, and the primacy of vision over taste and smell. There are inevitably some omissions (there is no discussion of zoophytes); but what might be found most contentious is his assessment of Renaissance attempts at taxonomy. According to Ogilvie, its early practitioners are clearly distinguishable from later exponents; they only "unwittingly" made scientific classification possible, through practices such as the decontextualization of plants in herbaria and botanical gardens. Stefano Perfetti's *Aristotle's Zoology and Its Renaissance Commentators, 1521–1601* (2000) tells a rather different story, in which the commentators on Aristotle's *De partibus animalium* show a sophisticated grasp of the problems encountered when trying to impose order on the natural world; for my part, I think that Cesalpino's taxonomic enterprise, while engaging with philosophical issues arising from the realist discussions of Aristotle and Theophrastus, is not merely "anthropocentric" (in Ogilvie's terms), and not altogether different in kind from that undertaken by John Ray and Carolus Linnaeus. Nevertheless, this rich study is an important contribution to

the reevaluation to which the forerunners of the new science of the seventeenth century are now being subjected.

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GEOFFREY DIPPLE. *"Just as in the Time of the Apostles": Uses of History in the Radical Reformation*. Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press. 2005. Pp. 324. \$30.00.

The first word that comes to mind in describing Geoffrey Dipple's book is perhaps old-fashioned but entirely appropriate: "learned." It is a book written by a scholar for other scholars. Its subject matter will be of interest probably to a limited number of academics. It constantly refers to the works, theses, and arguments of other scholars. Its bibliography spans twenty pages and embraces works in several languages. And that is not to damn with faint praise. In what it sets out to do—show how an impulse to restore the purity of the apostolic church was, or was not, central to the most radical wing of the Protestant Reformation—this work succeeds admirably.

Appropriately for a work that deals with how religious thinkers used history, the book opens with a clear and helpful overview of previous scholarship on the Radical Reformation. Its starting point is Franklin H. Littell's *The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism: A Study of the Anabaptist View of the Church* (1964). Littell argued that Radicals, such as Mennonites, Hussites, Spiritualists, and Anabaptists generally, shared with other Protestants a desire to return to the standards and practices of the early church, but "in their uncompromising desire to restore and follow the model of the primitive church of the apostles in their own churches they went beyond their counterparts among the Renaissance humanists and the magisterial Reformers" (p. 18). Certainly Radicals differed in how to realize a return to the purity of the early church, but, as Dipple sums up, these were "variations on a common theme" (p. 21).

Dipple's work is a test of Littell's broad formulation. He posits four questions: "Was there a common perception of ecclesiastical history amongst the Reformation radicals? . . . Did the different groups use the past in different ways during the age of reform? Were there variations in the uses of the past between different groups in the Radical Reformation? What relationships existed between the formulation of historical visions and the interaction between different reforming parties?" (p. 18). The rest of the work offers convincing answers to these questions.

Generally, Dipple's answers see a "complicated and nuanced" picture (p. 283). All sixteenth-century reformers, including those like Erasmus who ultimately remained Roman Catholic, saw the church as having deteriorated over the centuries, but, Dipple concludes, "the visions of the past developed by these reformers were initially less driving forces in the development of their reforming agendas than they were mirrors to re-

flect contemporary abuses" (p. 284). What set apart Radicals was what Dipple sees as "their willingness to identify the fall of the visible church at almost the beginning of its history" (p. 285). Such reformers were biblically based, rather than looking to history as the basis for a reformed and purified church. To be sure, some radicals, most notably the Swiss Anabaptist Balthasar Hubmaier, did develop what Dipple calls "an elaborate vision of the ecclesiastical history" (p. 285). But others, such as the Swiss Brethren, never did. Dipple finds competing groups of Radicals—Hutterites, Mennonites, Spiritualists, and other varieties of Anabaptists—using history in their debates with each other. But history was usually a tool for supporting positions already taken on the basis of understandings of Scripture. As Dipple concludes: "In the long run, it appears that a crucial factor in the development of more detailed visions was involvement in controversies which forced participants to actively confront history to justify positions they had adopted" (pp. 285–286).

This is a work that will probably have somewhat narrow appeal, given its focus on one aspect of the intellectual history of relatively marginal religious sects. Within those limits, however, it is a considerable achievement.

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MARGARET C. JACOB. *Strangers Nowhere in the World: The Rise of Cosmopolitanism in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 187. \$34.95.

Margaret C. Jacob is a distinguished European historian with a number of books to her credit that deal with the cultural formation of modernity and the Enlightenment ethos. As with her other works, this one is elegantly written, intellectually stimulating, and politically insightful. Employing numerous archives, diaries, works of art, and the most varied resources, Jacob shows how everyday cosmopolitan "practices" in the premodern world produced new forms of sociability and new avenues by which individuals could engage openly and positively with foreigners, unbelievers, and persons of seemingly exotic bearing and manners. Her book is an innovative undertaking that is concerned less with "high ideals" than with "de facto mores."

The book ranges widely and, occasionally, the transitions are somewhat forced. But it is an exciting journey. Jacob takes us from Avignon to Bruges and the capitals of Europe and from the waning Middle Ages to the great democratic revolutions and the international struggle against slavery. Cities serve as the backdrop for emerging forms of cosmopolitan behavior with the combination of anonymity and opportunity that they provide. Provincialism thus becomes the enemy, and the book's first chapter illustrates how censors, inquisitors, and religious dogmatists defined and fought against the new cosmopolitans. Jacob then moves to the

emergence of modern science and the role played by alchemists in bringing about a "universalist language."

The emerging market and its stock exchange also generated new encounters between strangers, although for some time old-fashioned prejudices and suspicions remained. Even the new public sphere was laden with contradictions, as becomes evident in an excellent section dealing with Freemasonry, which is a field of expertise for the author. Secrecy simultaneously protected the new cosmopolites from the guardians of orthodoxy even as it constricted their intercourse with the larger world.

Jacob is correct in insisting that the new worldly attitude of which she writes can have many meanings; it involves "the embrace of foreigners, the crossing of religious barriers, as well as the ability to step away from family taboos, and, regional parochialism" (p. 5). The variegated character of cosmopolitanism is precisely what provides the idea with its subversive character, which its reactionary opponents understood very well, and this often made even liberals and bohemians fearful of its implications. Still, the book demonstrates beautifully how the Enlightenment sensibility took shape in this new cosmopolitan attitude that mixed curiosity, boldness, and experimentation.

As censors and inquisitors sought to preserve orthodoxy and segregate the faithful from Jews and heretics, the burgeoning market was already breaking down what Karl Marx would call "the Chinese walls of tradition." A host of new international scientific and literary societies were also springing into existence, and Jacob makes the interesting observation that "the cosmopolitan effect" would ultimately influence not merely the degree of freedom offered by civil society but the self-examining character of modern science (p. 42). Early cosmopolitanism may have been timid in dealing with the emergence of nationalism (p. 116). Nevertheless, ultimately, it was the cosmopolitan attitude that recognized the personhood of those subject to slavery and imperialism and sought to provide them with human rights.

No straight line of development leads from the provincial to the cosmopolite. The new cosmopolitan attitude advanced slowly, according to Jacob, and each triumph provoked opposition and often "a willful desire to exclude" (p. 105). This is an important point to stress under conditions in which global capitalism dominates even while fundamentalist ideologies have gained a new lease on life in both the Occident and the Orient. There is also something to be said for the author's staunch belief in the idea with which her book is engaged. She expresses little nostalgia for feelings of "belonging" associated with the organic community or atavistic understandings of identity.

By the same token, Jacob understands the importance of tradition. She rightly emphasizes that appreciating the appeal of the modern democratic experiment and the infectiousness of its values is extremely difficult without a sense of how all this is rooted in premodern cosmopolitan practices. Criticisms can be

raised that Jacob neglects the canonical works of cosmopolitanism and toleration by writers like John Locke, Moses Mendelssohn, and Voltaire. Also, it can be argued, too little attention is paid to the political institutions and social movements that best sustain and foster cosmopolitanism. In a basic way, however, that is not the book's purpose. Rather it calls on us to remember how ethically committed and adventurous souls dared to challenge traditional society and thereby put their stamp not merely on a burgeoning "international and cosmopolitan conversation" but also a new mode of being in the world.

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MARGARET C. JACOB. *The Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2006. Pp. 165. \$26.50.

This stimulating study by the eminent Masonic scholar Margaret C. Jacob is a pensive and refreshing account of the Craft during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consisting of an introduction, five topically arranged chapters, and a conclusion, the monograph aims to depict the daily lives of Masons and to illustrate the cardinal cultural, sociopolitical, and economic patterns and roles of Freemasonry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Great Britain and continental Europe. Jacob investigates factual and fictive facets of the Craft: she especially emphasizes the thesis that the order gradually evolved from seventeenth-century operative lodges, particularly in Scotland, into the viable eighteenth-century Speculative Masonic grand lodge movement that began in London. She accentuates other major theses: namely, that the Craft in Britain and in European states helped to promote Enlightenment political culture, assisted in disseminating liberal and radical doctrines, and recruited to its ranks aristocratic and middle-class men. Jacob also explores themes concerning the significance of women, literacy, business life, and philanthropy to Masonry.

After the introduction, which focuses on British and European Masonic scholarship and libraries, there are three suggestive chapters pertaining to the order's origins, its pocket diaries, and its governance system. Like David Stevenson, Jacob traces the Craft's origins to seventeenth-century operative lodges especially in Scotland: she maintains that these bodies recruited to their ranks Sir Robert Moray and other prominent gentlemen. She also believes that operative ceremonies and symbols did help to shape in London in 1717 the development of Speculative Freemasonry and that British Speculative lodges, which were not associated with the Templars, did foster within a fraternal setting Enlightenment culture, gentility, and sociability. Jacob, moreover, presents a compelling case for the fraternal activism of eighteenth-century European Freemasonry: she explains its appeal to French nobles in Paris and accentuates the Masonic achievements of Jean Rousset de Missy in Holland and those of Frederick the Great

in Prussia. However, she dispels the illusion that Masonry was intimately connected with conspiracies during the eighteenth and later centuries. In her chapter about British and European Masonic almanacs, Jacob breaks new ground, for she demonstrates that these almanacs reveal much about eighteenth-century civic virtues and cosmopolitanism and about Enlightenment deistic and moral doctrines. Likewise, Jacob's chapter about the Craft's political culture astutely describes how Masonry as a voluntary association operated according to constitutional principles; it elected its officers and members, functioned as a private representative government, and thus encouraged state building in eighteenth-century Britain and Europe.

Other salient matters concerning British and European Freemasonry are discussed in the book's last chapters. Focusing in chapter four on Masonry's roles in the public and private spheres, Jacob incisively explains how Jürgen Habermas's theory concerning the public sphere is applicable to civic society and especially to Masonic merchants and professionals, who profited from the expanding market economy. She also maintains that in the private sphere, the doctrine of charity, which is at the core of Masonry, was implemented in many British and European lodges and that it led to the funding of numerous needed benevolent projects. The fifth chapter concerns female Freemasonry and is the finest one in the book. Jacob lucidly describes important tenets and symbols of the Clermont Rite and those of other French feminine ritual systems. She cogently examines the activities of significant adoptive or female lodges in Bordeaux, Paris, and other French cities. She furthermore demonstrates that the operations of French female lodges reflected the principle of gender acceptance and that many of these bodies were as effective as salons in disseminating Enlightenment tenets. In the conclusion Jacob discusses contemporary problems in American, British, and European Freemasonry. However, this chapter does not contain an assessment of the many fine themes developed in the book.

This persuasive book has much to recommend it: it is carefully crafted and is elegantly written. Jacob's monograph is based on major secondary sources about the Craft and on primary materials housed in British, French, and Dutch Masonic libraries. This work contains substantive and solidly developed theses. The book describes especially well Masonry's factual and fictive features, its transition from an operative to an Enlightenment movement, and its socio-political dynamism. Jacob's suggestive study is well organized and closely documented and contains a fine bibliography. By devoting more attention to doctrines and symbols of male Masonic ritual systems, to the pertinent achievements of John T. Desaguliers to Speculative Freemasonry, and to the significant connections of the Craft to Atlantic history, Jacob would have greatly enhanced her superb study. This book, nevertheless, is a sterling

account of the evolution of British and European Freemasonry and will be considered a classic in the field.

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JERROLD SEIGEL. *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Europe since the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 724. \$70.00, paper \$27.00.

Jerrold Seigel organizes his dense, sprawling, consistently thoughtful history of ideas of the self within two frameworks. In the first he breaks down the self into three dimensions: the bodily self, the social self, and the reflective self. In Seigel's view, these are the key features of the self which every systematic thinker must address, but the best understandings of the self—Seigel is not afraid to wear his heart on his sleeve—are those that keep the three dimensions in good balance and healthy relation. Although his survey does reach back to Aristotle, the real starting point is the seventeenth century, and one of the early heroes is John Locke, precisely because his self appears fully three-dimensional. Seigel is particularly keen to vindicate the principal Enlightenment thinkers from charges of bourgeois individualism and thus makes a pressing case for Locke's regard for the socially constituted elements of the self as well as his respect for the "self to itself." The treatment of David Hume is even slightly unbalanced as Seigel bears down to defend him against charges of asociality, and this line of argument naturally culminates in Adam Smith, disburdened of the long-resolved "Adam Smith problem" and shown to be also fully three-dimensional. Among the bad guys are those in a Cartesian tradition who disembody (and sometimes more generally decontextualize) the self and, at the other extreme, postmodernists and poststructuralists who demand "the death of the subject." "Unbeknownst to those who make such claims, modern consciousness has long been capable of extricating itself from the pitfalls of reflection theory, and precisely by reflecting on reflection itself, thereby acknowledging its rootedness in some form of existence that is prior to it" (p. 367).

The likelihood of passing Seigel's three-dimensional test is conditioned by national context, for the second of his two frameworks divides the thinkers along national lines, tracing out—at least for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—distinct British, French, and German trajectories. The British, as we have seen, find it relatively easy to keep the three dimensions in balance because they benefit from both a rights-based polity and a rich civil society. The French, having less confidence in polity and society, are much more anxious about the preservation of autonomy in the process of socialization. Both Denis Diderot and Jean-Jacques Rousseau felt an urgent need to defend the autonomous, reflective self against the potential oppression, even tyranny of society. Seigel's discussion of Rousseau's personal agonies in grappling with the relation of self to society brings vividly to life this potentially ab-

stract conceptualization, a biographical treatment also beautifully accorded to the Restoration thinker Pierre Maine de Biran, who eventually found a way to "[render] domination impersonal and thus less crushing" than Rousseau (p. 267). The German pattern, predictably, is harder to make out, but in Kantian and post-Kantian thought it seems to feature not an antagonistic but overly identified (or at least isomorphic) relationship between self and world. For example, in Johann Gottfried von Herder, the development of the self in the world reveals through "the persons and conditions it encountered there . . . the inner structure of its own being" (p. 333). In some of the darker versions, such as F. W. J. Schelling's, the self passively melts into unity with the world, "drawing individuals powerfully toward the polar conditions of being all-self or no-self that would later be theorized in different ways by Nietzsche and Heidegger" (p. 390), ending disastrously in Martin Heidegger's National Socialism and the post-Heideggerian death of the subject.

These two frameworks allow Seigel to organize powerful analyses of a wide range of figures into a comparative narrative that can be grasped, with some effort, even by those inexpert in the history of political and social thought. Necessarily it creates its own lacunae. The baton-pass from the Scottish Enlightenment to the French Enlightenment to German Romanticism means that the century between 1750 and 1850 accounts for the bulk of the text. Thinkers who come out of sequence or who do not properly manifest the desired national characteristics tend to get short shrift, though there is a slightly embarrassed discussion of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's intermixing of national traditions. As the names scattered above indicate, this is mostly a history of "great men," albeit salted with less lofty names such as Maine de Biran, but there is no room here for the more demotic prophets of the self, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, and Samuel Smiles, whose notions of self-reliance and self-help inspired countless artisans on both sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, the headlong rush to get from Hegel to Heidegger and the decisive dismembering of postmodernism requires a leap over Sigmund Freud—he makes a brief appearance instead at the very end—and the whole of the twentieth century's social-scientific (psychological, anthropological) inquiry into "identity" and "consciousness." These are dismissed with surprising condescension on the grounds that "science is a changing and restless enterprise" that can therefore hardly be expected to provide "definitive answers to our questions" (p. 652), criticisms that could presumably be applied equally well to the philosophy upon which Seigel lavishes so many hundreds of pages. I would have thought that the history of social science was a crucial part of the intellectual history of the last century. Still, some such strategies are necessary to keep within reasonable bounds a book on a bottomless subject that aims for such high intensity and achieves such great lucidity. On

his chosen subjects, Seigel makes every sentence count; of how many 724-page books can that be said?

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ROBERT MILLWARD. *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 351. \$90.00.

State regulation or ownership of industry can be traced back many centuries. Robert Millward reminds us that it is instructive to go back well beyond the post-1945 nationalizations to gain closer insights into the forces that have driven deregulation and privatization since the 1980s. Indeed, he traces the story from the coming of the railways in the 1830s and ranges widely across eight Western European nations (Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) and a host of infrastructural industries, covering energy, telecommunications, and transport. His underlying hypothesis is that ideology has been too commonly viewed as the explanation of state involvement, as epitomized by the nationalizing post-World War II socialist and social democratic governments of Europe. In its place, he emphasizes the role of long-term economic and technological forces in shaping the pattern of state involvement in these industries.

The focus on these industries is eminently sensible; they share particular characteristics that have made widespread state involvement an imperative. These include, in many cases, natural monopoly, the granting of rights of way, and their wide-ranging strategic, military and nation-building significance. Millward narrates his story through three distinct historical periods. In the first period, down to 1914, much of the focus is on new local infrastructure serving the emerging industrial cities, such as gas, water, tramways, together with the development of national rail and telegraph networks. Establishing rights of way, regulating natural monopoly, and nation-building drove state involvement in railways and the telegraph, while distributing widely the burden of heavy capital costs was an additional consideration for the local utilities. In the second period, to 1945, the traditional historical explanations of wars and depression are somewhat muted in favor of the need for state supervision over the development of efficient national network industries, the control of information flows, and central management of the problem of organizational adaptation to a new competitive environment. Finally, the focus shifts after World War II to strategic and tax-raising issues associated particularly with coal, oil, and aviation. The study concludes by providing an explanation poor performance of privatized industries since the 1980s. Millward rejects the traditional view of innately poor public sector management in favor of the increasingly difficult challenge set managers of meeting

a series of wide-ranging objectives without effective costing.

This is a very rich and scholarly account of the manifold explanations of a complex picture of state involvement over the last century and a half. Many of these explanations will seem entirely logical to readers who may, in fact, wonder whether it was necessary to invoke an apparent conventional wisdom that is associated with political ideology. Indeed, Millward deals with government intervention in the broad, while the role of political ideology would seem appropriate largely to a discussion of extensive public ownership after 1945. Moreover, much of the extension of public ownership in postwar Britain was into industries such as steel and vehicles that did not share the economic imperatives of the sectors discussed in this book. It should also be noted that the explanations of intervention provided extend beyond economic and technological forces; strategic, military, and nation-building motives also come to the fore as policy responses to the new technologies of infrastructure industries.

The scope of this book is impressive and largely convincing, but with eight nations to cover, many industries, and a century and a half of history, there is a sense of multivarious facts and explanations flying rapidly past the reader's proverbial railway carriage window. That said, the omission of the shipping industry, acknowledged by Millward, is somewhat surprising: a transport industry with strategic value that was regulated as far back as the eighteenth century and a centre of government interest throughout the period covered by this book. The justification for omission—that shipping was a classic competitive industry—was true only of the beginning of the period under study. That said, this work is a major contribution to our understanding of the nature and drivers of industry policy in Western Europe over the last century and a half.

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N. PIERS LUDLOW. *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge*. (Cass Series: Cold War History, number 9.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. xiv, 269. \$113.00.

This study on the development of the European Economic Community from Charles de Gaulle's brusque veto of Great Britain's first application for admission in January 1963 to the Hague Summit in December 1969, which opened the way for the entry of Britain, Ireland, and Denmark, is excellently documented, closely written, and gripping in its analysis. At the beginning of the work, there is too much emphasis on the break in the history of integration caused by de Gaulle's unilateral rejection of British membership in January of 1963. After that, however, N. Piers Ludlow demonstrates quite well that the crisis of the "empty chair" in the second half of 1965 did not come out of nowhere, nor could it be attributed solely to Walter Hallstein's initiative for strengthening the European Parliament and the Com-

mission. Rather, there had been growing bitterness on all sides beforehand: resentment over the French veto but also disappointment that the concessions made on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in January 1962 and in December 1964 were not met by greater accommodation from France regarding the Political Union and the rights of Parliament; doubt as to France's willingness to participate in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations; and dismay in Italy at an agricultural policy that made the poorest member state a net payer. In Paris, there were fears that the government of the Federal Republic was not prepared to finance agricultural subsidies on the European level for an indefinite period and would consequently use the Kennedy round to undermine CAP.

Among the most noteworthy findings of this investigation is that de Gaulle did not succeed, thanks to enduring solidarity among the other five governments, which were not prepared to make any modifications to the treaties. The "Luxemburg Compromise" served to push off into an uncertain future any strengthening of Community institutions, a project Hallstein had in mind. It did not, however, imply any reduction in the supranational elements of the treaties. Even without the use of majority voting, the European Council functioned much more effectively than the federalists had feared, and, together with the Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER), it rose to be the actual leading institution of the Community. The European Court established the supremacy of European legislation over national legislation. De Gaulle was satisfied with the disinclination of other governments to end up in isolation in the Council.

Another high point of this book is the depiction of the crisis into which the Community fell when de Gaulle opposed the second British application for entry. The governments of Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium then developed a real blockade strategy. As Ludlow is able to show, they refused to negotiate on including new political areas in which France had urgent needs: a common currency policy, a European industrial policy, and—once again—cooperation on foreign policy. The pressure on France became all the stronger when the growing economic might of the Federal Republic (visible in the currency turbulence in the autumn of 1968) and its greater mobility in *Ostpolitik* brought to the fore concerns about binding the Germans more firmly into the Community. Like other researchers, Ludlow cannot definitively resolve the issue of whether French willingness to concede on the question of admission lay already behind the "Soames Affair" of February 1969. All the more convincingly, however, he demonstrates that Georges Pompidou was aiming for British entry from the beginning—even while being carefully conscious to overcome resistance within his own administration and also actually collect on the concessions of his partners in other political areas.

In analyzing the forces that served to overcome the crisis, Ludlow makes a rather artificial separation be-

tween those who were federalist idealists and those who were pragmatic and supported supranational solutions due to their specific interests. This leads him to present Hallstein's initiative of March 1965 as a much more isolated phenomenon than it actually was. Hallstein's strategy, which depended on the genuine interest of France in further development of the Economic Community, is not analyzed. The consensus that supported the "Luxemburg Compromise" appears more solid here than it could actually have been given the continuing interest of the Five in strengthening institutions. The book does not discuss the costs associated with the establishment of the Community's hybrid governing system, especially the loss of transparency and along with it citizen participation.

Conversely, Ludlow correctly emphasizes the unity of the epoch of integration history that he is examining: It was a time of orientation crisis unleashed by the successes in implementing the Treaties of Rome and deepened by de Gaulle's curt manner. The crisis was resolved only with the decision for British entry, and linked with this were decisions about the Community's tasks and mode of operation that would continue to characterize it until at least the end of the Cold War. To that extent, the Hague Summit can be regarded as the second founding of the Community. Ludlow's analysis of this second founding is a fundamental contribution to the history of European integration.

WILFRIED LOTH

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G. W. BERNARD. *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 736. \$40.00.

G. W. Bernard's massive reexamination of the English Reformation has two main objectives: first to prove that Henry was himself responsible for the whole sequence of events, which represented the steady application of a consistent policy; and second to prove that everyone who has hitherto written upon the subject has been wrong. Some have been more wrong than others, but nobody has hitherto shown a true appreciation of the king's role. The problem with setting an agenda in this way is that it tends to become self-fulfilling. The evidence is massive, and very little of it is truly objective. Diplomats reported the king's opinions and the results of his consultations to the best of their abilities, and sometimes they were very well informed, but they were writing (mostly) for the emperor or the king of France, or their ministers, and they had specific instructions. Henry made apparently explicit statements from time to time, sometimes in council, sometimes in audiences with ambassadors, sometimes in consultation with his specialist advisers. Sometime we know a fair amount about the context in which these remarks were made, and sometimes not. He annotated texts, corrected manuscript drafts, and appears to have drafted some legislation himself. Any scholar's use of this immense archive is bound to be selective, either in the choice of

examples, or in emphasis, but Bernard is less selective than most, and therein lies the strength of his thesis. He has read more widely, and more ecumenically, than his predecessors, and that gives him some right at least to take the academic high ground.

Whether he is as right as he claims to be is another matter. Even the king admitted that he had changed his mind about papal authority. He was consistent in wanting to get his own way over his first marriage, and consistent (once he had taken up that position) in believing that he had contravened the Law of God. However, the policy that evolved in stages between 1530 and 1533 was not internally consistent, nor inevitable. If Pope Clement VII had offered him an acceptable deal in 1531, he would have taken it with relief on all sides. Once Henry had taken his stand, he was indeed resolute, but this tells us more about the adaptability of his conscience than the firmness of his purpose. The fact is that Henry's religious thinking evolved under the influence of what he read and whom he talked to, and also in the light of experience. Having started by regarding the English Bible as an heretical intrusion, he became convinced that all his subjects should have the right to read it, and then partly retreated in the light of the "jangling and disputing" that went on. He remained firm in regarding the Bible as the "word of life" but was not entirely consistent in his perception of what that meant. Bernard is surely right to dismiss the cruder theories of royal suggestibility that spring ultimately from John Foxe's attempts to make sense of so puzzling a reign. Henry did not pursue a stop/go policy of reformation according to who happened to have his ear at the time, but that does not mean that there were no areas of uncertainty in his thinking. Purgatory provides a good example. Henry was too good a humanist to accept the way in which this doctrine had developed, which he regarded as superstitious. Erasmus had influenced him from his youth. He could not accept, however, that prayers for the dead were so much wasted effort, so purgatory remained "unmentioned" in the King's Book of 1543. Similarly the Mass remained the center of Henry's spiritual life, as it had been from the beginning. Even as a young man, when he was spending hours every day in the lists and the hunting field, he never failed to hear two or three low masses. To deny transubstantiation was the worst kind of heresy, and in 1538 he took the opportunity to demonstrate his commitment to the doctrine at the expense of the unfortunate John Lambert, an intervention that Foxe found both puzzling and repellent. The Act of Six Articles did indeed represent a position from which the king had never swerved, no matter how much some of his advisers might have wished that he would. Nevertheless it was not consistent to dissolve monasteries and shortly thereafter to insist that the vows taken remained valid in the new circumstances, even for those who had not been ordained. That Henry's policy remained steadfastly the same from first to last is thus an overstatement. Most of the main elements may have remained the same, but there were trimmings and adjustments as the policy was applied in

practice, particularly in the definition of what counted as "superstitious."

In claiming, however, that this policy was always the king's, Bernard is on surer ground. We know from many other aspects of his reign how reluctant Henry was to be steered or manipulated. Both Thomas Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell had many enemies, but it would be a mistake to see the fall of either as being the result of factional intrigues. The king decided that their services were to be dispensed with, for the simple reason that no one else could make such a decision. The same is true of the fall of Anne Boleyn. Henry had a suspicious nature, particularly when any aspect of his honor was concerned, and it was widely believed that those suspicions could be aroused by judicious persuasion. That may have been the case, but examples of failure are almost as numerous as those of success. Twice Thomas Cranmer was ensnared in that way, and twice he escaped by the king's intervention. The same is alleged to have happened to Catherine Parr. Despite the vested interests involved, no one denies that Henry's foreign policy was his own, or that he steered his own morally dubious way out of the mess of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The evidence is overwhelming that Henry took his duty to God seriously, and that once he had become convinced that the Church of England was his responsibility, he set out to impose his own vision of godliness. He was enough of a theologian to believe that he knew what that meant, and it was a course independent of both Rome and Wittenberg. At the end of the day, he was not prepared to allow anyone to encroach on that prerogative, and Bernard is surely right in seeing the policy of his later years as the realization of that eccentric vision.

In a sense the author here protests too much. Much of his vast erudition is beside the point, and his critique of other scholars is not always justified, but that the English Reformation (at least before 1547) was Henry's own unique creation need no longer be disputed.

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LOUIS MONTROSE. *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 341. Cloth \$64.00, paper \$25.00.

Louis Montrose's new book "is not about the person of Queen Elizabeth, but rather about the field of cultural meanings that were personified in her" (p. 1). It sets out to explore how the queen was consciously fashioned by her subjects for a variety of audiences, at home and abroad, including the queen herself. "The subject of Elizabeth," therefore, refers both to the queen as a historical agent and as a subject of discourse (p. 3). This discourse, or "Elizabethan imaginary"—the body of textual, verbal and iconic descriptions, tropes and images through which the queen was represented—is surveyed in a range of "representative" images and texts, focused on five themes: dynasty, legitimacy and the suc-

cession; monarcholatry (the symbolic sacralization of the monarch); religious and geopolitical conflict; religious and secular dissent, and Elizabeth's age. The result is twofold. First, Montrose consciously highlights, in contradistinction to other literary scholars, negative representations of the queen, while demonstrating the wide variety of ways in which Elizabeth, as a subject, was understood and characterized. Second, he uses the "Elizabethan imaginary" to shed light on the nature of Elizabethan political culture, arguing that it was gendered.

Building on his important articles, Montrose's venture is an ambitious one that seeks to engage with the historical record and situate representations in their historical context. He surveys a range of images and texts, from well-known portraits, miniatures and prints to Catholic polemical accounts, descriptions by foreign ambassadors, and cases of slanderous words by Elizabeth's subjects. Moreover, he addresses problematic, often anecdotal evidence—such as a lewd boast allegedly made by the anti-Catholic agent, Richard Topcliffe—arguing that these "subjective perceptions" are an important aspect of the "collective Elizabethan imaginary," although their provenance and reliability may be open to question (p. 247). This provides some rich and illuminating scenes that lend fresh perspectives or open up new avenues for understanding royal representation under a regnant queen. Chapter sixteen, for instance, explores how Elizabeth presented herself in old age to ambassadors, while the following chapter touches on the relationship between the ageing queen and that common feature of post-1603 reconstructions, the mirror. Making use of a large body of secondary literature by scholars from different disciplines, the book also provides a synthesis of nearly half a century of research in Elizabethan art and literature.

However, the book is not without its problems. Its ambitious scope, the emphasis on well-known examples, and reliance on the work of others mean fresh insights are not as plentiful as in Montrose's earlier works. Some of the most exciting questions merit further discussion; for instance, comparison between Mary Tudor's and Elizabeth's deployment of tropes of marriage, motherhood, and virginity (notably in Mary's speech at the Guildhall during Wyatt's Rebellion) and why explicit depictions of regality are largely absent in earlier Elizabethan portraits. Readers would also be interested to learn Montrose's interpretation of key texts—such as John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563)—and his views on recent secondary works by, for example, Thomas S. Freeman, Alexandra Walsham, and John King. These scholars and others have already challenged the "heroic narrative" favored by literary and biography scholars from which Montrose is keen to distance himself (p. 2).

The issue of religion, and specifically the Puritan campaign for reform, also deserves fuller treatment. Research by leading religious and political historians, including Patrick Collinson, John Guy, and Stephen Alford, has demonstrated that differences of opinion be-

tween Elizabeth and her counselors over the Religious Settlement in 1559 and the need to establish the Protestant succession were crucial elements in Elizabethan political culture, politics, and Elizabeth's queenship. While this is not to dispute the importance of gender, which the same historians acknowledge as a vital part of the politico-cultural milieu of the period, the book gives a rather one-sided perspective of Elizabeth's queenship.

Montrose has written a valuable work for readers less familiar with the Elizabethan period and it will, no doubt be welcomed by literary scholars. Without wishing to rebuild disciplinary boundaries, the book may have less impact on historians.

NATALIE MEARS

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LAUREN KASSELL. *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman; Astrologer, Alchemist, and Physician*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 281. \$90.00.

Simon Forman (1552–1611) was one of the most famous astrologers of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean age. During the notorious Overbury affair that began a couple of years after his death, Forman was accused of having used love magic and necromancy; his popular reputation was secured for later generations when Ben Jonson soon thereafter mocked him in *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616). Some of Forman's large body of extant manuscripts were destroyed as the judicial inquiry got underway, no doubt to protect certain people named in them, and others may have been confiscated by the crown and since lost, but thousands of pages remain thanks to the collecting activities of Elias Ashmole. These materials have been subject to study before. Most importantly, A. L. Rowse's *Sex and Society in Shakespeare's Age: Simon Forman the Astrologer* (1974) treated Forman as constantly engaged in sexual affairs while bringing the poison of superstition to the highest reaches of the ruling aristocracy; Barbara Howard Traister's *The Notorious Astrological Physician of London: Works and Days of Simon Forman* (2001) disagrees, seeing him as far more continent and a serious and diligent medical practitioner to a mostly poor and mid-dling clientele. Lauren Kassel's book is a much deeper and well-contextualized study of the interactions between the writing Forman did as part of his consulting practice (mainly his voluminous casebooks) and his more reflective expressions of his attempts to interpret the world, in an attempt at an integrated study of his work and views.

Although biography plays a subordinate role in her work, Kassel shows how a bookish and intellectually ambitious young man from near Salisbury made his way in the world without a university degree. Forman traveled to London and nearby places at the beginning of 1589. By 1592, he was more or less settled in London and was becoming well known for his medical cures,

which followed from astrological diagnosis; he also experimented alchemically. Over the next few years he became financially well off for the first time in his life and came to know a few people who could pull strings for him when needed; he and the members of the College of Physicians also entered into a confrontation that lasted over twenty years, with occasional fines and imprisonment for illicit practice countered less often by his own lawsuits and patronage against the college. By the later 1590s this autodidact was tutoring others in his arts, most famously the Reverend Richard Napier, whose practice was explored by Michael MacDonald and Ronald Sawyer. To William Lilly, writing in the late 1660s, Forman was the father of English astrological practice. From her own careful investigations and judicious interpretations, Kassell considers him far less original than John Dee—almost entirely reliant on the work of others, in fact, which he often took credit for even as he misunderstood it—but much more representative of those who sought personal utilitarian ends rather than enlightenment for the good of the commonwealth. He was, in other words, not an academic or court philosopher but an individualist practitioner who made his livelihood from paid consultations. Kassell's reconstruction of how he presented himself to the public, interviewed clients, and advised and prescribed, brings his activities alive.

For some reason, the vast majority of Forman's patients were women. Unfortunately, Kassell's intention to look into them as well could not be carried out, since almost all were ordinary people, unknown without further painstaking work in local sources. She therefore relies more on accounts that Forman himself wrote down than she would have liked. These she interprets with care, but in a way that raises a question. Kassell, following the recent work of Steven Shapin, thinks that Forman needed to establish his "authority" by winning his clients' "trust." But many of her examples show Forman telling his clients things they were trying to conceal, such as secret love affairs or pregnancies, which he ferreted out much to their dismay. His quoted words also speak of how untrustworthy, cunning, and secretive he thought women to be. The self-conscious gender dynamics here might be further illuminated by exploring his own sexual life, which Kassell does not do. But one nevertheless wonders whether it was something we could call Forman's "expertise"—his ability to discern the concealed parts of personal lives with reliability—that established his credibility. He and his clients thought he did through astrological ability. We might prefer to think that something else was going on, but whether it was grounded in trust is a question. This is, however, a minor quibble in light of Kassell's major achievement, which is to integrate Forman's studies with his practices. He was an unusual figure, but in helping us see the world through his eyes Kassell is able to illuminate many of the darker corners of his land.

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NATHAN JOHNSTONE. *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 334. \$85.00.

This book offers a different and fresh perspective on the Devil to that which has emerged in recent early modern social and cultural history. J. B. Russell in his several histories of Satan has presented the history of the Devil as that of an abstract theology intent on diverting attention to the problem of theodicy and away from God. For Russell, the early modern period constitutes the mid-point in a process of transition from the cosmic evil of the medieval Devil to the purely human evil of the modern post-Enlightenment world. Nathan Johnstone's book places the Devil squarely in the context of Reformation Protestantism and demonstrates that the concept of the Devil during this period was far more than that of a player in the problem of theodicy, or a mere remnant of medievalism. Rather, Johnstone argues that early modern demonology was a powerful and reflective belief that had an intense experiential reality for its adherents.

In so doing, Johnstone moves the discussion of demonology away from its connections with witchcraft, and away from the focus of much contemporary research on the Devil through the study of witchcraft texts and pamphlets. And he does so by distinguishing between the "academic" demonology of the witchcraft literature and a broader "demonism" that is imbedded in the liturgy, in sermons, conduct books, and pulp press pamphlets, in diaries and commonplace books, in spiritual autobiographies and godly lives, and in plays and ballads.

This broadening of the focus of "demonism" enables Johnstone to substantiate the key argument in his revisionist account of early modern demonology. This is that the Protestant notion of the Devil centered above all on the notion of the "internal temptation" of the Protestant soul: "Whereas the medieval remit of the Devil had included temptation as one of a variety of activities with which he might afflict mankind, Protestants elevated it into the single most important aspect of his agency, which virtually eclipsed all others" (p. 19). The demonic thus problematized the origin of the individual's innermost thoughts. Were they one's own or the Devil's? Relief from the demonic was possible only through the most rigorous introspection, self regulation, and rigorous examination of the conscience. No longer merely an exotic "other" in the outer world of witches' Sabbaths and the possessed, the Devil was now normalized. Protestantism, writes Johnstone, "emphasised the Devils presence in the religious instincts of the average Christian." He remained the inverter (à la Stuart Clark), but he was also crucially the subverter.

This vision of the Devil as the inner tempter allows Johnstone to read the anti-Catholic writings of Protestants as intended to convince men of the diabolism inherent in the familiar and apparently comforting rituals of the traditional church. Similarly those works di-

rected to fellow Protestants persuaded them to feel the Devil's internal presence: "Temptation encapsulated Satan's all-pervasive malice, and allowed his agency to be potentially felt within the life of every Christian. In the face of the Devil's certain agency, Protestants stripped the faith of its "magical" protectives, but they did so in order to engage with the diabolic and understand its significance" (p. 61). The norms of Satanism were no longer to be found in the Devil hidden in thunderstorms, nor appearing in the shape of a black dog or an incubus, but in the diabolic nature of commonplace urges such as anger, envy, the desire to eat, rest, play, have sex, visit the playhouse or the alehouse, "in the sheer banality of the sinful thoughts he was credited with introducing into the mind" (p. 76).

Internal temptation then allowed the godly to experience the Devil's attempt to subvert the conscience of the believer. So, too, Johnstone argues, the concept of the temptation of the body politic provided a parallel political analogy of the subversion of the Commonwealth, providing a means by which dissatisfaction with central aspects of the political and religious establishment could be expressed. In short, the Reformation put Satanic subversion not only at the center of the individual life but also at the heart of political and ecclesiastical life.

Johnstone concludes provocatively by raising the issue of the implications of his discussion for that of whether early modern culture had a sense of the privileged inner self. From the perspective of his central thesis, "the Devil threatened to turn the inner self into the traitor to the soul. If the logic of temptation was followed, the internal self could no longer be trusted to be the true self" (p. 291). Fear of the other, he remarks, was perennial in early modern demonology, but perhaps the defining characteristic of reformed demonism in early modern culture "was the fear of subversion of oneself" (p. 292).

This is an excellent book, worthy of a close reading. If at times the wealth of detail goes beyond the main outlines of Johnstone's thesis, this testifies to the richness of research that has resulted in this fine book. For me, the ironic delight is that, if Johnstone is right, the Protestant persona was more the result of focused reflection on the demonic than on the divine.

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JULIAN GOODARE. *The Government of Scotland 1560–1625*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 324. \$125.00.

Julian Goodare has worked to illuminate the evolution and operation of the early modern Scottish state through more than a dozen articles and a previous monograph, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (1999). His new book offers a description of the institutions and structures of political authority in Scotland under Mary Queen of Scots and James VI. In many re-

spects the current book revisits *State and Society* with expanded use of manuscript sources and more detailed investigation of the instruments of state power.

Goodare's "Stewart revolution in government" features three key developments. First, the Scottish privy council emerged as an executive body in which counsel and corporate decision making were vested in councilors who almost uniformly served as "department heads" in the state administration. Second, the burden of rising taxation fell on the "propertied classes" instead of the crown's patrimony. Third, the establishment of "parliamentary sovereignty" over the kirk (church) and nobility found its most concrete expression in the "explosion of statute law, and a recognition that such law, rather than traditional custom, was *thelaw*" (p. 296).

These developments loosely knit together Goodare's detailed descriptions of Scottish government. For example, the body politic with its three medieval estates—church, nobility, burgesses—was reconfigured by the emergence of lawyers, lairds, and reformed clergy. Thus legal experts like John Skene and Thomas Craig grappled with the codification of "ancient" Scots law, yet they contributed to the triumph of statute as the authoritative law of Scotland in place of such "old law"—or in the face of efforts to make good James VI's claim that the law was the king's and subject to dispensation or alteration by royal prerogative. Historians traditionally assumed that parliamentary statutes were negligently enforced by a weak Scottish state, something Goodare rejects by arguing that statutes were premised on discretionary enforcement, encouraging voluntary compliance, or negotiated implementation in reflection of local circumstances. Through all this, "parliamentary sovereignty was well understood and rigorously adhered to" even by potential rivals like the general assembly of the kirk or privy council (p. 86).

The privy council emerged as the crucial institution able to successfully address a government that was thus "becoming more elaborate" and featured "more paperwork, more departmental specialization, and more consultation by policy-makers" (p. 130). Active participation in council by the officers of state and judges effectively combined the processes of policy making, administration, and judicial redress. James VI's Scottish kingship was grounded in and realized through a corporate, conciliar, consensual form of government. According to Goodare, much of the emergent stability of Scotland in the 1580s and its continuation after the departure of the king for England in 1603 rested on government by "unitary privy council" able to act on its own in the king's name.

State-building initiatives dominate descriptions of just how the king's government functioned through traditional structures of local government, "new powers in the localities" (kirk sessions and presbyteries, justice ayres, justices of the peace, informers, and projectors), and the distinctive and unhappy experience of government in the Highlands. Goodare concludes that the Scottish state's record in creating "new networks of ac-

countable local authority" was "respectable" (p. 215). This "success" included regular taxation, the state's monopoly of violence, the cultural imperialism of "Lowland" values, the policing of personal morality and witchcraft (with disproportionately negative effects on women), and social coercion of the commons that included the "enservment" of some workers and children. Some issues certain to create debate include the stability of the nobility's partnership with the state, Goodare's confident assertion that justices of the peace actually were firmly established, and the admittedly imprecise statistics indicating that "public local administrators" numbered "1 per 603 people" in 1625 compared to one per 2192 in 1560 (p. 217).

Throughout this fine book, Goodare explains the detailed workings of Scottish government with admirable clarity and interest, yet his study too often reads like a book in search of an argument. Historiographic and analytic points are not sustained through individual chapters or the book as a whole; the introduction is especially weak in setting an interpretative agenda or analytical framework. Conceptual elements are sometimes maddeningly unspecific and explored through a kind of sociology-speak about authority with little direct reference to empirical evidence. The idiosyncratic decision made twelve chapters into the book to follow Maurice Lee's "Stewart revolution in government" most reflects this shortcoming. Derived from Geoffrey Elton's overstated thesis about a "Tudor revolution in government," its influence here may explain why Goodare's account is skewed toward parliamentary sovereignty, privy council, and state building in a manner that overwhelms or neglects vital questions of political culture, ideology, and the activity of James VI himself—ironically mirroring the manner in which Elton's Tudor revolution for so long distorted our assessment of Henry VIII. That said, a modern description of Scottish government in this much detail is most welcome.

JOHN CRAMSIE
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PHIL WITHINGTON. *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, number 4.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 298. \$75.00.

Over the last twenty years, there has been a major change in the significance historians are prepared to accord to the civic culture of early modern England, especially the corporate privileges and practices of its towns, and the status of their freemen. It was once assumed, even by most urban historians, that the key developments of the period (defined in this book as ca.1540–1680) in the economy, politics, and culture of England were either explicable without regard to this civic culture or involved its necessary destruction, because it hindered the processes of state and class formation and commercialization. Phil Withington brings together, for the first time in a book-length study, the

full range of arguments (and some of the evidence) that has accumulated over the last two decades to suggest that the opposite was the case: that "historians of both English politics and the English state have vastly underestimated the urban dimension of their subjects" (p. 7) and that "freemen and citizens, like any other social group, were very much present at their own making" (p. 15). He identifies the assumptions, both of certain contemporary ideologues such as Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes, and of modern historians, which have led to the neglect of corporate towns and their citizens, and then provides countervailing examples, both of the significance that other contemporaries attached to the "politics of commonwealth" and of how such politics has helped us to understand historical change better. This is a polemical book, designed to make a major historiographical impact, and it has both the strengths and weaknesses of such texts: namely a passionate advocacy of its case and a tendency to underplay the existing literature which has lain the groundwork for this particular account.

Withington's book rests on his doctoral dissertation, supervised by Keith Wrightson, to whose doctoral students we owe so much of the new sociopolitical history of early modern England. Characteristically, Withington has used local particularity to investigate the major themes of class, gender, power and identity in early modern England, combining detailed local case studies with evidence drawn from ideological and literary culture in order to demonstrate that the everyday dramas of local life and conflict are integral parts of the making of the nation state. Although his mastery of the York records underpins this book, Withington also draws on the archives of Ludlow, Cambridge, and Newcastle. He clearly prefers to use his own archival research rather than the secondary literature on other towns, even where these would support his case. Equally, Withington's use of printed material from the period, notably political texts and plays, is largely based on his own readings, although his collaboration with the literary historian Cathy Shrank has clearly inspired him.

The book is in three parts. The first introduces the argument and then provides a very useful overview of the formation of the English corporate system. Its central claim that "incorporation may have been a medieval invention; however it was the early modern period that marked England's era of incorporation" (p. 12) is a familiar one from Robert Tittler's work. Withington explores the regional variation in this process (the Thames, Avon, and Severn valleys emerge as the foci of incorporation) and links it to civic comedies and the geography of touring theater companies in the Shakespearean period. The second part looks at citizens, through considering the "cultural resources" provided by civic culture, under the three headings of "ideology, place, company." It demonstrates an active ideological tradition of active citizenship on which townspeople could draw, and explores very sensitively the relationship between this and the languages of mixed government, republicanism and commonwealth that operated

in national politics. It then confronts directly the paradox that corporate citizenship rested on the particular privileges and circumstances of each town, and yet constituted part of a nation state, both depending on and crucially affecting the changing balance of national authority. Finally, it looks at the "politics of company," exploring how formal and informal associations and conversations shaped the construction of civic culture and its articulation of both local and national politics. The final section then turns to freemen, looking first at the "economy of freedom" and then exploring the issue of patriarchy (showing women's central place within this apparently male world), before concluding with a chapter on "Calvinism, Citizenship and the English Revolution" based on the fascinating case study of York Presbyterian Edward Bowles and his responses to the revolution as a vehicle for both religious and civic reformation. This section shows Withington at his best, effectively tying individual cases (for example Andrew Marvell's hidden marriage) to broad themes, and showing how the varied outcomes of the politics of commonwealth in terms of place, class, and gender nevertheless reflected a common set of issues and responses.

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ROGER B. MANNING. *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xix, 467. \$135.00.

This book's argument is that despite the inaptitude of all the Stuart monarchs except William III for war, and the abhorrence of the English public for standing armies, the British army effectively came into being during the century and a half prior to its official creation after the Act of Union of 1707. What forged the British army was the experience of numerous wars against Irish rebels in the late sixteenth century, professional service in the Eighty Years' War of Dutch Independence, the voluntary service of tens of thousands of English, Scots, and Irish soldiers in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1640–1652), and the participation of many English and Scots regiments in the Nine Years' War at the end of the seventeenth century. As Roger B. Manning has already demonstrated in his companion volume, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (2003), large-scale participation in the continental wars of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries resulted in the remilitarization of English culture and the accumulation of a fund of professional expertise and technological knowledge.

In the volume under review Manning assimilates and builds on the work of Geoffrey Parker, Lois Schwoerer, John Brewer, James Scott Wheeler, Mark Fissel, and other military historians of the early modern period. There are only a few lacunae. Had he included the work of Steve Ellis his treatment of Tudor Ireland would have been more sure footed. Had he read Stuart Reid more carefully he might have been less certain about

the historical reality of the celebrated "Highland Charge."

The book's best chapters are those dealing with the Williamite descent on England, the subsequent conquest of Scotland and Ireland, and the Nine Years' War. After England's hard-won military tradition was allowed to decay between 1660 and 1688, thanks to the Stuart kings' detestation of republican rule and parliament's abhorrence of standing armies, that tradition was quickly restored at the hands of the most warlike king to sit upon the English throne since the Middle Ages. The invasion of England by William of Orange was not universally welcomed. The crown of England was offered to William and Mary while London was under Dutch military occupation, and even then the vote in the Convention Parliament was very close—something that Whig historians have preferred not to dwell on. The cost of establishing parliamentary monarchy in England was enormous: several thousand Scots and at least 100,000 Irish paid with their lives. All three kingdoms were committed to a long century of warfare with France.

Yet it was during the Nine Years' War (1689–1697) that the British military tradition was decisively reestablished. The Cromwellian republic, with its massive standing armies and its unprecedented burden of taxation, had introduced the three kingdoms to the fiscal-military state. During the 1690s the Williamite monarchy was responsible for an exponential rise in these aspects of modern state formation. One of Manning's striking findings is that while conscription for naval service had always been legal, large numbers of soldiers were also conscripted—in defiance of the law—for overseas service in this decade. Owing to their extensive experience of fighting shoulder to shoulder in continental armies, it was relatively easy for William to integrate the officers and men of the armies of the three kingdoms into one British army. Professionalization of the officer corps continued apace, so that by the end of the seventeenth century the primacy of military over social hierarchies had been successfully asserted. Professionalization made much greater headway in the navy where technical proficiency was a more obvious requirement than in the army. Much as he would have liked to, William was unable to end the purchase of commissions in the army. If it is true that "during William's reign . . . professional officers came to form the core of the British army" (p. 438), it is also true that there was still "very little incentive to acquire a military education" (p. 433). The first British military academy would not be founded for another half century.

The book has its fair share of errors. Colonel Thomas Pride, the purger of the Long Parliament, was not a butcher but a haberdasher turned brewer. The battles of Marston Moor (July 2, 1644) and Worcester (September 3, 1651) are misdated. Poyning's Law (1494) subordinated the Irish parliament to the English monarch and privy council, but not to the English parliament. Sir William Petty's estimate of the death toll due to the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland (616,000) is

cited, but not Padraig Lenihan's more informed estimate of 300,000. When Colonel George Monck's troops stormed Dundee in August 1651 they put 800 soldiers and townspeople to the sword, not 8000. Prince Rupert's celebrated exchange with the Earl of Essex over the killing of prisoners of war took place not in 1649 (three years after Essex's death) but in 1644.

Errors apart, this book can be recommended as a clear, useful summing up of the current state of knowledge of the military history of Britain and Ireland in the long century prior to Act of Settlement of 1702.

IAN GENTLES
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KAREN BRITLAND. *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 292. \$85.00.

This work seeks to redress the image of King Charles I's consort, Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), as a frivolous, naive woman who masqued or, alternatively, meddled while England dallied with ruinous foreign adventure before plunging into regicidal civil war. Principally by means of reading intently three pastoral plays (*Artenice*, *The Shepherds' Paradise*, and *Florimène*) and five masques (*Chloridia*, *Tempe Restored*, *The Temple of Love*, *Luminalia*, and *Salmacida Spolia*), Karen Britland shows how the drama sponsored by, and performed at, the queen's court was politically engaged and oftentimes culturally innovative, rather than mindlessly emulating continental modes. The book's argument is not a little ironic. It suggests that Henrietta Maria's purposeful theatrical patronage was driven by a convinced agenda to further a triptych of interests—those of her French homeland, dynasty, and faith—that came early to define her tension-filled role as spouse to the heretical head of an upstart Protestant polity which was, nonetheless, a worthwhile partner in the geopolitical gamesmanship of early seventeenth-century Europe.

Drawing on earlier work, Britland's book is at its strongest when establishing this French connection, or rather connections plural. Courtly drama allowed the queen the means to shape subtly (and sometimes not) the Anglo-French union in both its diplomatic and domestic dimensions, and to interlocute allegorically (but occasionally directly) on behalf of threatened interests across the Channel. As both performer and patron, Henrietta Maria fashioned a hybrid cultural idiom with which to voice a distinct political message, and this idiom also left its mark on the theater of the day. Although a relatively new departure for the English cultural scene, the queen's center-stage vocalicity cannot, Britland stresses, be easily characterized as protofeminist or even feminocentric. The book examines how innovations in English stagecraft, from womanly impersonation to imported *ballets*, were encouraged as much, if not more, by regal responsibilities as a feminine forwardness. Henrietta Maria's responsibilities stemmed from her identifying as proselytizing savior bearing a de Salesian Catholicism, exemplary spouse acting after a

neo-Platonic fashion, and loyal Bourbon-Médicis princess. Britland is able to establish some tantalizing links between these responsibilities, the drama, and, most importantly perhaps, its first audiences which, amid shifting faction, ranged from Hispanophobic aristocrats to Richelieu's *créatures*.

There are a few points where these connections are either under or overdrawn. Sometimes, deft, deliberate manipulation by Henrietta Maria is assumed. Characterizing her as a shrewd stage manager may be a fair interpretation on the basis of available evidence. But we need to be informed more explicitly of the partial nature of that evidence, particularly when impresarios such as Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones were at work, or other political heavyweights might have had a hand in things. The study does not pretend to be a life of Henrietta Maria. Nor, one concedes, would it be fair to expect an in-depth reexamination of the domestic political context and the exhaustive Civil War-era historiography. Yet there is small recognition that the negative imaging of the queen, which the study seeks to demolish, was a product of the times rather than an entirely later mischaracterization by whiggish and popular historians. Although the study gestures further afield, the focus on the court sometimes seems a little narrow. Granted, the primary concern is drama initially produced by and for a very exclusive circle, to which the study works diligently at providing us access. All the same, one wonders whether more might have been made of two facets: Henrietta Maria's attention to professional, public drama and, by contrast, the wider circulation of the courtly productions to the political nation at large (some in print, others perhaps in manuscript or by word of mouth). Consequently, the question of the extent to which courtly performance and the regal self-presentation at its heart were replying to contrary imaginings of the French bride and, from 1630, Catholic matron might have been confronted directly.

Built on an unusual familiarity with the French context and sources, as well as a handy combination of cultural and political history, the study is occasionally a little too familiar. The French dimension is absorbing, but one in which many readers will not be as deeply immersed as the author. At certain points the book offers rather dense contextualization (for example, of the cultural significance of Henrietta Maria's mother, Marie de Médicis), yet only provides equalizing elaboration much later in the piece. Nonetheless, this book serves as a welcome counterbalance to earlier interpretations of Caroline queenly drama, which tend to overemphasize the factor of gender and, simultaneously, downplay the importance of the international scene.

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HANNAH SMITH. *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 296. \$85.00.

This book by Hannah Smith makes bold claims for its significance. Put simply, it argues that there existed in early Hanoverian Britain a culture of loyalty to the first two Georges that historians have hitherto overlooked and that, once properly acknowledged, has profound implications for how we view British politics and society in this period. The underlying argument is also expressed in narrower terms: *contra* Linda Colley, the early Hanoverian period did not mark a hiatus in the role of monarchy in society but was rather a period of continuity, innovation, and surprising popularity.

Whether the book can quite sustain this weight of significance, or indeed fully substantiates its case, is debatable, but it undoubtedly contains a very fine-grained, richly documented exploration of loyalist ideology and celebration, and of the role of the court as a site of politics and source of patronage—political, social, and artistic—between 1714 and 1760. The discussion is greatly enhanced by Smith's sensitivity to the necessary European dimension to British court culture under the Hanoverians. This context has often been missing from analyses of court politics and culture in this period. Here, however, the Georgian monarchical style—militarist, frugal, relatively withdrawn, pro-Enlightenment—is portrayed in terms particularly of the models established by Frederick William I of Prussia and his more famous successor, Frederick II. It was not simply a case of following European models. Indeed, there is an interesting tension, perhaps somewhat underexplored here, between the role of European and domestic factors in shaping court practice and style. The importance of the European dimension is also apparent in other areas, notably loyalist ideology.

According to Smith, at the heart of the argument for the Georges (if we can put it this way) was a concept of the monarch as a militant champion of European Protestantism, one that had a long genealogy stretching back to the sixteenth century. Clustering around this notion was a further series of propositions and arguments, all of which tended to emphasize the Protestant credentials of the Hanoverian dynasty. What is missing from the discussion of ideology is sufficient consideration of whose ideology this was. As the author notes, Dissenters produced some of the most striking endorsements of the early Hanoverian kings, but one might well argue that this was as much driven by pragmatic considerations—the protection of their liberties and right to worship after 1714—as by the pan-European Protestant outlook they undoubtedly did frequently express. Nor is it easy to judge how influential this ideology was as compared to other ways of defending the Hanoverian and Protestant succession. Hanoverian rule was often attacked on real Whig principles, and defended on a similarly contractual basis, or in terms of what Hanoverian monarchy had delivered or was delivering for Britain: liberty, prosperity, and national independence. There is scant reference to this seam of discourse in the book, or to the difficulties that the pro-Hanoverian inclinations and on occasion policies of George I and George II placed on those who sought to

vindicate Hanoverian rule. That the latter, together with the proscription of the Tories from political office from 1714, inhibited the development of a genuinely popular culture of loyalism is indisputable. This also helps to explain why, as Smith notes, loyalist sentiment often focused on figures other than the current monarchs, notably William III. When a number of places in Scotland, led by Edinburgh, established loyalist revolution clubs in the aftermath of the defeat of the 1745 Jacobite rising, the principal day of celebration was the anniversary of William's birth. My own sense is that there was certainly the potential for popular Protestant monarchy in Britain in this period, but that it largely remained just this. Readers will have to judge for themselves whether Smith has demonstrated more: that is, whether matters went considerably beyond potential. Or, to put the issue in somewhat different terms, that a culture of loyalism was, in many instances and manifestations, a great deal more than one driven by opposition to an alternative regime viewed as repugnant and threatening to the existence of key liberties and interests. Smith's discussion of the role of the court as a site for politics certainly demonstrates the court's continuing importance as a venue for politics, but whether this really challenges existing views of political life in this period is again questionable. At one point Smith declares, "it would be impossible to write a history of eighteenth-century 'high' politics without taking into consideration the manoeuvres and opinions of the reigning sovereign" (pp. 212–213). Would anyone disagree with this proposition? Where, however, the book is much more enlightening and novel is in relation to what the author terms the "fashioning" of early Georgian kingship and the broader cultural contribution of the first two Hanoverians. For this reason, and because of the high quality of the scholarship displayed throughout, this is a book which can be recommended to a wide range of scholars.

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GARY A. BOYD. *Dublin, 1745–1922: Hospitals, Spectacle and Vice. (The Making of Dublin City.)* Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 224. \$45.00.

This book is a tale of two cities, both of them Dublin. Gary A. Boyd uses the lens of architecture to explore the Dublin of the leisured and the Dublin of the disaffected during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In hospitals, built and administered by the rich but populated by the poor, Boyd hits upon rich sites of intercourse between these two worlds, exploring Dublin in the splendor of its Georgian mansions and the squalor of its back alleys.

Architecture proves a useful way to link these two worlds. Institutions like hospitals for the very poor and homes for the very rich should be nothing like one another. Yet Dublin's maternity hospital was fashioned after one of the city's great manor homes, Kildare House. The model was easily adapted, providing, for

example, effective strategies of segregation, in the case of Kildare House to order family, guests, and lowly servants, and in the hospital to police patients, visitors, and staff. Moreover, the hospital appropriated one of the hallmarks of Georgian opulence—the pleasure garden—to entertain prospective benefactors and generate crucial income for the institution. Such spectacle was so vital to the hospital's survival that it later added a rotunda for Dublin's elite to promenade year round. The hospital's chapel was no less a site for spectacle. The governors, benefactors and other wealthy attendees heard divine service while in a gallery above them, removed but in sight, sat the poor pregnant women dependent on their charity. Chapel service was thus not only a celebration of benevolence, it was a spectacle of fecundity—and Protestant fecundity at that. Boyd reminds the reader in key places of the colonial context that rendered institutions like hospitals sites for the announcement of Anglo-Irish hegemony.

While hospital administrators sought to stage manage these spectacles, Boyd demonstrates that this was difficult to do. The Pleasure Garden at the maternity hospital soon became a site for sexual license. Although the truly poor were kept out, members of elite and middling classes rubbed elbows (and more) at the garden, taking the opportunities provided by hedges and nooks to flirt and fondle. The apparent conflict of a sexual zone created by righteous hospital governors, who stressed that only wholesome married women should receive their charity, was hardly the only contradiction. Boyd demonstrates that numerous of these same hospital governors were clients of a famous Dublin madam, and he speculates that they may have bent their institution's rules to cover up the results of their own peccadilloes. It is in revealing the tensions between spectacle and vice, rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic that Boyd is at his best.

No indicator of vice was clearer than venereal disease, which ran rife through Dublin as it did all Western cities by the eighteenth century. Boyd explores the development of Dublin's Lock Hospital (exclusively for venereal patients) through the nineteenth century, setting it against attempts to police prostitution that ranged from the notorious Contagious Diseases Acts to begrudging acceptance of a red light district. For Boyd, increased military presence in the 1790s was the catalyst of changes in venereal disease policies, as worry about soldiers' health drove reformers to look exclusively to women as the cause of the epidemic, developing gendered public health campaigns. This meant turning the Lock Hospital into an all-female venue, institutionalizing the double standard in brick and mortar.

This story of venereal disease is familiar, and points to the Achilles heel of this book. It cannot be called thoroughly researched. Boyd uses his primary sources innovatively, but he has not investigated the secondary scholarship on many of his core issues in the depth it deserves. Discussions frequently flow from a primary source alone or else entirely from a lone secondary source. Emblematic is his handling of midwifery; all

commentary draws from Jean Donnison's *Midwives and Medical Men: A History of Inter-Professional Rivalries and Women's Rights* (1977), eschewing three decades of subsequent research. Something similar can be said about the histories of charity, medicine, gender and sexuality. The failure to engage a study like Donna T. Andrew's *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (1989), which explores exactly the kinds of institutions analyzed here, glazes. More effort also could have been made to explore the perspectives of the people forced by need to use the institutions studied here. It is a hard task, no doubt. But historians like Tim Hitchcock, Tom Sokoll, and Steve King are demonstrating that the stories of the eighteenth-century poor can be told. That said, this remains a thoughtful book that brings alive the story of how an important city developed during a vital period of transformation. Boyd nicely illustrates the many tensions present as Dublin became modern.

KEVIN SIENA
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KYLA MADDEN. *Forkhill Protestants and Forkhill Catholics, 1787–1858*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, number 33.) Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. Xiv, 240. \$70.00.

This book concerns the parish of Forkhill in South Armagh, on the modern border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. South Armagh is described by Kyla Madden as "historically charged" (p. 5), and that is true in both senses of the word. It has long been a theater of conflict, and in more recent years British journalists dubbed it "Bandit Country" because of its prominence as a stronghold of the Provisional IRA. Madden's careful historical probe is designed to show the complexity behind facile assumptions about the area, and in particular about the inevitability of sectarian conflict in a mixed community. In that sense, the book is humane and even optimistic, as it demonstrates that allegedly atavistic and unchanging characteristics are in fact the products of specific and ephemeral historic conditions. It is more convincing than the unchanging "narrow ground" or "dreary steeples" monolith favored by A. T. Q. Stewart and Roy Foster.

The book is organized around seven chronological slices covering the period from 1787 to 1858. It begins with the macabre incident for which the region is best known. Alexander Berkley (more usually Barclay) of Mullaghbawn, a Protestant weaver and teacher, had settled there in 1787. A member of a new colony, he rendered himself obnoxious by instigating charges against his Catholic neighbors. The local secret society the Defenders took a brutal Gothic revenge: cutting out his tongue and chopping off his fingers, thus denying him future employment as a weaver. This sensational episode was universally understood as a retreat to the 1641 pattern of savage and malignant papists treacherously assaulting the besieged Irish Protestants. In

fact, as Madden shows, the Defenders—and indeed subsequent secret societies like the Ribbonmen—targeted those who were active agents of church and state (proctors, magistrates, informers, constables, tax and cess collectors), especially if the law was being brought to bear on them. The victims were often outsiders and usually but by no means always Protestant. The violence was theatrical and designed to strike terror, to be literally spectacular. Madden concludes this vignette with the observation that the standard historical views of the Defenders are a “caricature” (p. 41).

The book’s next section covers the 1821 census, showing how similar were the circumstances of Catholics and Protestants. The chapter on education properly stresses the avid desire for education among Catholics even when only Protestant schoolmasters were available. While Madden emphasizes the interesting correlation between anglicisation and increased litigiousness, she could have stressed more that the informal hedge schools were a key transformative linguistic factor. The significance of the 1820s as a hinge decade is brilliantly demonstrated in Irene Whelan’s superb new study of the Second Reformation. After that decade, the earlier fluidity evaporated and education became a confessional battleground, with a neutral state slowly emerging as the only viable solution.

The chapter on “outrages” foregrounds Ribbonism, a descendant of Defenderism, but more local, less political, and developing an increasingly harsher edge in the pre-Famine period. Madden is good on how secret societies generated a sense of empowerment for the very poor—hence their emphasis on legalism, ritual, swearing, and bombastic threatening letters. “We are nameless but not without authority,” as one threatening notice stated in 1835 (p. 99). The alternative moral economy has been heavily stressed by cultural studies scholars like Heather Laird and David Lloyd, using more innovative approaches than the methodologically narrow and conservative Irish historiography. Madden’s volume takes little account of work produced since 2002, and that means she relies too heavily in this section on outmoded work by M. R. Beames and Tom Garvin. The section on the Famine is more labored and breaks little new ground. A chapter follows on the London-born evangelical Henry Wray Young. This Orangeman and agent of the International Church Mission arrived in 1846 and sought to take advantage of Famine suffering to proselytize. Like other zealous and ideologically driven outsiders—Edward Hudson, Steaurt Trench—who sought to make “our savages happy against their will” (p. 15), he seriously harmed local relations, despite strident occupation of the high moral ground.

The book’s vignettes offer excellent examples of how different events were interpreted through the binary deployment of two competing historical narratives. These mirroring narratives, one Protestant and colonial, the other Catholic and nativist, were always available as a way of explaining what was going on. That may offer a richer form of historical understanding of sec-

tarianism than the somewhat formulaic and mechanistic socioeconomic models currently favored by some Irish historians. The Barclay incident, for example, fits neatly into the “Protestant Gothic” narrative later favored by gifted novelists like Charles Maturin, Sheridan Le Fanu, and Bram Stoker.

On the whole, this is an excellent monograph by an emerging scholar. It is carefully written, sober in its judgments, and densely rooted in the archives. Madden is to be commended for diligent ferreting out of valuable sources like the newly discovered 1821 manuscript census, and the records of the Jackson Charity. There are very few mistakes like the one that substitutes Kinsale for Killala (p. 28). The emphasis on the remoteness of Forkhill is overdone: after all, it was close to the Gap of the North, which linked Belfast to Dublin, and within a few miles of Dundalk and Newry, both thriving commercial centers. I finished the volume with a nagging feeling that the whole was not greater than the sum of the parts: the vignettes, interesting in themselves, never generated a wider structure of understanding. In future this very capable scholar should tackle a larger and more chronologically focused theme. She has all the necessary skills.

KEVIN WHELAN

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BERNARD PORTER. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 475. \$26.95.

Reviewing a book belatedly has some advantages. A certain amount of dust has settled on Bernard Porter’s work, which garnered the American Historical Association’s Morris D. Forkosch Prize for 2005. Porter sets out to overturn what he regards as the central assumption of the “new imperial history,” arguing against scholars who claim that Britain was “permeated with imperialism at every level, to the exclusion of almost every other ideology” (p. viii). Over one hundred pages of endnotes support his insistence that historical knowledge must be empirically founded, although Porter fully acknowledges that much depends on semantic distinctions, on what one means by “imperialism,” on what counts as evidence, and on how one determines the historical context within which evidence is evaluated. At one level, Porter’s argument is fairly straight forward: the British Empire was won and maintained by a relatively small number of Britons; driven primarily by material concerns, it required little commitment or direct participation from “home.” The empire might have been important to Britain’s world standing but for most Britons it seemed hardly to matter.

Porter identifies the country’s ruling elite as the leading proponents of empire, but even here most of the upper class were taught to be “rulers first, and imperialists second” (p. 48). For others interest in empire was secondary to more fundamental beliefs (in socialism, capitalism, liberalism); the appeal for the middle class had to square with their overriding commitment

to individual freedom, which, in turn, transformed many into critics rather than supporters of empire. As George Orwell remarked, the English were hypocritical about their empire, and in the working class this hypocrisy took the form of "not knowing that the Empire exists." Porter reiterates this view. Working people were "absent-minded" about an empire from which they derived few material rewards and about which their social betters kept them in ignorance, although Porter acquits nearly all parties of hypocrisy and most of complicity. As the author shows, empire figured minimally in school textbooks, whether in history or geography. Articles on imperial subjects appeared in Charles Dickens's *Household Words* and cheaper periodicals like the *Penny Magazine*, the odd title about David Livingstone attracted readers, a host of missionary journals and pamphlets circulated, but they weighed insignificantly on the cultural scales. Similarly attending public exhibitions with imperial displays, treks to the zoo, museum outings, and the like failed to generate much of an imperial *mentalité*. Art (painting, music, literature, statuary) was only lightly touched, and those such as Charles Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, Rudyard Kipling, and Edward Elgar were respected largely in spite rather than for their imperialism. Porter confirms that from the 1870s imperial expansion, increased international competition, and the rise of a mass electorate amplified imperial tones and influence, although he downplays empire day, Mafeking night, jingo songs, boy scouting, popular boys' adventure stories, and scientific racism; for most people "the empire continued to be marginal" (p. 208).

We can certainly agree that the cultural importance of empire can not simply be assumed, that the impact of and ideological investment in empire remained uneven, and varied markedly among different classes or social groups. That said, Porter's book misses the mark. For a start, his highly restrictive definition of imperialism as based on "control" and domination and its conscious advocacy or support serves to discount most of the cultural evidence marshaled in his text. Moreover, slippage occurs between this maximal working definition and widespread awareness of empire. Porter is on a mission to discount most manifestations of imperial influence to the point where he is left only with those whom he labels the "zealots" as true purveyors of imperialism. The exercise in debunking suffers from its pronounced literalism and narrowed search for "true" or genuine embodiments of imperialism. But since Edward Said, a favorite target, and other postcolonial historians and theorists never claimed that imperialism's cultural resonance derived from an ingrained or conscious desire for imperial domination, they are not engaged on their own terms—terms that Porter strongly denies. In the end, the book constitutes a missed opportunity; few historians on either side of this debate will be persuaded to reevaluate their assumptions—which is unfortunate, since the questions posed are, as

Porter claims, important for our understanding of Britain and its empire.

JAMES EPSTEIN
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ELIZABETH GREEN MUSSELMAN, *Nervous Conditions: Science and the Body Politic in Early Industrial Britain*. (Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century; Science, Technology, and Society.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2006. Pp. xi, 276. \$75.00.

Elizabeth Green Musselman views early industrial Britain—defined here as the years between 1780 and 1860—as a critical period in the development of modern science and the modern sensibility. In this era natural philosophy, that amorphous predisciplinary practice, became differentiated into modern sciences, and the quintessentially amateur natural philosopher became the professional scientist. Green Musselman tracks this process by looking at some individual men of science and the functioning, or malfunctioning, of their bodies. In particular, these men suffered from various nervous conditions, and Green Musselman argues that these conditions were emblematic of the larger transitions in science and society in this era, and that the solution to these ills represented a triumph of will over the body, of management over disorder, that was also occurring in society at large.

Green Musselman's first two chapters lay out her argument. The early nineteenth century was an era of enormous political and social change in Britain. Green Musselman focuses closely on science, so we hear little of politics *per se*, but she touches on issues of class, gender, religion, and national identity in her discussion of the relationship between individual subjectivity and the objective aims of science. She argues that natural philosophers largely accepted hierarchical divisions of labor in the practice of science in the interests of maintaining rationally governed systems in both science and society. Green Musselman emphasizes the role of communication in the hierarchy between the top and the lower ranks—women, workers, provincials—but she does not fully address the modes of communication available to the natural philosopher in this era; I would have liked to have seen more discussion of periodical literature and the development of the scientific journal.

The majority of Green Musselman's text consists of three case studies of "nervous conditions": color blindness, what was known in the nineteenth century as "hemipsoy," and hallucinations. At first glance, these would seem to have little in common, and it is not clear that color blindness is a "nervous condition" at all. However, Green Musselman demonstrates that these diverse conditions do in fact share important commonalities. Each of them impaired sense perception in some way, all were based on a highly subjective definition of what was "normal" perception and what was not, and all were thought to be conditions that the will could master in some way.

Color blindness came to public and scientific atten-

tion when the noted chemist John Dalton announced his affliction in 1794. Green Musselman intriguingly links Dalton's color-blindness to his status outside metropolitan science as a provincial and a Quaker. Her chapter looks closely at the physical, physiological, and aesthetic aspects of color perception. The "local" aspects of vision, in the sense of being subjective but also in the sense that physical laws governing light and vision were not yet fully agreed upon, connected it to other forms of provincialism. Other natural philosophers viewed Dalton as transcending these limitations when he rose to national prominence as a chemist, and subsequent work on color vision emphasized standardization and statistics to reign in the subjectivity of the individual case study.

Sufferers of classic migraine have probably experienced "hemipsoy," or "half-vision," the radiating lines that obscure the vision before a headache, sometimes known as the "aura." As Green Musselman details, nineteenth-century natural philosophers experienced an epidemic of this disorder, with or without headaches (I would also connect this, although she does not, to the epidemic of "brain fever" in nineteenth-century novels). The causes were many: abuse of the eyes with excessive work, particularly looking through microscopes and telescopes; looking directly at the sun for extended periods; or organic causes such as the brain tumor that eventually killed William Wollaston. Despite Wollaston's case, Green Musselman argues that observers linked hemipsoy particularly to overwork, and connecting this to the notion of the body as an engine that can be governed by mechanical means. She further argues that the nature of masculinity as defined by the body of the male scientist changed from the image of a balance between sensibility and action to an image of management of the body under stress. This idea needs further development.

The section on hallucinations is less clear. Green Musselman asserts but does not demonstrate connections between changes in religion and the discourse on hallucinations. Singling out hallucinations fits her wider theme of perception, but neglects other phenomena such as spiritualism and mesmerism which contemporaries viewed as connected. And I am not as sure as she is that "rational religion" resolved these issues, which continued to be discussed well into the twentieth century.

On the whole, however, Green Musselman offers a well-written and original reading of the role played by the bodies of certain scientists in this transitional period. The book is well produced with a number of effective illustrations.

ANITA GUERRINI
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LYDIA MURDOCH. *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London*. (The Rutgers Series in Childhood Studies.) New Brun-

wick: Rutgers University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 252. \$44.95.

In this engaging book, Lydia Murdoch contests assumptions concerning the waifs and strays familiar to the plots of Victorian melodramatic fiction and Evangelical tracts: the ragged girls and boys of the urban sprawl known as "street arabs." Murdoch unpicks the imaginary waif of cultural representation to demonstrate how rhetorical and visual devices, notably melodrama, were deployed to excite the interest and sympathy of middle-class philanthropists. For instance, waif children represented in the propaganda of Dr. Thomas Barnardo, instigator of a web of children's homes and purveyor *par excellence* of the waif type, were repeatedly shown barefoot, in ragged clothing, with matted hair and dirty faces. Children were dramatized in such images, depicted as primitive racial Others and, in the case of girls, frequently sexualized.

Pivotal to such representations was the notion that rescued children were orphans or children without homes; they were "nobody's children" and thus every right-thinking person's concern. As Murdoch ably illustrates, rescuing waifs depended on a language of absentee parents to skirt issues of parental rights over offspring and did not, in fact, represent the true status of children. Murdoch not only seeks to reclaim the networks of parents and kin who maintained an interest in so-called "orphan" children but also aims to recover the lost experiences of families who depended on the state and charitable welfare services in order to survive and remain, however loosely, connected. This endeavor is inevitably skewed away from the independent voices of the poor, relying as it does largely on the case records and reports of charitable bodies. Nonetheless, Murdoch succeeds in extrapolating examples of parents, especially single mothers, for whom recourse to child welfare institutions at times of financial stress was a temporary measure and who retained an interest in their offspring during the child's sojourn in institutional care. Murdoch is at pains to stress the agency of poor parents in the negotiation of child welfare, and her arguments have major implications for historical perceptions of the internal dynamics of poor families although she does not pursue them fully here (it is, after all, a book on welfare agencies). Instead, Murdoch focuses on stories of how families arrived at the juncture where recourse to child welfare agencies was a necessary strategy.

The arguments of the book address concepts of citizenship and identity. Institutional care, as Murdoch illustrates, was often geared toward the cultivation of a gendered national and imperial identity while the organization of children's lifestyles and programs of education and training were shaped by shifting notions of poverty, fears of social unrest, and idyllic conceptions of a ruralized "olde worlde" England. Discourses of citizenship were, however, destabilised by elite anxieties concerning the perceived interference of poor parents

in rearing the next generation as respectable and compliant workers for nation and empire.

The success of Murdoch's book rests on her discussion of the ways in which the welfare of children from poor families became the site for complex and contested notions of citizenship, domesticity and national identity. She teases out the difficult and conflicting relationships poor parents held with welfare agencies, protesting vehemently against the right of philanthropists to make decisions about their children's futures while actively seeking assistance from such agencies in times of need. Likewise, Murdoch demonstrates how the conflicts within and between charitable bodies, such as poor law guardians, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), and Dr. Barnardo's, reveal competing understandings of childhood.

The chronology of the book runs from the poor law reform of 1834 and Charles Dickens's savage portrayal of charitable childcare in *Oliver Twist* (1837–1839) to the Great War, with a particular focus on the latter decades of the nineteenth century. As Murdoch notes, London is far from representative of the English experience, but, provides an obvious case study for exploring the development of child welfare services in an urban environment. Nonetheless, had the study extended to other major industrial and urban centers such as Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool, the issue of child welfare would acquire extra dimensions. Notably, infant welfare was of fundamental concern to charitable and state bodies in northern towns where infant mortality rates were uncommonly high. Indeed, debates on infant mortality were pivotal in generating national discussion on the competence of the poor to raise children. Murdoch's book is primarily concerned with charitable and state agencies, but her conclusions also address the growing literature on the agency of the poor, although she does not fully exploit this aspect of her research. These are, however, minor points in a highly readable book that succeeds in challenging assumptions about who "wait" children were and the people who sought to take charge of them.

JULIE-MARIE STRANGE
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ROBIN HAINES. *Charles Trevelyan and the Great Irish Famine*. Portland, Ore: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 606. \$85.00.

Can this be: a sympathetic account of the life and actions of the key British official responsible for public relief during the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s? Charles Trevelyan (1807–1886) has long been excoriated, not only by historians of Ireland but by the Irish public more generally. This is particularly true of those who have been influenced by the best-selling, popular history of the famine produced by Cecil Woodham-Smith (*The Great Hunger: Ireland 1845–49*) in 1962. In more recent times Trevelyan has been demonized as the Oliver Cromwell of the famine period, an iron administrator in the mould of the mid-seventeenth-cen-

tury Puritan, whose name is synonymous with massacre in Irish history.

As assistant secretary at the Treasury, and the responsible official for the administration of relief in Ireland during the whole period of the Famine, Trevelyan served two governments—those of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, Tory and Liberal respectively—that presided over the unnatural deaths of more than a million Irish women, men and children in the terrible years between 1845 and 1850. Robin Haines's defense is bold, at times startlingly so, with findings winnowed from a stack of semi-private correspondence connecting various historical actors, from prime ministers and members of cabinet to relief workers and clergy in the field. Trevelyan corresponded, often daily, sometimes twice daily, with politicians, officials and others: if anything, he had a surfeit of information on famine conditions in Ireland. Yet on his watch more than a million people perished out of a population of eight and a half million. Where is the case for the defense?

Haines is surely right in exonerating Trevelyan of loose charges, repeated uncritically by historians down the years, that he was anti-Irish, anti-Catholic, or rigidly puritanical and almost vindictively moralistic. More controversially but nonetheless convincingly, Haines clears Trevelyan of the charge of being an evangelical providentialist, that is, one who saw the Famine as an expression of divine wrath for an indolent and irresponsible people. One of her most telling points is that it is unlikely that Trevelyan could have deflected, still less overturned, government policy on major measures of famine relief. After all, he was a civil servant, one who implemented government policy. The major policies and policy shifts were made by the prime minister, his cabinet colleagues, and the imperial parliament, with input from the Irish administration in Dublin Castle. Trevelyan, thirty-nine years old at the outbreak of the famine, was then a comparatively young man, and unlikely to overawe or unduly influence his political masters. He was most "influential" when advancing ideas that chimed with those of his superiors.

Yet it would be a disservice to the workaholic Trevelyan, and perhaps to his current biographer, not to acknowledge the pervasive presence of the chief administrator in the implementation of relief measures and also in the shaping of the more detailed famine policies. In the end, though, it was the cabinet and the chancellor of the exchequer who set the resource constraints within which policy had to be implemented. In view of the parsimonious scale of spending by central government—amounting to £10 million sterling, or only a fraction of the financial value of the loss of the potato crop—there are grounds for taking a more favourable view of the endeavors of the indefatigable Trevelyan and his thousands of relief workers. To the extent that they used limited resources effectively, they may be held to have reduced the death toll below what might otherwise have been the case. In so far as they were implicated in the shaping and deployment of mistaken

policies, they, and Trevelyan, bear a responsibility for the calamitous results. The debate will run and run.

One of the weakest moments in Haines's monumental work comes toward the end (p. 546) where she opines that "Phytophthora Infestans [the potato blight that destroyed the main food crop], not Trevelyan, was the tyrant who brought death and suffering to Ireland on a scale never before witnessed." The proximate cause of famine was indeed an unprecedented ecological disaster, but there is an important distinction to be made between the cause of the destruction of the potato crop and responsibility for the subsequent handling of the catastrophe on the part of government, administrators, landlords, commercial farmers, and others.

A subtitle for this work might well be "Charles Trevelyan and his critics." The style and tone are frequently adversarial, perhaps inevitably so in view of the weight of the historiographical orthodoxy she is striving to overturn. At times the work is virtually an apologia, in the classical sense of that term, for the performance of the British government during the crisis. An easy point to make is that the work is too long. Yet there is merit in seeing, sometimes in painful detail, the web of correspondence that linked the principal protagonists at governmental and civil service levels. This reveals not only the frustrations, misunderstandings, and rationalizations that went into policy making, but also the myriad of practical difficulties that bedevilled relief operations. Thus Haines's volume is a remarkable addition both to Irish history and to famine history, one deeply founded in archival research. It also points up the need for close biographical studies of other principal officials in the unfolding tragedy. It is only when we have a clearer picture of the efforts of, for instance, Randolph Routh, chair of the Relief Commission, and Edward Twisleton, the head of the Irish Poor Law Commission, that Trevelyan's role will be brought into sharper relief. In the meantime there is no doubt Haines has well and truly thrown down the gauntlet to the critics of Trevelyan (1807–1886), who was knighted for his services to famine relief. The apparent irony may be in the course of dissolution.

LIAM KENNEDY
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CIARA BREATHNACH. *The Congested Districts Board of Ireland, 1891–1923: Poverty and Development in the West of Ireland*. (Cork Studies in History and Culture, number 5.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2005. Pp. 197. \$65.00.

The unwary may think that congestion describes a state of crowding, overpopulation, high density, or blockage. That is not what it meant in late nineteenth-century Ireland. The population was not particularly crowded in, or living at high density: indeed population density in the "Congested Districts" was relatively low. And the closest thing to blockage that we can identify refers to economic opportunity. Instead congestion meant that there was a higher than average density of relative pov-

erty, and an overdependence on a narrow range of economic opportunities, epitomized by a higher incidence of small agricultural holdings than existed elsewhere in Ireland. Poverty became synonymous with economic dependence on smallholdings. This became worse in the economic aftermath of the famine of the 1840s, and as the chasm between the poorest in society and the not so poor widened, the authorities recognized the need for a radical solution. Congestion occurred in western Ireland, particularly in the province of Connacht, and marginally also in Ulster and Munster. It was prevalent in the counties of Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, and western Cork, and touched parts of Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon.

Congested districts were characterized by a greater than average reliance on credit and payment in kind. In consequence, retailers had a disproportionate economic influence, in particular by buying cheap and selling at expensive rates, thus enhancing the congested nature of the local economy. Moreover, the local farming community was overreliant on wage earning off the farm, including a larger than average seasonal migration, as well as permanent emigration. Congestion by the definitions employed worsened and became a self-perpetuating spiral as absenteeism from the family holding also meant fewer opportunities to invest in improving agricultural methods or in education. These counties had the highest illiteracy rates.

Eventually, in the 1880s, the authorities defined the boundary between congestion and noncongestion. It was set at the point where the total valuation of an electoral division when divided by the size of its resident population yielded a valuation per head of less than £1.50. But this became a two-tier definition. A congested district could only receive aid for that congestion where the whole county was defined as congested, and this was defined at the point where more than twenty percent of the population lived in congested electoral divisions. Thus it was possible to be a congested district by one definition but to lie within a county that was not by another.

The Congested Districts Board, employing these definitions, came into existence through the 1891 Land Purchase (Ireland) Act. And because the legislation required the board to remain in force for twenty years, it was seen as a long-term and radical solution to rural poverty. It might be compared to subsequent twentieth-century efforts in the United Kingdom to alleviate distress by providing funds that were not simply poor-law handouts, but rather measures to regenerate through investment in agriculture, fisheries, and cottage-based industries, and by creating markets for commercial interchange. In agriculture in Ireland, this meant increasing farm size, improving livestock and methods of cultivation, and for industry, it meant funding specific projects and developing the local infrastructure. The Congested Districts Board remained in place for thirty years and was finally wound up in 1923, not because congestion had been solved but because the Anglo-Irish

treaty of 1921 created the Irish Free State in 1922 and the establishment of Irish government departments.

So, was the legislation a success? That depends on what exactly it was meant to achieve. Politically there is a view that the Congested Districts legislation was designed to counter the desire for Irish home rule and to pacify future actual or potential Irish agrarian unrest by a different method of economic relief, and by offering a degree of self-determination that fell considerably short of home rule. Alternatively, there is a view that it was more simply and less politically motivated by a desire to establish a new kind of agency to alleviate distress by creating conditions for increased self-sufficiency: in short, an early form of development agency. This book is heavy on the diary of events and the main actors in the play. It is a very detailed exposition of the subject and the situation. However, the ill-developed and exceedingly brief chapter of conclusions does not help the reader to resolve the main questions or indeed identify properly whether they are the important questions to resolve. But historians both of Ireland and also of Anglo-Irish politics will be grateful for the detail and for indications where some of the still unresolved issues may be further investigated.

MICHAEL TURNER
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DAVID W. GUTZKE. *Pubs and Progressives: Reinventing the Public House in England 1896–1960*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 360. \$45.00.

Before writing this review I had a pint of traditional bitter beer at the John O'Gaunt pub in the center of the small English city of Lancaster. It is hard to work out exactly how this "local" would fit into the black and white classification of English pubs that David W. Gutzke provides, or rather assumes, in this industriously researched but deeply flawed account of the alleged remaking of this English institution between the wars, when the pub was apparently converted into an airy, tastefully decorated, classless, supervised approximation to a gentleman's club, but welcoming women and children, offering superlative food, and providing concerts, poetry readings, and acceptable variety shows. On the one hand, the John O'Gaunt has many "unreconstructed" aspects of which Gutzke and his reformers might disapprove: fusty and probably nicotine-stained wallpaper, beer engines, dark traditional tables, chairs, and wall seating, and beer mats and photographs of old buses to decorate the walls. It is a music pub, specializing in jazz of various kinds, but it is not clear whether Gutzke would regard this as uplifting and educational or as harking back to degenerate earlier times. The clientele is a cross-section of ages and (probably) social classes, with a fairly even split between the sexes. This might tilt one's assessment toward the favorable end of Gutzke's scale, especially as a range of hot food is served at lunchtime, and all parts of the pub are visible from the bar, a panopticon effect that sweeps away the

privacy of "snugs" and alcoves and opens the pub out to general surveillance.

But the pub has been internally rearranged rather than rebuilt. Its ambience suggests the Victorian, although it was never large or opulent enough to resemble that (in Gutzke's eyes) meretricious and deplorable construction, the gin palace; and it certainly bears no resemblance to that small minority of newly constructed or reconstructed pubs of the 1920s and 1930s that meet so clearly with Gutzke's unqualified approval, with their light wood and chintz furniture, tasteful curtains, specially commissioned landscape paintings, spacious airy layout, gardens, tea rooms, "improving" entertainments and industrial-scale catering facilities. When I was first in Lancaster, in the early 1970s, the John O'Gaunt may well have been closer to the masculine, violent, drunken environment, with sawdust, spittoons, and fights, that Gutzke portrays as typical of the smaller inner-city and older working-class pubs of the first half of the twentieth century; but its reputation was such that I never thought of crossing the threshold. It has since been transformed, but for commercial rather than socially reforming or philanthropic motives. There is no place for this kind of development, or indeed for the mainstream urban pub of my early drinking days in the late 1960s, in Gutzke's account of the "re-invention" of the public house by "brewer Progressives" in (mainly) England between the wars. The 1960 closing date has no substance: this book is essentially about the 1920s and 1930s.

Any mismatch between personal recollections and the product of a sustained historical research project is inevitably disquieting, and the first response of a professional historian should be to interrogate the recollections in the expectation that they may be proved wrong. Gutzke fails to shake them. He has conducted research in a remarkable array of English metropolitan and provincial archives, and it has borne useful fruit in an extensive database of expenditure levels, brewery by brewery, on new pubs, repairs, and renovations to tied and managed houses in interwar England and Wales, which reveals wide disparities between firms and regions and invite further investigation. But for Gutzke this impressive project has become something of an afterthought. His main argument is that the key developments of these years involved the building of new pubs on the grand scale, with enhanced space and amenities, to woo middle-class drinkers, women, and families to licensed premises where alcoholic beverages would become almost invisible and respectability, even gentility, would reign supreme, in a setting where an ethic of public service prevailed over cut-throat competition and profit maximizing, and any remaining working-class drinkers would be civilized by their surroundings into comfortable, house-trained compliance. According to Gutzke this corporatist vision of the standard, respectable new pub, anticipating McDonaldization (and, in a sense, New Labour) and featuring early attempts at building brand loyalty through logos and house styles, was ideologically driven. The key figures

were “brewer Progressives” influenced by that transatlantic political current that produced the “New Liberalism” of Edwardian England, and by the wartime experiments in the state management of pubs in Carlisle, Invergordon, and Enfield. Influenced partly by the desire to escape the disrepute the trade had fallen into, and to reclaim the lost middle classes for moderate, civilized drinking outside the home, but mainly (it seems) by a paternalist mixture of philanthropy, rationalism, and the pursuit of control, they aimed at the reform of drinkers and the amelioration of company finances through the provision of improved premises on the grand scale.

Unfortunately, this argument falls down on all counts. There were only a handful of “brewer Progressives,” if the label has any validity at all, and all rhetorical attempts at expanding their numbers and influence by reiteration of assertion and (seemingly endless) repetition of ascribed characteristics are doomed to failure for lack of evidence. Eventually the reader is given the impression that all expenditure on pub improvements between the wars was part of this “Progressive” agenda. Such was clearly not the case. The argument takes no account of the extensive evidence of middle-class (and respectable working-class) affection for the traditional pub, and it proceeds on the assumption that all existing pubs were either unsanitary slum “boozers” or exploitative “gin palaces” that somehow lived by promoting drunkenness through excessive beer consumption. Here, as elsewhere, he has fallen into the trap of accepting as gospel the rhetorical claims of propagandist reformers. The big new pubs that Gutzke favors (and this review is a response in kind to a remarkably partisan account) were overwhelmingly aimed at capturing new markets among the newly motorized and upwardly mobile middle classes in suburbs and on by-pass roads, especially in and around London and Birmingham. A brief on-line search showed that one of Gutzke’s flagship new interwar pubs in Birmingham, the “by-pass Tudor” *Black Horse*, has convinced its present landlord that it is a genuine “old coaching inn” (a missing category in this book), while another has become a Chinese restaurant and others have been demolished. Meanwhile the John O’Gaunt, a kind of pub which was also a missing category for Gutzke, survives and prospers.

There is insufficient space for a detailed presentation of all the mistakes and misapprehensions in this beautifully produced but utterly exasperating book. Such a response would require a substantial article. It is an excellent research project sacrificed on the altar of a bizarre set of misconceptions about the nature and influence of a small group of well-documented reformers. A little more research in pubs as well as archives might have rescued it.

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DAVID EDGERTON. *Warfare State Britain, 1920–1970*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xv, 364. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$32.99.

David Edgerton challenges the characterization of mid-twentieth-century Britain as a welfare state and expands arguments put forward in his two previous books on British aviation, and British science, technology, and industrial decline. In the course of making his case, the author puts forward a number of provocative and productive secondary propositions, but this review, for reasons of space, will focus on the assessment of his main lines of reasoning.

This monograph is divided into two parts. The first, which consists of four chapters, describes the organization and operation of the British state in the mid-twentieth century in terms of its capacities to prepare for and wage major war. The main focus of this inquiry is the role played by the government in the promotion of technological innovation and efficient production through that portion of the civil service that was associated with military procurement. Edgerton’s story begins with an account of how various military supply departments, which had been created to meet the technical and economic exigencies of World War I, were retained and applied to British defense purposes during the ensuing peace. He then charts the expansion of their size and activity during World War II, and their continued powerful influence during the early years of the Cold War. Edgerton concludes with an examination of the dismantling of much of the system in response to the downsizing of British army, navy, and air force that was the natural outcome of reductions in strategic requirements, and of a belief that in the future, major wars would be decided quickly by nuclear weapons rather than by the large-scale production of conventional armaments over several years. Insofar as the first part of his monograph is concerned, Edgerton’s primary argument is that for most of the period under review, the form and function of Britain’s government was more heavily influenced by national security requirements than by those of social amelioration.

In the second part of the book, which also consists of four chapters, Edgerton uses this proposition to demolish the conventional portrayal of mid-twentieth-century British history in terms of the creation of a welfare state, and to critique associated attitudes about British government, politics, economics, technology, and culture. Edgerton characterizes the unawareness of the existence of the warfare state to beliefs on the part of prominent intellectuals on both the left and the right that British establishment governmental culture had been anti-technocratic, and that British political culture was essentially liberal and as such pacific. These presumptions, according to Edgerton, constitute the bases of what he calls “anti-history”: that is, a historical account of a nonexistent phenomenon. The actual history of mid-twentieth-century Britain, Edgerton insists, was about a state that was deeply committed to the exploitation of science and technology for the purposes of

war, and organized accordingly. And reciprocally, Edgerton argues, the history of science, technology, and industry requires due appreciation of the large and even determinative effects of military imperatives.

Edgerton provides a detailed and comprehensive description and analysis of the size and character of the military civil service, based heavily on the study of primary sources. His findings support his contention that Britain possessed a large and highly developed system of civilian administrative and technical expertise during the mid-twentieth century, in peacetime as well as during war. Edgerton's account of British strategy and armaments during the interwar period is, in comparison, less satisfying. While his general conclusions are sound—namely that Britain remained a militarily potent power in the 1920s and 1930s—the exposition is based almost exclusively on a survey of secondary works that fails to engage or misrepresents the major arguments of important books (for example, G. A. H. Gordon's *Naval Procurement between the Wars: A Reappraisal of Rearmament* [1988], and William T. McNeill's *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* [1982]; Joseph A. Maiolo's *The Royal Navy and Nazi Germany, 1933–39: A Study in Appeasement and the Origins of the Second World War* [1998] is ignored altogether). Edgerton has also overlooked a number of pertinent and significant articles. The net effect of incomplete or otherwise unsatisfactory command of the extant scholarly literature is misleading if not faulty analysis in detail, missed opportunities to make an even stronger general case, and weakened credibility. Edgerton's literary critique of anti-historical writing and review of period literary evidence that contradicts it, by contrast, is on target and vigorously so. C. P. Snow's famous *Encounter* essay of 1959 is given a thorough and well-deserved drubbing, while the exegesis of the political subtext of the 1969–1970 Monty Python sketch "Flying Sheep" is apropos and magnifies the effect of an already hilarious comic performance.

Edgerton observes that his findings about the existence of a British warfare state are unsurprising and indeed practically beyond dispute. Thus the widespread acceptance of anti-history as the basis for understanding the nature of the British state in the mid-twentieth century is, for Edgerton, indicative of a fundamental attitudinal problem on the part of many academics and public intellectuals. What is it, he asks rhetorically at the end of the book, about the thinking of so many students of the British past that would cause them to see their subject in terms that were so at variance with the historical evidence? The answer to this question, Edgerton plainly believes, is in large part a matter of a deep-seated aversion to the serious study of war on its own terms. Recognition of the existence of such a prejudice and its pernicious effects on the ability of the historical profession to come to grips with large and important issues, Edgerton seems to be arguing—and all the more persuasively because of his left-wing political disposi-

tion—is a matter of considerable scholarly significance.

JON SUMIDA

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DOM PASCHAL SCOTTI. *Out of Due Time: Wilfrid Ward and the Dublin Review*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. x, 329. \$69.95.

Wilfrid Ward was a member of one of the most intellectually distinguished English Catholic families of the last two centuries. His father William George Ward was an Oxford convert and disciple of John Henry Newman whose delight in controversy might have made him, in another age, a good candidate for talk radio. ("There are two views of which I, as usual, take the more bigoted.") His wife, Josephine, was a popular novelist who was connected by family ties to the Duke of Norfolk. His siblings became variously nuns and priests (one of them, Bernard, a fine historian). His daughter, Maisie, wrote what is still the best biography of G. K. Chesterton. With such a pedigree, and with considerable gifts in his own right, Ward could hardly have failed to shape Catholic opinion in the dying days of Victorian England and in the years immediately before World War I. That he did so, but at some cost to his health, reputation, and happiness, is the subject of this solid and useful intellectual biography by Paschal Scotti. Wilfrid Ward was "out of due time"—a man too original and philosophically impatient for some of his more staid contemporaries—but his impact was lasting. His ambition and achievement, Scotti maintains, was to "educate Catholics to their responsibilities . . . to broaden their horizons, [to discourage] intellectual flabbiness," and, all the while, to maintain the "institutional loyalty and deferential conservatism" that made all of it possible. Lesser men would have buckled under the pressure. Ward himself eventually grew weary.

The *Dublin Review* was the vehicle for this influence. Founded in 1836 by Daniel O'Connell and Nicholas (later Cardinal) Wiseman, it was the most important journal of serious Catholic opinion in the English-speaking world, enormously significant in its day. Ward edited it from 1906 to 1916, publishing writers such as Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Alice Meynell, Herbert Thurston, C.C. Martindale, Robert Hugh Benson, and others less distinguished, asking only that their articles be "well written, loyal to the Church, understanding of the world, and sympathetic to whatever was valuable outside the household of faith" (p. 53). This tall order was achieved more often than not. The *Review* was both serious and accessible to the general reader. It was also unsectarian. Wanting to attract non-Catholic readers and writers, Ward succeeded in opening its pages to contemporary opinion across a wide spectrum: art, politics, literature, foreign affairs. By introducing Catholics to the world and the world to Catholics, his legacy was to build bridges that, half a century later, came to their point of conjunction in the Second Vatican Council. He was indeed "out of due time." Most of

his life was lived in the shadow of the *First* Vatican Council, which seemed to cry defiance to the world (the world defiant in return). It was an irony less sensitive souls might have savored. For Ward, it probably hastened his death.

The almost impossible balancing act of his editorship was most clearly on display during the "Modernist" crisis. This "synthesis of all heresies" (as Pope Pius X later described it) was the work of thinkers such as George Tyrrell and Alfred Loisy, who, challenging the church's traditional understanding of revelation and transcendence, contended that greater historical awareness—some sense of circumstance and human contingency—should play a part in the articulation of Catholic dogma and belief. Newman had spoken a generation before of the "development of doctrine," an adumbration of modernism but by no means the same thing as it. He argued his case with subtlety—the same subtlety that enemies took for jesuitry or mental reservation—but Tyrrell and Loisy seemed to relish the fight for its own sake. This left Ward in a quandary. He made his pages available to leading modernists—he had some sympathy with their thinking and considerable respect for Newman—but as soon as modernism was condemned (in September 1907) he conformed to the teaching authority of the church, shutting out more advanced thinkers from the *Review* and publicly warning that "unchastened and irresponsible speculation" (p. 76) posed a danger to the faith. It was a kind of death for him and yet also a liberation. What some saw as a contradictory timidity—the abandonment of a belief in free expression in order to rescue an editorship supposed devoted to it—Ward himself saw as a necessary act of obedience to a wisdom greater than his own. In the end, he wrote, it was the "duty of every catholic reviewer . . . to signify his acceptance of, and obedience to, [the] utterance of Supreme Authority." It was the duty of Catholics, in other words, to be Catholics and not Protestants. That was a defensible position—indeed an honorable one—but it cannot have strengthened his standing among the non-Catholics to whom Ward wished to appeal.

Scotti chronicles these controversies with patience and fair-mindedness, his book covering the full range of issues that preoccupied the English-speaking Catholic world in the prewar years. A monograph that includes Thomas Aquinas, the Belgian Congo, and the Gaelic League is catholic indeed. At times the treatment is a little dutiful—some articles best forgotten are restored, Lazarus-like, to miraculous second life—but this is a small price to pay for a valuable compendium of important writing and thinking. Ward, largely forgotten now, was a man of consequence. In Scotti he has found a worthy Boswell.

DERMOT QUINN
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SUSAN PEDERSEN. *Eleanor Rathbone and the Politics of Conscience*. (Society and the Sexes in the Modern World.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 469. \$40.00.

Eleanor Rathbone (1872–1946) is known to historians of British feminism and social welfare as the leader of the National Union for Equal Citizenship in the 1920s and as a staunch advocate of the "endowment of motherhood." Rathbone's career began in her native Liverpool and was crowned by her work as an MP from 1929 until her death.

Susan Pedersen, known for her fine scholarship on early twentieth-century British social policy and the emergence of the welfare state, has now written a superb biography of Rathbone. Pedersen analyzes Rathbone's public contributions, from her early work in social service to her heroic efforts on behalf of Jewish refugees in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In reconstructing this multifaceted public life Petersen displays an admirable grasp of a wide range of issues and historiographical contexts, taking her readers from such disparate topics as Rathbone's work as a "friendly visitor" for the Liverpool Central Relief Society in the 1890s, to her efforts as an MP on behalf of women in India.

This book presents an empathic account of Rathbone the woman, at once direct, convincing, and engaging. The opening section on the young Eleanor is especially fine. The nineteenth-century Rathbones made a fortune as traders and merchants, but they were also abolitionists as well as advocates for peace, social justice, and universal suffrage. Above all they exhibited an intense moral seriousness. This was especially true of Eleanor's father, William, a tireless philanthropist who sat as a Liberal MP for almost thirty years. William's "shining moral example" affected his style of fathering, and not always for the better. None of his many sons lived up to his expectations. Two of them took to drink. But he had better luck with his daughters, and especially with Eleanor, who was solemnly determined to "do right" even as a child (p. 23). Later it was Eleanor who became her father's moral and political heir.

In 1893 Rathbone entered Somerville, the most rigorous and feminist of the Oxford women's colleges. She studied "Greats," and, as Pedersen explains in her discussion of Oxford intellectual life, these studies in classics and philosophy enriched her political and ethical views, providing an intellectual rigor that stood her in good stead for the rest of her life. Somerville also opened up to her a world of female friendship and of feminism. After Somerville "she would cast her lot unambiguously with the educated, and determinedly single, new women of the nineties" (p. 54).

Although Rathbone never married, she did have a lifelong companion. In part two, Pedersen presents us with an analysis of Rathbone's relationship with social worker and "new woman" Elizabeth Macadam. In piecing together the evidence for this relationship, Pedersen explains that she is telling "a love story, but one that is hard to describe" (p. 77). The evidence had to be unearthed, for Macadam did her best to hide it. When Mary Stocks's authorized biography of Rathbone appeared in 1949, Macadam was hardly mentioned, and that was Macadam's choice. Placing the two women's

relationship in the context of recent work on lesbian sexuality and women's friendships, Pedersen concludes that love, not sex, bound them together. To ask about their sexuality, she perceptively notes, "is to distort the matter: it is our post-Freudian culture that has questioned the depth of emotional attachments unaccompanied by physical desire. Raised as Victorians, Macadam and Rathbone would have seen things very differently" (p. 96).

What kind of feminist was Rathbone? Was she fundamentally conservative, as many of her contemporaries thought, and as many historians still think? Pedersen makes the bold claim that Rathbone was an early radical feminist whose support for the endowment of motherhood challenged economic and social relationships at their most fundamental level. "[F]rom this feminist social science stemmed a feminist politics—a politics that made a case for the state support of women's maternal and household work" (p. 98).

Pedersen argues her case effectively, but she also acknowledges that Rathbone was willing to compromise. While she calls the Family Allowances Act of 1945 Rathbone's "victory," because it was largely through Rathbone's insistence that the allowances were paid to mothers rather than fathers, family allowances are—as Rathbone knew—a far cry from her wider vision. Even in 2007, no society truly values women's work as mothers.

As Pedersen points out, Rathbone has largely vanished from public consciousness. But she wouldn't have cared: "She wanted to be useful, not famous" (p. 377). Pedersen employs the telling phrase "the politics of conscience" in her title, and as she demonstrates, Eleanor Rathbone was above all a Victorian with an exquisitely sensitive Victorian conscience. This exemplary biography gives Rathbone her due.

DEBORAH GORHAM
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JAMES J. BARNES and PATIENCE P. BARNES. *Nazis in Pre-War London, 1930–1939: The Fate and Role of German Party Members and British Sympathizers*. Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press. 2005. Pp. x, 283. \$67.50.

This is the first book to study the activities of Nazis in London in the 1930s. These fell into two main categories: journalists reporting for German newspapers, and members of the German community in the British capital. London acquired a reporter for the Nazi Party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, as early as 1930, and Nazi sympathizers among Germans in the city organized a branch of the party, an *Orstgruppe*, not long afterward. As is well known, once the Nazis were in power they attached great importance to organizing and controlling Germans in foreign countries, and James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes may be right in asserting that the *Orstgruppenleiter* was more important than the German ambassador, save during Joachim von Ribbentrop's tenure of that post at the peak of Adolf Hitler's efforts to achieve an understanding with Brit-

ain. British authorities—the Home Office, the Foreign Office, and MI5—were, at first sight surprisingly, more concerned with the journalists than with the *Orstgruppe*. In 1935 the senior Nazi journalist in Britain, Hans Thost of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, was expelled, and there were nine more expulsions of journalists in 1937 alone. Barnes and Barnes assemble fairly conclusive evidence that Thost was detected engaging in low-level espionage.

If Nazis among German residents in London escaped lightly until as late as April 1939, when several prominent members of the *Orstgruppe* were expelled, that was partly because of MI5's preference for letting them operate openly to make its work of tracking and surveillance easier, and partly because of a desire to be conciliatory while the foreign policy of appeasement was being practiced, but probably chiefly because of the London Nazis' determined efforts not to be provocative or to become involved in espionage. A policy of avoidance of giving out propaganda in Britain and of contacts with British sympathizers with Nazism was strictly enforced from Berlin. Nazis who disregarded the guidelines knew that they could expect severe punishment up to and including detention in concentration camps. They also knew that if they did not return to Germany family members there might suffer in their place. Barnes and Barnes conclude that if the London Nazis were guilty of "prosecutable offences" under British law, they "had to do with assisting the Gestapo in bringing pressure to bear" on erring compatriots (p. 247). The *Orstgruppe* actually had much success winning the more or less voluntary allegiance of the London German community, while von Ribbentrop's purge of diplomats of suspect loyalty made the German embassy "a model of nazification." The only German bodies in London that remained free to a large extent from Nazi control were the German churches, even after Dietrich Bonhoeffer ceased to be pastor to two of them and returned home in 1935. The *Orstgruppe* was less perplexed by them than by the estimated 25,000 German and Austrian girls with British work permits who mostly worked as domestic servants. One Nazi official feared that their National Socialist training might come undone and that their heads might become stuffed "full of all kinds of democratic ideas" (p. 247).

The book includes chapters on the main British party of the radical right, the British Union of Fascists (BUF), on German attempts to woo the veterans' organization, the British Legion, and on German espionage in Britain. In all cases the London Nazi German community was uninvolved; in particular, it kept the BUF at arm's length. It also includes information on the widespread hostility, often stemming primarily from revulsion against Nazi antisemitism, to the presence of Nazis in London. They routinely faced hostile demonstrations when they rented premises to hold group meetings, but the German government would not provide them with funds to buy a *Deutsches Haus*—although that problem was solved in 1938 when Germany

annexed Austria and Berlin handed over the Austrian legation building to the *Orstgruppe*.

Much painstaking work has gone into this book, which makes it all the more regrettable that it contains a number of sometimes crass errors. The dictator of Italy was, of course, Il Duce, not "El"; and the authors' surmise that Benito Mussolini resumed financial subsidies to the BUF in April 1935 as a reward for their support of his invasion of Abyssinia seems unlikely to be correct, given that the invasion did not start until October. Hitler was born in 1889, not 1899. The British consul in Cologne would have been "improbably named" if he had really been called Fallow Field. The authors could easily have checked that he was Algernon Fallowfield—an unremarkable English name.

VICTOR ROTHWELL

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ROBERT COLE. *Propaganda, Censorship and Irish Neutrality in the Second World War*. (International Communications.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006. Pp. ix, 196. \$85.00.

Much analysis of Irish neutrality overlooks propaganda, but it was central to how Irish neutrality was depicted at home and abroad. Now, for the first time, a detailed and high-quality examination of American and British anti-neutrality propaganda efforts finally exists. Robert Cole's ably written and informative monograph will become a staple reference work for all engaged in researching Irish neutrality during World War II. He has produced a painstakingly researched and multifaceted examination of the interactions between Allied propaganda and Irish censorship in the heated "war of words" surrounding the legitimacy of neutrality. The propaganda conflicts regarding access to Irish bases and ports, partition, Axis espionage, Allied economic sanctions, and Axis diplomatic representation in Ireland are fully addressed. Cole's nuanced assessment of Allied information control and management is a vital complement to Donal Ó Drisceoil's *Censorship in Ireland, 1939–1945: Neutrality, Politics, and Society* (1996), which focuses primarily on the domestic context.

Cole's book is chronologically structured into nine chapters that follow the ebb and flow of World War II and the "war of words" regarding Irish neutrality. Each chapter consists of a methodical appreciation of the objectives, structures, and performance of propaganda and censorship; shifting British, Irish, and American public opinion during the course of the war; and Allied and Irish film, print, and broadcast media. Of particular note is the attention devoted to the anti-British and pro-Irish neutrality Irish American press. The detail provided on the interminable annoyance caused by Northern Ireland's objections to the British Broadcasting Corporation's efforts to play to the southern Irish population's sensitivities is revealing.

Ireland was a considerable propaganda challenge. Initially there was substantial hesitancy among the Allied propaganda services concerning the best means of

tackling Irish neutrality. Leaving aside the vexatious unofficial propaganda of the free British and American press, which frequently descended into "Irish bashing" ("British bashing" in the case of the Irish American press and "Catholic bashing" in Belfast's), splits existed in official circles about the best approach to Ireland. Official Allied propaganda toward Ireland remained unorganized and unfocused until 1941 in Britain and late 1942 in America. The majority of Allied propagandists quickly realized the impossibility of changing Irish public opinion or of circumventing Irish censorship successfully and systematically. A minority remained hopeful until early 1944 that they could reverse Irish neutrality policy.

In sum, successive British and American agencies and representatives concluded overt propaganda against Irish neutrality would not succeed against the steadfastness of Dublin. They recognized the overwhelming majority of the Irish population supported the maintenance of neutrality although it was predominantly pro-Allied in sentiment and desired the defeat of the Axis. Generally, official British and American government propaganda fell in with the line of John Betjeman (British press attaché in Dublin) of pursuing long-term "good relations" with Ireland, avoiding overt propaganda, and cultivating a positive Irish popular perception of British and American societies. Subtle official propaganda was preferred; indeed it was all that was possible with the rigid application of Irish censorship. Pro-belligerency English Catholic propaganda did not work, as Irish Catholics were suspicious. Overall, Cole convincingly charts the emerging realization after Pearl Harbor that Dublin possessed an immovable determination to remain neutral and to maintain rigid censorship even after the war decidedly turned in the Allies favor in late 1942. He concludes Ireland won the propaganda war by preventing the Allies from affecting Irish public opinion, but the Allies had not lost either because "Eire clearly did more for the Allies than for the Axis" (p. 177). However, Cole's work implicitly raises, but fails to answer, an important question: to what degree was Allied propaganda responsible for Ireland's covert assistance to the Allies?

This densely written book is based heavily on U.S., British, and Canadian archives, private papers, and newspapers. Irish archives are consulted though not fully. For instance, the records of the Department of Foreign Affairs are not examined even though they could assist in assessing Irish responses to Allied propaganda. There are a few minor inaccuracies. Before 1946 Ireland's diplomatic relations were not conducted at the ambassadorial level (pp. 2, 11, 56). Recent research refutes the allegation that the German Minister met the Irish Republican Army (IRA) just before the outbreak of war in 1939 (p. 11). A separate and extensive conclusion to the book would have been advantageous.

Despite these minor quibbles, Cole's research has major implications for any examination of Irish wartime neutrality. It offers insights into the general conduct of

official propaganda and censorship policies and their effects during international conflicts. Cole has performed a very useful service. He has produced a vital study of propaganda and censorship in the age of mass communications from which historians of several genres will undoubtedly profit.

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MARCUS COLLINS. *Modern Love: Personal Relationships in Twentieth-Century Britain*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 294. \$45.00.

This book grapples with an interesting question: after British women got the vote and after the changes in the role of women during World War I, what happened to the dominant prescription regarding gender divisions, that of "separate spheres"?

Marcus Collins's answer is "mutuality," which he defines as "the notion that an intimate equality should be established between men and women through mixing, companionate marriage and shared sexual pleasure" (p. 4). He brings together a new reading of secondary materials that have already been plumbed, for example, on sexology and marriage guidance, with evidence from primary sources regarding youth clubs and the trend toward "mixing"; from Family Welfare Association case records and reports of the psychotherapeutic work of marriage counselors on the nature of companionate marriage; and, more surprisingly, from soft porn magazines of the 1960s and early 1970s, which, Collins argues, for a rather brief moment also spoke the language of women's sexual emancipation and mutual desire. While the material on companionate marriage is the most convincing, this is an intriguing and ambitious mixture, and Collins's reading is suggestive.

Of course, the idea of separate spheres was mainly about male domination of the public world of employment and politics (but not necessarily local politics or voluntary organizations) and female preeminence in the home. Collins's chief interest lies in what happened in the domestic realm, particularly in regard to the intimate relationships between men and women, and in this lies the first problem: the only passing attention that the book pays to the gendered division of work that was so much part and parcel of "separate spheres." The complicated way in which the male breadwinner model family, whereby men took primary responsibility for earning and women for housework and childcare, was eroded is crucial to the our understanding of change—and lack of change—in intimate relationships between British men and women.

Collins's depiction of the conceptual shift to mutuality tends to be linear. He sees mutuality replacing the violent opposition between pro and antifeminists of the early twentieth century, with its heyday occurring in the twenty-five years following World War II. But there are issues about who the main promoters of mutuality were and what their precise notion of the ideal relationship between men and women consisted of, as well as about

the ways in which ordinary people experienced mutualism. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that for many of the leading proponents of companionate marriage mutualism translated into "equal but different" roles for men and women. This was as true for Sir William Beveridge, architect of the postwar welfare state, as it was for Ernest Burgess and Harvey Locke, who, as Collins says (p. 250, n. 12), offered the most famous academic formulation of companionship in marriage. More togetherness and equal respect for women's vital work in the home, as Beveridge termed it, merely served to modernize the gendered division of paid and unpaid work that was the crucial underpinning of "separate spheres." Indeed, the case records of both working and middle-class marriages that Collins examines show the extent to which mutualism failed to penetrate the everyday experiences of many women. No wonder that (by the early 1970s) those who became second-wave feminists felt cheated.

Collins suggests that the reemergence of sexual antagonism was resolved in the 1990s by "individualism." However, it is as possible to overstate the shift to individualism in the late twentieth century as to mutualism at the beginning of the century. After all, women in the United Kingdom have remained economically dependent to a much greater degree than women in Northern Europe or the United States; the male breadwinner model family has given way to what might be termed a one-and-half-earner family, with women working part-time. Individualization is far from complete, and notions of individualism are as complicated as those of mutualism in terms of the meaning that different actors have attached to the concept and the reality that has been experienced.

Early in his book, Collins draws the reader's attention to the "perils of *Zeitgeist* history" and asks whether mutuality is not "too schematic a concept around which to structure a history of love?" (pp. 7–8). His book is well researched and well written, and shows an admirable grasp of a difficult subject over a long period, but the strong case that he makes for the importance of mutuality remains rather circumstantial.

JANE LEWIS
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THERESA ANN SMITH. *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 309. \$49.95.

Theresa Ann Smith's book traces the activities and impact of elite women within the political, artistic, and literary cultures of eighteenth-century Spain. The author's explicit purposes are twofold: first, to fill a historiographical gap by setting the case of Spanish women alongside the better-known cases of influential women in Enlightenment-era France and England; and second, to illuminate what women's increased visibility and ac-

tivity meant in the specific cultural, political, and economic contexts of eighteenth-century Spain.

The story that Smith is most eager to tell, and the one to which she chooses to devote the most attention in this book, is that of the women of the *Junta de Damas* (or "Women's Council") of the eminent Royal Economic Society of Madrid. Chartered by King Charles III in 1775, the Royal Economic Society's reform-minded intellectual men raised and debated the question of women's membership from the time of their earliest meetings. Male advocates of women's admission to the Society, Smith explains, typically supported their case via Enlightenment appeals to the "utility" of women's membership in supporting the reform and advancement of the Spanish economy and state. Unlike their male advocates, two prominent women who joined this highly public debate—Josefa Amar y Borbón and a (presumably French) "Madame Levacher de Valincourt"—argued in favor of women's admission not only on grounds of utility but also on the basis of women's natural equality as citizens. After twelve years of intermittent but contentious polemic, women were finally admitted to the Society, although only within the context of a "Women's Council" that met separately from the men's organization. Smith vividly charts the activities of the elite Madrid *Damas* through the next two decades, including the management of the city's hospital for founding infants, the oversight of the city's industrial/technical schools for working-class girls, and even their review of new inventions intended for use in the largely female activity of thread production. All the while, the Women's Council had to face constant opposition on the part of some male Society members who continued to believe such activities to be inappropriate for women. Smith demonstrates that the *Damas* responded with flexible rhetorical strategies, at times emphasizing women's equality as citizens, but more often than not countering that their special insight and compassion as women and mothers validated their specific authority over those institutions and activities they controlled. While she recognizes the utility (and even at times the necessity) of such arguments in the face of patriarchal opposition, Smith contends that the *Damas* thereby unintentionally reinforced concepts of citizenship based in gender and class distinctions—distinctions that she contends contributed to the subsequent nineteenth-century retrenchment of gender roles in Spanish society. As she puts it, "For all the value they held for the nation, women became citizens as mothers and workers, never simply as Spaniards" (p. 177).

The other specific topics and issues addressed by Smith are arranged around and among the chapters on the *Junta de Damas* in a way that contextualizes and reinforces this central line of argument. The first chapter explores the background to and legacy of Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijoo's landmark 1726 book *In Defense of Women*, which Smith recognizes as a seminal text to all subsequent eighteenth-century Spanish debates on matters of gender. Smith then moves to the worlds of fine arts and Madrid high culture, showing how wom-

en's inclusion as members of Madrid's Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando (both as patrons and as practicing artists), along with their leadership of the city's elite *tertulias* (Madrid's equivalent of Enlightenment Paris's *salons*), set the stage for the expanding women's visibility and activity represented by the *Junta de Damas*. In the field of literature, Smith shows that eighteenth-century Spanish women writers wrestled with inquisitorial censors in ways that paralleled the *Damas'* confrontations with their male opponents. Specifically, she demonstrates that these female authors sometimes contended that their works should be judged fairly by the same standards applied to male authors. In other instances, however, they resorted to arguing that their distinct qualities and status as female authors necessitated a censorial standard different from that applied to men.

From Joan Landes to Lynn Hunt and Dena Goodman, among many others, scholars of women and gender in eighteenth-century France in particular have already explored and debated at great length many of the important issues addressed in the Spanish case by this book. Effectively contextualizing her conclusions among the ones offered by these other scholars, Smith's study is a fresh and original empirical contribution to our growing understanding of the roles of elite women in European society in the Enlightenment era.

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CHRIS EALHAM and MICHAEL RICHARDS, editors. *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 282. \$90.00.

The aim of the editors of this volume is a laudable one: to move from "dual frameworks" (left vs. right) and explore the "splintering of Spain" in the "cultural sphere" (p. 2) during the Spanish Civil War. However, as in much twentieth-century Spanish cultural history, Chris Ealham and Michael Richards often link cultural history too tightly to political history. Their emphasis on "collective beliefs" (p. 13) and "collective identity" (p. 15)—which, ironically enough, resembles the old class analysis that they spurn—frequently inhibits the full development of their theme of "splintering" and hinders their desirable goal of examining the diversity of cultural expressions during the civil war. The editors' ponderous introduction seems to adhere to a cultural determinism that implies that Francisco Franco's forces won because they manipulated national symbols better than their enemies: "Because of the heterogeneous nature of the social and cultural composition of the leftist project, the forces of the republican side were less able to construct meaningful unifying symbols and discourses of mobilization out of history than those who were known as 'the Nationalists'" (p. 19). This statement also commits what James M. McPherson calls "the fallacy of reversibility" (i.e. if the outcome had been reversed the same factors could be cited to explain

the Republican victory). The editors' method—which, they claim, “moves away from the old framework [of class analysis] towards cultural-anthropological, linguistic and spatial redirections” (p. 20)—is perhaps less able to explain the causes, course, and outcome of the civil war than the materialistic social historical methods that they reject.

A good example of the strengths and weaknesses of this type of cultural history is the essay by Eduardo González Calleja, “The Symbolism of Violence during the Second Republic in Spain, 1931–1936.” The author is correct in pointing out that the Second Republic saw “the proliferation of projects of violence” (p. 26). At the same time, he argues that this violence was “magnified” both by the right-wing press in order to justify an authoritarian political renewal and by the left to label its enemies as “fascists.” The author contends that both sides irrationally exaggerated violence to mobilize their followers. Young militants, in particular, adopted “fanatical attitudes” and believed in “the infallibility of a glorified and idealised elite” (p. 39). Much of González's analysis is convincing, even if it is questionable to what extent the right or left-wing press exaggerated the level of violence; however, his cultural approach largely repeats much traditional political history: it concentrates on the militants of various parties and unions and assumes the supposed “mobilization” (p. 38) of the masses.

Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, in “Nations in Arms against the Invader: On Nationalist Discourses during the Spanish Civil War,” underlines the fairly well-known fact that all sides appealed to nationalism during the civil war. However, the author goes beyond his evidence and the parameters of cultural history when he declares “local pride and regional stereotypes were thus turned into an efficient mobilization tool” (p. 59). We need a deeper social/cultural investigation to determine to what degree soldiers—whether Spanish, Catalan, or Basque—were motivated by political or cultural “stereotypes” and nationalisms. Military historians are aware that examining various “nationalist discourses” will not suffice to explain what motivated individuals to fight or sacrifice.

Mary Vincent's essay on religious violence offers a much more subtle and helpful approach. She moves away from the volume's general emphasis on “discourses” toward the position that the historian's task is to delineate “cause and context” in a specific time and place (p. 74). She debunks the myth that anarchists were solely responsible for anticlerical violence by pointing out that socialist regions also experienced high levels of bloodshed against priests. Anticlerical violence was mainly male on male and showed comparative leniency to nuns. Vincent argues convincingly that neither Catholic apologists who refuse to contextualize anticlericalism nor Marxist historians who see clerics as victims of class struggle have adequately explained the bloody behavior.

Enric Ucelay-Da Cal ably sums up the origins and fate of Catalan populism during the civil war. He makes

a stimulating comparison with the contemporary Mexican populism of Lázaro Cárdenas, which like the Catalan variety, also leaned toward the left. At least until the Asturias Revolt of October 1934, Barcelona “seemed the spiritual focus of the new popular front line uniting communists, socialists, and ‘committed’ democrats” (p. 98). In fact, Catalan populism became a kind of model for Spanish republicans, who unfortunately for the fate of the republic were never able to attract a mass base. This excellent essay is more a political than the cultural history the editors promise.

Ealham's “The Myth of the Maddened Crowd” is political history masquerading as cultural history. Following the convention found in almost all political histories of the civil war, Ealham's periodization ends the Barcelona “revolution” with the famous May Days of 1937. A reading of Michel Foucault might have corrected Ealham's dreamy vision of “working-class culture,” which he sees as “anti-power” (p. 117), perhaps because he relies too much on the work of the anarcho-syndicalist propagandist, Abel Paz. Ealham lauds uncritically Spanish socialist realist posters—some of which contained huge photos of Joseph Stalin—which he claims gave “a new and human appearance to the urban landscape” (p. 121). His interpretation of revolutionaries' expropriation of automobiles as an expression of “hostility towards mechanized and capitalized forms of transport” (p. 124) and “a proletarian anti-consumerist iconoclasm” (p. 125) ignores both the anarcho-syndicalist posters glorifying cars and similar expropriations of vehicles by Falangists in the Nationalist zone.

Pamela Radcliff's “The Culture of Empowerment in Gijón” takes a more proper distance from its sources, even though the author concentrates on the language of the political project of leftist militants. Unlike Ealham's Barcelona where the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo was “revolutionary,” in Radcliff's Gijón the anarcho-syndicalists were pragmatic. They were able to create a usable Spanish past and integrate elements of the Enlightenment project into their own program during the civil war. Thus, they built on “a shared cultural milieu based on the common terrain of secularism, rationalism, and popular access” (p. 145).

The final section of the book explores Franco's zone. Rafael Cruz ably chronicles the use of certain collective mobilizations, symbols, and slogans—funerals, the monarchist flag, and the call for a religious “Crusade” against the Republic—in Nationalist Spain during the summer of 1936. Francisco Javier Caspistegui investigates Carlist identity in Navarre. Caspistegui advocates what might be labeled “hyper-culturalism” in which collective “discourse” not only mobilized a mass of volunteers but also determined individual identities.

Richards's thoughtful article on Holy Week in Málaga explores aspects of popular religiosity. Holy Week assumed a range of meanings for its participants and was especially useful for “rebuilding some sense of community” (p. 220) in the aftermath of the 1936 revolution. Richards borrows the anthropologist Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*, but it seems to me that

historians must be extremely cautious with such borrowings. Richards is perhaps more aware than most that the concept of community can hide as much as it reveals. Historians—whether cultural or social—have been very good at imagining communities that, upon closer inspection, appear to be little more than shifting agglomerations of complex individuals.

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JOÃO PEDRO MARQUES. *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. (European Expansion and Global Interaction.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2006. Pp. xix, 282. \$80.00.

The Portuguese pioneered the European exploitation of Africa and the transatlantic slave trade, begetting an American colony, Brazil, dependent on plantation agriculture and African chattel. After Brazilian independence in 1822, with the imperial imperative to protect supply for New World demand ended, the Portuguese government continued to defend the trade from their African possessions. As João Pedro Marques explains in this meticulously researched history of abolition in Portugal, the remaining slaving interests benefited from elite despair at the possible loss of the rest of the colonies, the last vestiges of bygone imperial glory, and a defense of, if not the trade itself, at least the postponement of its abolition with appeals to "national honor" and a rejection of British meddling in national affairs.

According to Marques, Portuguese historiography has neither recognized sufficiently the centrality of the trade and its politics nor grappled with the complex political culture of abolition. Marques's work intervenes in this historiography by setting aside economic explanations to pursue "the reconstruction of the ideological frameworks that developed in Portugal in connection with the problem of abolishing the slave trade" (p. xiii). Early nineteenth-century elites, he argues, were impervious to anglophone abolitionism and its Protestant, immediatist militancy. Instead, they cultivated "tolerationism," a secular critique of slavery that denounced its violation of rights but stopped short of mobilization to secure the institution's end and instead fell back on appeals to gradual abolition. In conflicts with the British over interdiction, tolerationism became obstructionist and for some elites served to dissemble proslavery agendas by advancing charges of British self-interest and claims of superior Portuguese civilizing efforts in Africa. The culminating effect of tolerationism was, as Marques indicates in the book's title, a "silence," "not one trace in the Portuguese written record of the 1810s of an ideological struggle over the issue of abolition" (p. 61).

Politics and diplomacy were, however, noisier. Beginning in 1807, the Portuguese had to reckon with intense British pressure to end the trade and then the fact that upon Brazilian independence the Portuguese trade to Brazil became illegal *ipso facto*; earlier treaties

barred the Portuguese from trading in slaves with foreign countries. And yet the Portuguese leadership resisted abolition, instead engaging British diplomats with promises and protests over confiscations. Although in 1826 the government recognized the need to end the trade, any potential for abolition remained mired in resentments of British encroachment and fears (whether founded or not) of a reaction by slaving interests in the African colonies. This scenario began to change only in 1836 when the liberal leader Sá da Bandeira not only introduced a law that prohibited the trade but also transformed the political discourse on the trade by linking abolitionism to an imperial future and "national honor," denying that British pressure had anything to do with the ban. However, Marques insists, this move signaled not the triumph of abolitionism but rather of a "duplicitous" policy of *de facto* gradualism: "abolition at a pace that was compatible with Portuguese interests and feelings, at the same time providing a legal umbrella against abolitionist pressure" (p. 252). On Sá, Marques also rejects arguments that he was constrained by fears of losing the colonies. Rather, Marques argues that, as Sá was aware, a most significant opposition to a ban came from nationalist tolerationists within Portugal. This gradualism then began to erode in 1839 when the Palmerston Bill gave the British Navy the powers to apprehend any slaving ships carrying the Portuguese flag. Portuguese protests gave way to acceptance and finally a law that defined the slave trade as piracy in 1842.

Where did this leave Africa in the minds of the Portuguese? In negotiations with the British, diplomats voiced concern about securing sovereignty in Africa. However, Marques argues, this concern did not correspond to a broader imperial vision. Rejecting Marxist explanations of abolition as an expression of colonial interests that saw slavery as an obstacle to settlement in Africa, Marques shows that there was little practical interest in forging Portuguese Africa as a "new Brazil."

To the extent that Marques reconstructs diplomatic and political debate, he also tends to undermine the idea of "silence." While debates on slavery in the Luso-Brazilian empire did not take the form that they did in the anglophone world, he cites an arguably significant number of writings on slavery that were read by elites in Portugal and beyond. Indeed, by "decoding" the relative silence (p. xiv), Marques brings Portuguese society, formerly characterized as neutral or indifferent, back into a narrative once dominated by the British, a few government officials, and the specter of slaver resistance. Finally, the translation of this seminal book provides to English-speaking scholars a vivid account of the role of the "will of the masters" in the process of abolition that was, in Portugal as elsewhere in the Atlantic world, both propelled and limited by self-interest, courage and cowardice, righteousness and dread.

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JULIA ADAMS. *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*. (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 235. \$35.00.

Historical sociologists such as Charles Tilly and Immanuel Wallerstein have impressed historians with provocative frameworks for understanding major historical transformations. Julia Adams positions herself to make a similar intervention with an ambitious reformulation of the dynamics of early modern state building. Her book adapts Eugen Weber's model of patrimonial statehood by centering the gender and family components of household governance at the heart of Weber's patrimonialism. Adams takes as her primary example the Dutch Republic rather than the English, French, or even Spanish cases that usually provide the master narrative for early modern state formation. She emphasizes that the oft-discussed family politics of early modern Europe involved the control of capital as well as more often highlighted political and cultural implications. She defines "these states under construction as familial states, stressing the ideal-typical tie between paternal political rule and the multiple arrangements among family heads that inhibit and shape the evolving political organizations and the economic flows they managed" (p. 4). These perspectives give a freshness to her work and to subjects that historians have been debating and discussing for decades.

Although Adams's conceptualization makes the broadest possible theoretical claims, she focuses primarily on a very specific group and process: the relationships between the patrician men who were crucial economic as well as political players as the Dutch Republic became a world power and enjoyed a domestic golden age. Their actions, Adams argues, were "a key hinge or joint in the anatomy of state formation" that provided an "institutional nexus" that was "a key mechanism for early modern rule" (pp. 15–16).

Following the introduction and a first chapter that offers a conceptual discussion of the familial state, the book charts the rise and fall or "zigzag" fortunes of the Dutch Republic as Adams seeks to demonstrate that its larger fortunes were integrally tied to the particular construction of power in the familial state. She interweaves an exploration of how the familial state mechanism functioned elsewhere in Europe too. The chartered companies that were critical to the political economies of the Dutch Republic and the elite men who controlled them provide the focus of chapters two and three. Chapter four applies the model of the Dutch experience to England and France, in particular looking again at the relationships among the state, commercial companies, and elite families. The parallel dynamics seem more difficult to demonstrate for France than for England, but the comparative axis is thought provoking. Chapter five portrays the decline of the Dutch Republic as rooted in the structural patterns of the familial state, in particular the contests between elite

families and the shift of those families from commercial to rentier orientations. The final chapter returns to France and England as it picks up on E. P. Thompson's phrase about the "enigmatic eighteenth century" to explore how "family monopolies of political privilege . . . played a cardinal role in forming state and commercial/colonial projects" (p. 165), although their success in empire building in turn challenged familial authority.

Although Adams's conceptualization is stimulating, she seems to lay aside much that historians have recently found useful in examining questions about early modern families and state formation. Adams notes early on that her project would not be "exhaustively describing a picture of social reality" (p. 15). That is a fine clarification for a book that endeavors to offer a big-picture theorization, but other exclusions seem problematic. For a book whose goals include the integration of gender and feminist theory and the incorporation of the realities of household governance into Weberian notions of state formation, there is very little direct attention to either gender itself or gendered power relations or to families. Adams acknowledges the absence of attention to women on the basis that so little is known about elite Dutch women and then discounts the need to know because they "mattered less" in the familial state (pp. 91–93). Moreover there is very little gender analysis of the men themselves who are the primary actors. Similarly, historians have reconceptualized the process of state formation and many alternative visions to the top-down schema put forward here have been persuasively pursued. Steve Hindle and Gil Morgan, to take just two examples, have argued that much more fluid and multidirectional imperatives shaped state formation. This bold and provocative project would have been strengthened by engagement with these kinds of issues rather than their exclusion, especially given the richness of the literature—and would accentuate how its vision adds something extra.

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PHILIPPE MARTIN. *Une religion des livres (1640–1850)*. (Histoire religieuse de la France, number 22.) Paris: Cerf. 2003. Pp. 622. €49.00.

As anyone familiar with the work of Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, or Robert Darnton knows, early modern France has long been the promised land of the history of the book. Philippe Martin's study fills in one of the largest gaps in this extremely rich literature, examining in great detail the massive corpus of works of Catholic piety published in French in the two centuries prior to the advent of industrialized printing. Working with a sample of 2,230 of these books, preserved mainly in diocesan libraries in Lorraine and Savoy, on the eastern borders of France, Martin uses both statistical content analysis and close reading to reveal not only a forgotten corner of the publishing industry, but an important current of French Catholic religiosity. The

producers and consumers of these books turn out to have constructed a religion that was durable and coherent, though by no means monolithic, a cooperative effort between clergy and laity characterized by interior transformation, an emotive, Christocentric relationship to the divine, and domestic prayer and meditation. This may not revolutionize our understanding of post-Tridentine Catholicism, but it does add significant and surprising nuances to the conventional understanding thereof.

The development of this literature was shaped by the major trends of French society, publishing, and religion. The high-level spirituality and mysticism of the *siècle des saints* remained the bedrock of the genre for the entire period Martin studies, but the spread of literacy and the growth of the book industry, as well as a growing commitment to the pastoral uses of print, brought books of piety to progressively broader audiences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This entailed a de-emphasis of controversy among Jansenist, Molinist, Quietist, and other tendencies, and of the rigorist rejection of the world characteristic of many of those tendencies; it favored the growth of relatively simple books of prayers, moral direction, and catechism. Many works of piety had extraordinarily long lives; their innumerable editions, often by small provincial printers, may have helped to conceal the genre's importance to the publishing industry. Differences between Lorraine and Savoy turn out to have been modest, largely reflecting the greater economic development and literacy rates in the former area.

The picture of Catholic piety that emerges from these books is familiar in some respects, but not all. The presence of strong Jesuit and Jansenist currents, the prominence of devotions to Mary and the Sacred Heart, the exemplary role of modern saints, and the importance of retreats and missions to spiritual life are all well-known aspects of Tridentine French Catholicism. However, some elements of the public religious life of the era—shrines and pilgrimage, confraternities, and even, to some extent, the Mass—played only a subsidiary role in the literature of piety. Instead, Martin finds a stress on personal conversion nourished by prayer, meditation (often with a distinctly scriptural bent), and the examination of conscience, and by disciplined conduct within the bounds of one's station in life. Writers recommended that this be accompanied by family prayers and devotions led by the head of the household, and Martin's analysis of marginalia suggests that many of these pious books accompanied their owners in daily life and through the generations. To an anglophone reader, at least, this immediately calls to mind the outlines of early modern Protestant piety, in its interiority, its logocentricity, and its paradoxical and sometimes uncomfortable worldliness. Martin does not pursue this parallel, though neighboring Protestant territories in Geneva or the Rhineland would provide a good opportunity to do so, but it suggests, as scholars have come to suspect, that there was more unity to early modern Christianity than meets the eye.

The depth and breadth of research that Martin has brought to this project are genuinely impressive. Not only has he located a huge number of books of piety in rather unexpected locations, he has sorted out their complex interrelationships and, apparently, mastered their contents. He has applied a statistical analysis that seems sound and produces a few interesting and counterintuitive results: for example, the French Revolution turns out not to have had any short-term statistically significant impact on the contents of books of piety. That said, Martin's explanation of his statistical analysis is neither technical nor particularly clear (a technical account was published as a separate article), so experts will want to examine it closely before extending it or accepting its conclusions in detail. Throughout, Martin studies his subject almost exclusively in the context of francophone Catholicism; a broader European perspective would almost certainly be very instructive, but it is hard to fault the author for not further expanding an already large and extremely ambitious work. As it stands, this book is required reading for any scholar of early modern French piety or publishing, and will be useful well beyond that purview.

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MICHAEL STEPHEN SMITH. *The Emergence of Modern Business Enterprise in France, 1800–1930*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 49.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 575. \$59.95.

Michael Stephen Smith undertakes an ambitious agenda in his book: to synthesize the last fifty years of historiography on French business in order to propose a new perspective. By adopting a long view of commercial evolution in France, Smith argues that, unlike commonly held pessimistic notions on French economic development, France's path to modern enterprise was not substantially different from those of Britain, the United States, or Germany. In applying Alfred Chandler's model as articulated primarily in *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (1977) and *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (1990), Smith hopes to demonstrate that France's economic experience was a "variation" on those of other industrialized nations, rather than a "special path" (p. 5). He is largely successful in this endeavor, and his accomplishment is noteworthy.

Smith has structured his study as "a drama in three acts" (p. 9). Part one provides an overview of the evolution of French commercial and finance capitalism in the nineteenth century, focusing on the development of commercial infrastructure through the renewal of the transportation and banking industries and the creation of modern enterprises anchored in distribution, retail sales, and mechanized production. In Part two, through a series of mini-histories of individual firms, Smith analyzes various industries including textiles, coal, iron, steel, chemicals, and print media to detail the effects of the growth and development outlined in part one.

Among the important companies Smith treats are Dollfus-Mieg, Wendel, Saint-Gobain, Pechiney, Citroën, and Renault. Using the same technique of company histories, part three demonstrates how the Second Industrial Revolution and the economic expansion of 1890–1930 engendered the era of big business and managerial capitalism. The tables in this section are instructive and effective in advancing Smith's argument.

Smith's writing is clear and articulate. His organizational structure remains consistent throughout, which is critical given the vast amount of material he seeks to synthesize. He is at his best when discussing the developments in banking and heavy industry. The background analysis he provides on the impact of the French Revolution on the evolution of modern business will be helpful to readers unfamiliar with French history. Smith's organizational plan within individual chapters would be very easy to adapt to a lecture format, making his volume a wise choice for those preparing courses on business history. His study is also a logical starting point for researchers in French business history as so much of the current historiography available on the topic is touched on here.

The breadth of Smith's study, one of its impressive characteristics, is also a source of its shortcomings. Given the wide range of material Smith addresses, it is not surprising that some topics are handled more adeptly than others. While Smith seems at ease in his discussion of industries like textiles, coal, steel, and chemicals and is clear in his explanations of tariff policy (a topic he certainly knows well), his treatment of consumer culture and its related enterprises is less confident and less convincing. The level of "thick description" in these sections is significantly lower and unfortunately, in some instances, avoidable factual mistakes have occurred. In the section on print culture, for example, Smith identifies publisher Louis Hachette's monthly teachers' review as the *Revue d'Instruction Publique*; the correct title of this periodical is the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*. Similarly, Hachette's children's magazine was not *Tour du Monde* (a travel magazine) but rather *La Semaine des enfants*. Hachette's *Bibliothèque des Chemins de Fer* was not simply a set of "cheap editions of popular novels" but rather was a special collection of books comprised of various series, including travel guides; history and travel; French, foreign, and ancient literatures; agriculture and industry; and illustrated children's literature, designed specifically to promote his establishment of bookstores in French train stations nationwide. Hachette's successful development of the railroad bookstore network enabled the company to expand into and later dominate the lucrative area of distribution of books and newspapers. The significance of this shift is inadequately explained in Smith's analysis (pp. 260–261). These errors are disappointing given the quality of the study overall.

The lack of a bibliography unfortunately reduces the utility of Smith's study for readers, researchers, and lecturers. In the endnotes, it is often difficult to trace var-

ious parts of his analysis back to their specific sources, especially when more than one source by an individual author has been used.

By recasting our perspective on the development of French "big business" through a comprehensive synthesis of the current literature and the application of individual histories of some of France's most important firms, Smith has made a valuable contribution to the field, useful for specialists and nonspecialists alike. He is to be commended for his effort and accomplishment.

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THOMAS ALBERT HOWARD. *Protestant Theology and the Rise of the Modern German University*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 468. \$135.00.

This is an important book. It delivers much more than the reader suspects from the title, largely because, as the author himself notes, theology remains terra incognita for most historians. But it is not a work simply about theology. Thomas Albert Howard has given us an informative treatment of the history of the German university from its beginnings to the early decades of the twentieth century. Admittedly, the focus is on the place and status of the theology faculty, but along the way we learn an enormous amount about the forces that gave rise to and the issues that confronted the university as a burgeoning institution in German society.

Howard's concern is not with theological doctrines but with theology's institutional legitimization. What makes this extremely well-researched work so timely is that, in the course of tracing the place of the theology faculty in the German university over time, Howard encounters fundamental issues that continue to confront universities today. His is not the only recent work to assess the past and present role of the university in Western culture.

During the medieval and early modern eras theology was one of the three higher faculties of the German university, the other two being law and medicine. The fourth faculty, philosophy, served as a kind of preliminary study that prepared students aspiring to enroll in one of the higher faculties. This arrangement persisted even through the reforms of the sixteenth century, making the university a conservative force in society. The close ties theologians enjoyed with the established church guaranteed their involvement in the formulation of confessions, often requiring their participation in elaborate doctrinal disputes. This role reinforced the notion that the duties of theologians, like those of lawyers and physicians, had immediate relevance to the enduring concerns of people where they lived.

Howard's major concern is to follow the developments that threatened to alter theology's status in the university beginning in the eighteenth century. At the start of the century there were complaints that the university was not keeping pace with the many intellectual changes confronting European culture. Howard takes us along the path trod by Halle and Göttingen as these

two universities led the way forward into the German Enlightenment. Göttingen, for example, became the first university to restrict the theological faculty's "right of censorship," meaning that theologians could no longer denounce teachers for heretical views. It was here, too, that the philosophy faculty began the rise in status that would mark a general trend to come.

The emergence of what historian of science Stephen Turner has called an ideology of *Wissenschaft* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries quickly found a home in the university. Howard reviews what others have pointed out about the key reforms enacted with the establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810. The aims of *Wissenschaft* occupied a central position, bringing with them an emphasis on *Welgeschichte* over *Heilsgeschichte*. Berlin was first to attempt to sever the long-standing tie between university education and confessionally defined Christianity, opening the door to attempts later in the century to remove theology from the university altogether on the grounds that its confessional foundation was incompatible with the values of science.

Complicating the conflicts ahead were large issues. For one, the emergence of the *Wissenschaft* ideal merged with the perception of the university as servant of the secular state, a development that took on ever greater significance as the century passed. There was, however, a general awareness that it had been a theological context—that of the German Protestant Reformation—from which the historic model of change and reform had emerged. Even theologians who opposed confessionalism and, through their embrace of *Wissenschaft*, introduced liberal and even radical reforms of Christianity, could insist that a faculty of theology had to be retained in the university over against those who would replace it with a general scientific study of religion.

Howard takes us carefully through all these arguments, ending his book with the symbolic clash in 1923 between the liberal theologian Adolf von Harnack and his wayward student, Karl Barth. As a model representative of *Wissenschaft* and persona non grata among conservatives, it was difficult enough for Harnack to defend theology's continuing place in the university against the strident voices calling for its removal. But, as Howard shows, a more basic challenge came from a different quarter. It was Barth's demand that theology recognize what he called the "permanent crisis of time and eternity," one that went beyond any particular historical manifestation, that divided him from Harnack's understanding of theology and its place. Howard leaves us with the hint that the modern university is still wrestling with a version of this conflict: how to protect the enduring features of the human condition from the assumption that everything is up for grabs.

FREDERICK GREGORY
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DEREK S. LINTON. *Emil von Behring: Infectious Disease, Immunology, Serum Therapy*. (Memoirs of the Ameri-

can Philosophical Society, number 255.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 2005. Pp. xi, 580. \$65.00.

Emil von Behring won the very first Nobel Prize for Medicine or Physiology, in 1901. For the few years previously, he had been one of the most visible scientists internationally, routinely included with Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch in the pantheon of medical scientists. The drama that accompanied his use of serum therapy in children desperately ill with diphtheria attracted world-wide attention, and the fact that the objects of his ministrations were children added to the poignancy. "The Savior of Children" was just one title that he picked up.

Behring went on to pioneer the treatment of tetanus with antitetanus serum, to develop vaccines against these two dreaded diseases, and to devote some of his most energetic years to the understanding and treatment of tuberculosis. He was a dedicated experimentalist whose periods of intense work were broken by episodes of depression and mental collapse, suggestive of what today would be called a cyclothymic personality, or a tendency to manic-depression.

These periods of inactivity hardly reduced his scientific output. Yet, Behring has had slight historical attention. His books and most of his scientific papers have not been translated, and he remains a shadowy and slightly disreputable historical character. The reasons for this provide a running theme for Derek S. Linton's full biography, the first in English and fuller than any in German, save for a large biography produced during the Nazi era and influenced by its ideology. Indeed, the use that the Nazis made of Behring, savior not only of children but of soldiers through his work on tetanus, has colored historical attitudes toward the man.

Linton provides ample evidence that this is distorting. His careful exposition of the contours of his research career offers a rich tapestry of German experimental medicine in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To his credit, Linton pays as much attention to Behring's largely unfulfilled work on tuberculosis as he does to the much more fruitful researches on serum therapy for diphtheria and tetanus. Linton's full analysis of the nuances of Behring's research is an original and important contribution to medical history.

At the same time, there are some curious choices in Linton's approach. Although he cites, and clearly approves of, the insight provided by the comparison of raw laboratory data and published work, pioneered by Frederic Holmes and Gerald Geison, Linton confines himself to the public Behring. He refers to, but makes no use of, the extensive Behring archive in Marburg. This is especially unfortunate, since Behring's correspondence with the various commercial firms he dealt with would throw more light on another source of his tarnished image: as a greedy scientist. Linton makes a good case from published records that Behring used a lot of his wealth to fund his research. He was a pioneer

of the financial exploitation of science, at a time when pharmaceutical firms were doing the same thing. But it jarred against the image of science itself, as disinterested in filthy lucre.

This archive might also have allowed Linton to offer a fuller psychological portrait of his subject. Linton does a good job of purging him from Nazi readings. Behring's mother was from a family of converted Jews, and his quarrels with the Jewish scientist Paul Ehrlich were personal, not religious. That he quarreled with many other individuals is simply evidence of his highly strung personality. Linton offers a full rehabilitation of his subject, correcting a number of caricatures that have been perpetuated in the literature, and argues convincingly that he did deserve his Nobel Prize. Linton corrects one such mistake twice: that Behring's first name was Adolf. This might have endeared him to the Nazis but has no basis in fact. Unfortunately, on one page where the correction is made, Linton invents a new first name, and a new spelling for the last, for another Nobel Prize winner, calling Selman Waksman "Selig Waksman."

Such mistakes are rare, and this is an important study of a major scientist. Its value is increased by translations of several of Behring's important papers, most presented in English for the first time. Behring was thoroughly modern, in the best and worst senses of the word. He was difficult and arrogant but also hard working and creative. He announced results too early sometimes but worked hard to secure his facts as accurately as possible, and he was not afraid to change his mind. And, like so many Nobel Prize winners since, his best work had already been done before the prize was awarded.

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RICHARD J. SHUSTER. *German Disarmament after World War I: The Diplomacy of International Arms Inspection 1920–1931* (Cass Series: Strategy and History, number 14.) New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. viii, 259. \$113.00.

As is well known, the Versailles Treaty imposed far-reaching disarmament obligations on defeated Germany in 1919. Richard J. Shuster's book takes up this theme and examines the efforts of the Western Allies to secure compliance with those obligations through an arms inspection program. More specifically, he analyzes "the ramifications of the divergent disarmament priorities of Britain and France, British dominance in controlling the direction of Allied disarmament toward Germany, and the Allied success in destroying German military strength, most effectively through a united policy backed by military sanctions" (p. 6). Overall, he believes that "the development and implementation of the Allied disarmament operations in Germany was a monumental endeavor on a scale never experienced before in history" (p. 8). There were, it is true, many "violations of the military clauses of the treaty"; still, on the whole the record is, in his view, a positive one.

Shuster discusses, in his first section, the evolution of the disarmament debate at the Paris Peace Conference and the structures that were put in place to enforce treaty obligations. There follows a longer section that looks at the destruction of war materials as well as fortifications found in various parts of the country, and at the curbing of German industrial capacities to produce military hardware. Finally, there is an account of Allied attempts to reduce troop levels to the 100,000-man army prescribed by the Versailles Treaty.

The Ruhr Crisis of 1923 and the Franco-Belgian attempt to extract reparations by military force temporarily put the activities of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission on hold. The program was resumed after the collapse of Germany's passive resistance to the occupation and of its economy, which almost caused the death of the Weimar Republic. The final two parts of Shuster's study are relatively brief and cover the "era of good feeling" in the mid-1920s and the eventual withdrawal of the enforcement system, leaving only superficial controls that the Reichswehr soon undermined completely, paving the way for the German rearmament program of the 1930s. As the author puts it: "The hinge of Anglo-French relations in the 1920s had been the disarmament of Germany, and the bolt in the hinge was the enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles. Without that bolt, the door to the future security of Europe fell open, and Europe soon shuddered once again under the impact of war" (p. 195).

Shuster sees his study, which is based on a careful evaluation of the relevant Allied archives, as a complement to Michael Salewski's *Entwaffnung und Militärkontrolle in Deutschland 1919–1927* (1966), which focused on the German side of the picture. In this context, he brings out well the tensions between the French and British governments that also existed in other fields of Allied policy making. It is probably fair to say that this is not a particularly innovative study conceptually and methodologically. Its larger significance lies in the fact that it provides an illuminating case study on how to enforce the disarmament of a defeated country with the help of the threat and application of military sanctions. In this sense, he does shed "light upon a subject that will continue to influence modern foreign and military relations" (p. 7).

What is missing from this book is a closer look at the interactions between the Allied and German sides. Indeed, by not engaging with Michael Geyer's important book *Aufrüstung oder Sicherheit?* (1980), Shuster leaves out an aspect that would have greatly enriched the latter parts of his study. As Geyer has shown, by the mid-1920s, the Reichswehr had abandoned its earlier support for the weekend armies of volunteers, raised by the Stahlhelm and other veterans leagues, that secretly trained in the remote regions of eastern Germany and whose activities the Allies were anxious to stop. Spearheaded by a new generation of technocratically minded officers, the focus was now on the creation of a small, well-equipped, and highly professional army that would serve as the core of a later rearmament program for the

eventual overthrow of the Versailles order. I wish Shuster had integrated Geyer's work into his own.

This means that there is more work to be done to cover the interacting policies and maneuverings on both sides, and to do so not just at the national level in Berlin, London, and Paris but also at local and regional ones or, for that matter, at the level of Soviet-German military-technical collaboration, which Shuster mentions but briefly.

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GIDEON REUVENI. *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933*. Translated by RUTH MORRIS. New York: Berghahn. 2006. Pp. xii, 310. \$75.00.

The emergence of modern German culture would be hard to imagine without the enormous expansion of printed media: books, journals, and newspapers. This book, translated by Ruth Morris from the Hebrew original, is a rich and insightful addition to the social and cultural history of reading that focuses especially on the dynamic changes that occurred during the Weimar era. Gideon Reuveni combines an analysis of the discourse about reading during the 1920s with an in-depth investigation of the German market for printed material. Most important, he places reading within the larger context of an emerging modern consumer culture.

While a traditional bourgeoisie insisted on a strict separation between material and intellectual culture, those lines blurred more and more during the Weimar years, so that "reading became an activity that contributed to the process of modernizing daily life and disseminating the values of consumer culture" (p. 11). The first chapter recounts the heated debate about the "book crisis" after World War I, with its many defensive attempts to protect books from becoming commodity objects. Those debates have been already the subject of other works. The strongest parts of the book contain Reuveni's analysis of how the commercialization of printed material created an increasingly complex reading culture. Except during the years of the hyperinflation, book sales in fact increased, and those books sold were not always "*Schmutz und Schundliteratur*," as cultural conservatives often claimed. Using household account books as a source, Reuveni shows that expenditures for books increased throughout all social classes and regions, in cities and villages alike. The author stresses that reading was truly a cultural mass phenomenon during that period, available to millions of Germans in smaller cities and villages—a fact that research on Weimar culture with its frequent focus on big cities sometimes overlooks.

This is quite a comprehensive study, and Reuveni does an excellent job investigating both the increasing segmentation of reading material and the new and innovative ways of distributing this material. The numbers that testify to the vast market of newspapers, journals, and magazines are indeed staggering. In 1930, for

example, 7,303 magazines and newspapers were published in Germany. In 1932 twenty-six million copies of newspapers reached readers daily. Around the same time, the author writes, "one magazine was published for every ten thousand inhabitants" (pp. 127–128). Selling newspapers, books, or magazines in Weimar Germany was a highly competitive business and required sophisticated distribution and marketing strategies. New ways of distributing printed material began to shape modern life: book peddling (*Kolportagenhandel*), mail order, bookshops in train stations, kiosks, and, of course, the street selling of newspapers. All those newspapers and magazines contained advertising and thus became powerful economic agents shaping the discourse of consumption. For newspaper publishers, the struggles to gain revenue through advertisements and to maintain editorial independence were as difficult as they are today. Pressure from advertisers increasingly forced newspapers and magazines to target specific readership groups.

In addition to providing a dynamic account of the overall expansion of printed material in Germany after World War I, the book also contains a number of interesting subplots. One of the most decisive distinctions in reading cultures is the difference between borrowing and buying books. In an environment in which most readers were not able to own their own books, public libraries or reading halls were central to the emergence of a modern public sphere. But with the considerable expansion of books and magazines beyond a canonized collection, should all readers have free access to all library holdings? Reuveni's account of the heated debate about the character of public libraries during the 1920s—whether readers should have free access to books or whether librarians should serve as intermediaries between books and readers—is very insightful and reads like a precursor to debates around the openness of today's internet. Equally interesting are the debates surrounding buying books. It turns out that buyers showed considerable resistance toward books that were produced for the cheapest price possible. People demanded that even well-priced books should look elegant on the shelves and that their paper and binding quality should ensure durability. Noteworthy also is the way design, cultural ideology, and the act or reading itself intersected in the debate over whether the old fractured typefaces (*Fraktur*), seen by many as quintessentially "German," should be replaced by modern rounded typefaces (*Antiqua*).

I have only one criticism of this book: make it more readable! The material lends itself so well toward narrative structures. Overloading sentences with information and intricate arguments might be still an accepted sin in academic writing, but readers pay a considerable price. The book also contains a number of highly suggestive illustrations and cartoons. The author should indulge in the joy of interpreting them. That said, one finishes the book not only with a much extended knowledge about the modern reading public but also with

fresh insights about the emergence of a consumer culture in Weimar Germany.

BERND WIDDIG

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GERD R. UEBERSCHÄR. *Für ein anderes Deutschland: Der deutsche Widerstand gegen den NS-Staat 1933–1945.* (Der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2006. Pp. 400. €12.95.

Some twenty years ago, a British journalist reviewing an essay collection on resistance within Germany to the Nazi regime opined that this topic merited only a very short book, since the “resistance” in question had been inconsequential at best. (Interestingly enough, this assessment echoed the attitude toward the German resistance held by British political and military leaders during World War II.) German resistance to Adolf Hitler may indeed have been inconsequential in the sense that, as we all know, none of the homegrown efforts to overthrow or even substantially weaken the Nazi regime succeeded, and Nazism had to be crushed by military conquest. But the failure in this case certainly did not translate into insignificance, at least not for anyone who wants to know how the Third Reich functioned and why it survived for as long as it did. In the end, the history of the German resistance to Hitler reminds us that for historians, failure can be as important as success.

There is now a substantial literature on the German resistance, a field of study that has had an intriguing history of its own, full of interpretive twists and turns reflecting broader changes in the political and ideological environment. Gerd R. Ueberschär’s book is a welcome addition to this crowded field because it distills in accessible and authoritative fashion the various insights and interpretations on the resistance that have accumulated over the past half-century. Because this book would be of particular use to nonspecialists, its appearance in German is to be regretted.

There has long been a debate among scholars of the Third Reich about what might be legitimately considered “resistance” to Nazism. Should one restrict this concept to efforts to overthrow the regime (by, say, killing Hitler), or include various kinds of opposition, protest, dissidence, and nonconformism? Fortunately for the reader who wants a good overview of this problem, Ueberschär has opted for an inclusive interpretation that does not simply rehash the relatively well-known story of Count Claus von Stauffenberg’s abortive attempt to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. His book guides us through the entire history of German opposition to Nazism, beginning with the tentative and ill-coordinated activities of communists and socialists in the opening months of the Third Reich and concluding with the last desperate uprisings against local Nazi potentates as foreign troops poured into the Reich. Along the way we find clear-headed analyses not only of now-famous resistance episodes like the July 20 bomb plot and the White Rose conspiracy, but also of lesser

known moments like the near-miss attempt by Georg Elser to blow up Hitler at a Nazi meeting in Munich on November 8, 1939, and the anti-Nazi propaganda activities of German generals imprisoned by the Soviets following German defeats on the Eastern Front. True to his big-tent concept of resistance, Ueberschär devotes chapters to opposition and nonconformity among Germany’s youth; draft refusal, disobedience, and desertion among soldiers; and the lonely struggle against the regime by Germans in exile. The author is careful to place each episode or variety of opposition within the larger framework of Nazi terror, popular perceptions of the regime, and pressures on the Third Reich from without. His inclusive interpretation of resistance notwithstanding, he does not exaggerate the extent of this phenomenon or obscure the fact that the most crucial failing of Germany’s anti-Nazi opposition was its lack of a mass basis.

This book is one of those studies—in my view, rather rare—that might profitably have been considerably longer. In his laudable effort to be comprehensive in his treatment of the German resistance phenomenon, Ueberschär sometimes neglects to provide the level of detail that would enliven his discussion of individual episodes. This lack is especially evident in his treatment of the July 20 assassination plot. We learn too little about what actually motivated Stauffenberg: for example, his connection with the mystical poet Stefan George, whose work “The Anti-Christ” was the last thing the count read before carrying his bomb into Hitler’s bunker. The book’s epilogue, which deals with the resistance legacy in Germany since the fall of the Third Reich, also begs for a more detailed discussion than it receives here.

However, even the epilogue, fragmentary as it is, does not lack for the good critical bite that animates this entire study. Although Ueberschär is properly mindful of all the reasons why the German resistance legacy could not constitute a satisfactory ideological underpinning for postwar German democracy, he is also right to ask why it is that a nation that is so full of war memorials has so few monuments dedicated to the men and women who had the courage to stand up to Nazism, often at the cost of their lives.

DAVID CLAY LARGE

Montana State University

KARLA POEWE. *New Religions and the Nazis.* New York: Routledge. 2006. Pp. xii, 218. \$Cloth 99.00, paper \$29.95.

The search for the origins and appeal of National Socialism has been carried out quite vigorously for nearly seventy years. Historians have employed a variety of approaches in order to understand the phenomenon of Nazism. In the course of these investigations historians have interrogated voting patterns, explored social milieus of the Weimar Republic, plumbed the depths of Wilhelmine cultural despair, and possibly discovered the Nazi conscience. Yet gaps remain in our under-

standing of Nazism, its allure and its nature. A specialist in the development of new religions, anthropologist Karla Poewe's contribution is thus especially hopeful as it approaches the subject with new sources and from a fresh perspective.

This is an ambitious book. In fewer than 200 pages it seeks to answer the question of "how Germans came to support the National Socialist worldview" (p. x). Poewe wants to answer her question by understanding Nazism not only as a political force, which admittedly has been thoroughly researched, but more importantly (and perhaps more fundamentally) as a religious force. "Religion," she notes, "is the weapon par excellence of revolutionaries," and thus by developing Nazism as a religion, leading Nazis were able to supplant traditional Christian beliefs and supply Germans with their own politico-religious faith (p. 1).

In a less than clearly articulated thesis, Poewe argues that a small group of disaffected elites in the 1920s developed National Socialism as a new religion and used Weimar's equally disaffected youth to bring it to life. Making extensive use of newly accessible archival information, much of it from private collections, Poewe focuses on the activities of Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, Mathilde Ludendorff, Ernst Bergmann, Johannes von Leers, Dietrich Klages, and Hans Grimm (though the bulk of the text rests on the activities of Hauer) to trace the development of new religious thought that its creators anticipated would be the core belief system, "the sacred religious center" for Nazism (p. 1).

Poewe identifies the immediate post-World War I era as the unholy cauldron where the anger and bitterness of defeat mixed with long smoldering antagonism to liberalism and was finally ignited by the spark of democracy and other punishments found in the Treaty of Versailles. For Hauer and his ilk the immediate response to Germany's humiliation was first to crave a new beginning and then to prepare the intellectual seed for national rebirth.

According to Poewe, the new religion that Hauer and others created needed at its center a new, nonsemitic ethical code that would permit national and racial ascendancy. Christianity was not suitable for a number of reasons, but especially because of the racial origins of its founder. Indeed, all Near Eastern religious influence was shunned. Hauer and others imported elements of Hinduism and Buddhism and combined them with aspects of ancient Germanic literature and folk belief to produce a new religion that was racially and ideologically more suitable for a prostrate Germany.

On one level, this line of argument has a particular appeal. Coopting older movements, there was a serious effort by the Nazis once in power both to eliminate semitism from Christianity and to reduce the role of Christianity in Germany overall. Leading National Socialists, of course, were themselves anti-Christian and were more than receptive to a belief system rooted in an imagined Germanic or Indo-Aryan past. Finally, some aspects of sacrifice, violence and struggle impressionistically taken from the *Bhagavad Gita* by Heinrich

Himmler had great promise for an SS about to engage in its own murderous and (self-understood) epochal struggle. The section on the creation and uses of neo-Indo-Germanic beliefs is among the best in the work.

Viewed from a different angle, however, one wonders how valuable or innovative Poewe's contribution ultimately is. Talk of a national rebirth, of the need for a *völkisch* unity of all Germans and of creating a harmonious society (the celebrated *Volksgemeinschaft*) had long dominated the cultural cravings and political fantasies of the German far right. Moreover, a number of popular movements wanting to purge Jewish elements from Christianity, or to abandon Christianity altogether, had existed since the late nineteenth century; and the influence of South Asian beliefs had been steadily growing among Germans since the same time frame (1890s). None of these were new to Weimar society, even if their expression gained greater urgency in those years. Linkages with today's far-right groups is unconvincing. Finally, Poewe's prose lacks a certain precision, which renders her arguments somewhat unclear.

CHAD ROSS

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CLAUDIA KOONZ. *The Nazi Conscience*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 362. \$29.95.

Claudia Koonz, the well-known author of the authoritative *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (1987), returns in her new book to the actual words and sentiments of the Nazis in order to examine what might at first appear to be an oxymoron: the very idea that the perpetrators of unspeakable evil were guided by ethical standards, a conscience, and led by "a prophet of virtue." She documents in exemplary fashion what the historical actors actually thought, felt, advocated, planned, and organized before they acted. Koonz returns to earlier analyses of National Socialism as an anti-transcendent ethic (Ernst Nolte) that rejected Judaic-Christian and Kantian standards rooted in the universalist notions of one God and, thus, the integrity of the individual. There was a Nazi ethic—a different one, to be sure—that stressed the distinct ethnic community as an organism with values appropriate to its nature, its identity, and needs. The Nazi ideology examined here propagated what Ralf Dahrendorf long ago analyzed as a modernist "public sense of virtue," promoted by the Nazis against the traditional German emphasis on an "inner sense of virtue." According to this Nazi ethic, the individual is subordinated to the German community, the nation, the embodiment of an "ethnic conscience." Koonz notes that group needs and identity appear in other ethical systems, including those of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Christians. However, what to the proponents of transcendence amounts to a tension between universality and the individual, on the one hand, and group needs and identity, on the other, to the fascist (Nazi) is resolved in favor of the

ethnic community, the *Volks* of tradition, blood, and soil, the culturally and biologically defined nation. Nazi ideology and actions follow the standards of a Social Darwinist ethic and concept of conscience. Steeped in the vast historiography of Nazi Germany, Koonz documents her thesis with a wealth of material which attests to a process of massive education, indoctrination, and propaganda aimed at the public, German youth, and the future "racial soldiers," especially the SS. Her ground-breaking research—drawn from public and private archives, memoirs and oral histories—focuses on the period after the Nazi assumption of power in early 1933 up to the outbreak of war in September 1939 as the crucial "formative" years during which the outlook of even "ordinary" Germans was transformed to accord with the requirements of war and genocide.

The author's focus on Nazi fundamentals reflects other current trends. Students of National Socialism are returning to an examination of cultural production as well. Art, for instance, traditionally seen to be manipulated by the totalitarian state, is now traced to genuine artistic visions (Eric Michaud). Adolf Hitler himself has received attention as an artist. What distinguishes Koonz is her concentration on the "formative" years of re-education, indoctrination, and propagation in an attempt to answer the big question about German conduct during the war and Holocaust, "how this could have happened?" Her examination of this process of education helps to explain how a community that was no more antisemitic than its neighbors in 1933 and that, among other indicators, experienced a growing incidence in Christian-Jewish intermarriage, could at first tolerate and support discriminatory policies that deprived an assimilated minority of civil rights and citizenship and then turn into a nation of racial killers during the war. The question is especially relevant in view of the economic recovery and peace at the time, reassuring to many non-Nazis and potential victims of discriminatory policy. In distinction to Daniel Jonah Goldhagen and Christopher Browning, who have sought to explain the willingness of many German civilians and soldiers later to engage in genocidal war in terms of a deeply rooted "eliminationist" antisemitism, on the one hand, or in terms of peer pressure/bonding and battlefield conditions, on the other, she stresses the educational process of 1933–1939 in what she calls three contexts: the central role of Hitler himself as the embodiment and preacher of the communitarian morality; the sophisticated public relations campaign from Joseph Goebbels on down to youth leaders, educators, physicians, ideologues, and lower-echelon intermediaries whom Koonz calls "ethnocrats," aided by distinguished Germans drawn from the legal profession and academia, such as the philosopher Martin Heidegger, the theologian Gerhard Kittel, and the political theorist Carl Schmitt; and all those "inner circle" functionaries and intellectuals who participated at officially sponsored retreats and think tanks, who formed interagency networks and helped to shape a working consensus regarding racial policies, including the campaign against

Jews and other "undesirables." These mid-level functionaries and state employees were bound by an ethnic conscience of racial pride and prejudice. They did not have to suspend their moral beliefs, since they believed in the elimination of the Jews as a defensive and, therefore, a moral act. "The Final Solution did not develop as evil incarnate but rather as the dark side of ethnic righteousness" (p. 273). The success and broadening of the policy beyond the true believers lay in the decision of the Nazi leadership during this time of economic recovery and peace to support moderate expressions of racism in general and in particular the antisemitism of lawyers, professors, and ethnocrats such as the ubiquitous Walter Gross of the Office of Racial Research at the Interior Ministry, a young physician who formulated, propagated, and administered the positive faith in a healthy and moral national community, and thus appealed to the law-abiding and orderly German middle class that had been disturbed by the violent and "emotional" antisemitism of the Stormtroopers and the sterilization/euthanasia program. Seemingly contradictory, the thesis, which notes discontinuity in violence, finally is convincing in that the ultimate violence of the SS-run extermination camps was as rationally administered as the relatively "moderate" (though in the long run more pernicious) preparatory ethnocratic policy formulated, instituted, and administered, in part, by the elite, relatively educated, disciplined, and "rational" Nazis.

This important book—impressively researched, lucidly organized, disturbing, yet eminently readable—offers as plausible an explanation as any other publication to date for the process that led "ordinary" Germans to suspend their "normal" ethical standards and acquiesce and participate in the murder of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, homosexuals, and other civilians deemed "undesirable" during World War II. Koonz traces the internalization of the ethnic morality in Nazi Germany that sanctioned the bureaucratically administered genocidal war and her findings are relevant to the reality of more recent practices of "ethnic cleansing," inspired by "the vision of an exclusive community of 'us' without 'them'" (p. 274).

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SUZANNE BROWN-FLEMING. *The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience: Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2006. Pp. xiv, 240. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.

Aloisius Muench, bishop of the diocese of Fargo, North Dakota, acted, from early 1946, as Pope Pius XII's unofficial Vatican nuncio to occupied Germany. He represented the U.S. church as well, as liaison between the German church and the U.S. occupation authorities. In 1949 Pius appointed him apostolic regent, and later

Vatican nuncio, to Germany. He served until 1959, when he was raised to the cardinalate.

Suzanne Brown-Fleming has mined a rich vein, the well-indexed Muench archive, which includes over 15,000 letters from German Catholics, American Catholics, and the U.S. occupation authorities, as well as Muench's own diary and letters. Muench was well known as a champion of defeated Germany, so Germans spoke frankly to him, providing us with a window on postwar German Catholic opinion.

Muench's reputation as an advocate of defeated Germany rested on his Lenten pastoral of 1946, *One World in Charity*, written prior to his appointment by Pius XII. In the pastoral, Muench drew a moral equivalence between Adolf Hitler's crimes and, as he saw it, the "Hitlerite peace" imposed upon Germany by Allied policies of starvation, extermination, and collective guilt (pp. 141–43, 148). Muench identified the villains behind these policies as former Jewish refugees—"the thirty-niners"—who had fled Nazism and were now U.S. citizens, back in Germany with the U.S. occupation authorities. The "thirty-niners" were thirsty for revenge, and knew no mercy. They were inspired in their un-Christian policies by "the Mosaic idea of an eye for an eye" (pp. 5, 143, 152).

Brown-Fleming follows the fortunes of Muench's Lenten pastoral as it became an underground sensation in Germany, with excerpts repeatedly printed and passed around, gratefully received by lay Catholics, clergy, and German bishops (pp. 52–62). Muench was held in high esteem by German Catholics, for his views mirrored the speeches of Pius XII and the pastorals of German bishops. While avoiding Muench's undisguised antisemitism, they agreed that German Catholics did not know of the atrocities committed in their name, that they too were victims of the Hitlerite gangsters who took power in Germany, that Catholics had resisted National Socialism across the board and had endured oppression. Armed by such convictions, Pope Pius XII and the German bishops were able to break out of their public silence in the years of National Socialism, and, like Muench, protest Allied denazification policies, war crimes trials of prominent Nazis, and Allied complicity in the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, as well as plead for clemency for many of those convicted of atrocities. Furthermore, Brown-Fleming makes clear that Muench found a sympathetic ear among some high-ranking personnel in the U.S. army of occupation.

It is difficult, however, to gauge Muench's actual influence, though he can certainly be taken as a marker of his times. Nevertheless, Brown-Fleming's overall picture of the postwar German church accords with the work of others on this period, including Michael Phayer's *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (2000), Norbert Frei's *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration* (2002), and Joseph Bendersky's *The "Jewish Threat": Anti-Semitic Politics of the U.S. Army* (2000).

What Brown-Fleming does not say is that Muench's

position, when viewed in historical context, rested on a grain of truth. It was fashionable for a long while, to think of "totalitarian" states as all-powerful, ruling by fear, without a base of popular support. The notion of Hitler as a "consensus dictator" lay far in the future. In addition, Jewish leaders were still praising the church's rescue efforts during the war. There was also much to criticize in the early U.S. denazification effort, which spread its net far too wide by establishing automatic arrest categories. Furthermore, Germany was in ruins in 1945, famine threatened as late as the winter of 1946–1947, while the country was absorbing ten million German refugees from the East. It did not take long for the occupation authorities to come to a view favoring clemency for those convicted of crimes against humanity, bringing officials who had served the Nazi regime back into the political system, and fostering normality and economic productivity for Germany.

Brown-Fleming is less interested in this historical context; her book is a study of the mindset Muench brought to his task, and the mindset of his Catholic contacts. She records an ideology steeped in anti-Jewish paranoia and conspiracy theory: Jews manipulated occupation policies; Jews were responsible for smut, and for the black-market (pp. 9, 125). When Muench trumpeted Christian mercy and clemency, he contrasted these virtues with a supposed Jewish code of retribution and vengeance (p. 5). Those who disagreed with him he considered un-Christian, contaminated by Judaism, which in its assumption of German collective guilt came close to Nazism (p. 148)—this from a bishop still holding to the belief in Jewish collective guilt. So theologically threadbare was his plea for Christian mercy on behalf of those who had served and led the Nazi regime that clemency was not linked to demands for remorse and penitence on their part.

In this meticulously documented and morally sensitive study, Brown-Fleming shows that evading all Catholic responsibility for Nazi Germany's crimes often was the other side of unbroken postwar Catholic anti-Jewish hostility.

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RAFFAEL SCHECK. *Hitler's African Victims: The German Army Massacre of Black French Soldiers in 1940*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 202. \$65.00.

After World War II ended, former senior members of the German military—the Wehrmacht—launched a successful campaign to shape the history of that conflict, and especially to disguise or hide their and their services' connections with the Nazi regime's crimes. The myths they created have been crumbling for more than thirty years, as scholars have been able to examine the primary documents and expose the officers' omissions and distortions. The German campaign against the Soviet Union has received the most attention in that regard, and for good reason, since it illuminates the

Wehrmacht's complicity at its worst. The Germans' actions in the Balkans and Poland eventually came in for the same kind of scrutiny, and with similar results. The Wehrmacht's 1940 offensive in France, however, long retained its reputation as a relatively civilized affair, in which the Germans obeyed the laws of war and treated their opponents with respect. Now, in a well-organized, carefully argued, and clearly written book, Raffael Scheck demonstrates that the French campaign, while not a full-blown racist war like that in the east, did represent a clear step in the process of the war's barbarization.

The focus of Scheck's book is the murder of black colonial troops serving with the French army. The Germans shot between 1,500 and 3,000 black troops after their surrender. Thousands more—the number is impossible to determine accurately—were shot while trying to surrender or killed through neglect and abuse while in German prisoner of war compounds in the period immediately following the end of the campaign. Scheck lays out these facts, baldly but dispassionately, in the first part of the book, such that the reader can have no doubt as to the reality of the crimes.

Where Scheck really comes into his own, however, is in his analysis of the crimes' origins. The obvious course is to draw a bright, straight line from racism and Nazi ideology to the murders, and Scheck gives those factors their due. In the absence of an actual order to murder black soldiers, the Germans drew on a reservoir of prejudice that had built up during Germany's colonial wars at the beginning of the century, in World War I, and during the French occupation of the Rhineland in the 1920s. Images of savage black warriors permeated German thinking. Some Wehrmacht troops looked upon the African soldiers as illegitimate combatants who were likely to use treacherous, cruel tactics and weapons. Rumors abounded that black troops were mutilating German soldiers. A Nazi propaganda campaign, which Joseph Goebbels launched in advance of the Wehrmacht's final offensive in France, played on those themes and emphasized the black soldiers' supposed racial inferiority, as well as painting French society in general as degenerate: spoiled by democracy, hedonism, and racial mixing.

Had he gone no further in his analysis, Scheck would have provided a valuable addition to the literature by revealing these crimes and their obvious causes, but his work is more thorough than that. Having identified the easy explanation, Scheck goes on to explore others. He finds that, in addition to racial prejudice, a number of situational factors contributed to the Germans' willingness to murder. The French adopted tactics that left units in the Wehrmacht's rear, where their continued resistance brought out the Germans' fear of irregular warfare. The effort to clear out such pockets led to fighting that was confused and close. African units often fought tenaciously, sometimes in the belief that they would be offered no quarter. German soldiers found comrades who appeared to have been mutilated, as occasionally they had been. Scheck explains that these cir-

cumstances acted as triggers for racial prejudice—and then goes even further to point out that not all German units acted consistently, even in the presence of both racist and situational factors. Some Germans, including some in highly indoctrinated units such as the SS Totenkopf Division or the army's GroßDeutschland Regiment, refused to act barbarously, even under the extreme stress of combat. (Most of the approximately 75,000 West African troops in France survived, in stark contrast to the experience of Soviet POWs a year later.) Thus the work reflects the reality on the ground, in all its complexity, while not shying away from broad conclusions.

The research behind the book is equally impressive. Scheck availed himself of archival and published sources in both German and French, in addition to relevant literature in English. The writing, if a bit awkward at moments, is generally well structured, straightforward, and compelling.

The depth of Scheck's analysis and his mastery of the sources make this book an example of the very best scholarship that military history can produce. It is likely to remain the standard work on this topic, and it should be required reading for anyone who wishes to understand the Wehrmacht's place in history.

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S. P. MACKENZIE. *The Colditz Myth: British and Commonwealth Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 446. \$35.00.

The popular perception in Britain of the experience of prisoners of war in Germany during World War II is akin to life in a rather jolly English public school. The high-spirited POWs regard their period of captivity as a light-hearted jape and spend their time behind the wire playing mischievous pranks on their bone-headed guards and planning intrepid escapes that more often than not result in a "home run." It is a modern-day morality tale of courage in adversity and triumph against the odds. Above all, this heroic version of events has been propagated by books, a feature film, and television series about the escapades of the "incorrigible" British and Commonwealth POWs sent to the most notorious of the prison camps, Colditz castle in eastern Germany. In this excellent study S. P. MacKenzie shows us that the "Colditz myth" oversimplifies and distorts the reality of life for most POWs in Germany, and even that of the men who were incarcerated in the famous castle itself.

In a series of thematically organized chapters the author examines important aspects of the POW experience that are normally omitted from the "Boy's Own" narrative. Those who were captured on the battlefield faced many perils from vengeful opponents and often had to put up with appalling conditions during their long journey into captivity. This led on occasions to an ugly Darwinian struggle for survival among the POWs

in transit. Once they reached the prison camps, life was claustrophobic, monotonous, hunger-filled, and, for the other ranks who were forced to work for the Reich in nearby factories or mines, exhausting and potentially dangerous. Inevitably tensions flared between POWs over the most trivial of matters. "Sometimes you would find yourself hating all the other men in your room with a great and all-destructive loathing," admitted one former captive (p. 175). In some of the larger compounds, criminal gangs of POWs engaged in extortion and racketeering in order to further their own comfort at the expense of others. Anyone resisting these gangs was beaten mercilessly. There were also instances of treachery, and "stool pigeons" were planted by the Germans to spy on their fellow POWs. If discovered, these turncoats risked being secretly killed and dumped in a latrine pit. It is no wonder that some POWs became seriously depressed during their captivity. "I would stand on parade during roll call," confessed another prisoner, "just wishing that my life would end" (p. 176).

Yet shining through the darker aspects of MacKenzie's study is the sheer resilience of the POWs. Charismatic NCOs ensured that a reasonable level of discipline was maintained in most camps and cohesion thus preserved. POWs threw themselves enthusiastically into recreational activities such as sports, music, and amateur dramatics. The POWs also showed remarkable ingenuity. Secret stills were set up to produce "jungle juice" distilled from Red Cross raisins, radio condensers were manufactured by interleaving India-paper bibles with the metallic foil from a certain brand of cigarettes, and, with that characteristic touch of defiant humor that bolstered so many spirits, squadrons of bumble bees ("flycraft") were dispatched over the wire towing paper pennants inscribed with the message "Deutschland Kaput." Furthermore, one has to admire the extraordinary audacity of some POWs. This is no better illustrated than by the story of two enterprising prisoners who gloriously bluffed their way out of captivity. By chance these two soldiers found a pot of white paint and two brushes. From the commandant's office inside the wire, a road led directly to the camp's main gates. Starting from the office, the two soldiers, as though on fatigue duty, proceeded to paint a white line down the center of the road. At last they reached the inner gate, and seeming in no hurry, stood there chatting and smoking until someone opened it and told them to get on with the job. The same thing happened at the outer gate. Outside the camp they continued to paint a white line down the center of the road until, seizing the opportunity of a convenient corner, they discreetly disappeared (p. 337).

This is a beautifully organized, painstakingly researched, and compellingly written volume. It is essential reading for all those interested in the British and Commonwealth prisoner-of-war experience.

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EDUARD MÜHLE. *Für Volk und deutschen Osten: Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung*. (Schriften des Bundesarchivs, number 65.) Düsseldorf: Droste. Pp. x, 732. \$50.00.

Hermann Aubin was one of the most important German historians of the twentieth century. For forty-one years, until 1967, he edited the journal *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. From 1953 to 1958, he headed the German Historians Association (Historikerverband). Few other historians whose professionally formative years fell within the pre-World War I "Age of Empire" later descended as deeply into the dark depths of twentieth-century German history as the medievalist Aubin.

Eduard Mühle, the former director of the Herder Institute in Marburg, has now written a 700-page biography of Aubin, who in 1950 was one of the cofounders of that same institute. Mühle's source base includes a slew of previously unknown materials. A glance at the book's organization, however, gives an impression of disconnectedness which is borne out by further reading. Mühle's initial biographical portrait of Aubin, which covers 150 pages, is followed by two seemingly unrelated chapters, one discussing Aubin's activities as an "organizer of scholarship" (Wissenschaftsorganisator), the other his role as a producer of "historical images" (Geschichtsbildern). Treating a scholar's career and historical vision in isolation from his biography, particularly in twentieth-century Germany, is a questionable endeavor indeed.

There is no doubt that Mühle has a thorough command of the details. He shows how Aubin, born in Bohemia in 1885 as the son of a Protestant industrialist, grew up in the "best" period of the Habsburg monarchy. At the time, the region's German-speaking elite was still managing to keep Czech nationalism in check. Aubin identified with the greater German nationalist milieu represented by his parents and the gymnasium in Reichenberg (Liberec). His family admired Prussian-German imperialism and national chauvinism more than the relative ethnic tolerance of the Habsburgs' multinational state. Moreover, Aubin demonstrated strong antipathy toward social democracy, which Mühle considers a natural prejudice of the upper middle class.

The operations of World War I projected reserve officer Aubin deep into Russian territory. Aubin ignored this excellent opportunity to expand his knowledge of the history of the Slavic peoples. Mühle shows how Aubin rejected everything Slavic as inferior and ascribed the Russian, Polish, or Czech ways of life to a lower cultural level than the German. But Mühle fails to ask the logical question: did not Aubin's axiom that Slavs represented a lower culture rest on racist motives?

After World War I, Aubin rose to become a leading practitioner of historical geography. As head of the newly founded "Institute for Historical Geography of the Rhein Territories" in Bonn, he supposedly worked only to deflect French expansionist tendencies. Mühle

emphasizes that the struggle to free the Rhein and Saar regions from French occupation counted as a legitimate goal across the entire Weimar Republican political spectrum. In this way, he situates his subject in the “republican rationalist” camp rather than among the intellectuals of the radical right. According to Mühle’s interpretation, Aubin owed his first professorial appointment, in Giessen, exclusively to his qualities as a scholar.

By this point of the book, at the latest, one gets the impression that Mühle has whitewashed the academic milieu in which Aubin circulated during the 1920s. Aubin’s close professional associates and friends, such as the Austrian Nazi Adolf Helbok or the antisemitic geographer Friedrich Metz, go unmentioned. These omissions make it easier for Mühle to support his thesis that in his *Westforschung*, Aubin pursued mainly scholarly rather than political goals. In reality, however, Aubin became a leading actor in the *völkisch*-oriented greater-German milieu, at the latest by 1924, through his activities in Bonn. Even his old mentor, the “All-German” historian Georg von Below, understood how to converge scholarship and politics to great effect: in Below’s view, *Volk* and nation constituted closed organisms that were justified in excluding outsiders.

When Aubin took a full professorship at the University of Breslau in 1933, he supposedly avoided involvement in the “dejudification” of the faculty. Mühle attributes for this to the influence of Hermann’s older brother Gustav Aubin, who did suffer persecution after 1933 for having protected a Jewish professor from attacks and for defending the University of Halle’s political autonomy. Only after his brother’s death in 1938 did Hermann Aubin accommodate himself to the Nazi regime; in Mühle’s view, Aubin must be categorized as a professor of purely scholarly efforts who left any political propaganda activities to his students.

In reality, Aubin was a pillar of the Nazi regime. He established a professorship for racial research on the Breslau faculty. As chairman of the Historical Commission for Silesia, he implemented the Nazi “leadership principle” (Führerprinzip) within that organization. In December 1933, he was promoted to vice-president of the Northeast German Research Society (NOFG)—an extremely meteoric rise for a supposedly “detached observer.” In his executive capacity at the NOFG, Aubin directly influenced the distribution of funds from the German Research Society, coordinating financial support for *Ostforschung* (Research on the East) with NOFG chairman Albert Brackmann. In August 1934, Aubin’s paper on reforming National Socialist *Gau* boundaries reached Adolf Hitler’s interior minister Wilhelm Frick. And in 1938, Aubin served as an expert member on a commission organized by the SS Foundation for Genealogical Heritage (Stiftung Ahnenerbe) and dedicated to “Forest and Tree in Germanic-Aryan Intellectual and Cultural History.” In that capacity, Aubin sat at a table with representatives of Heinrich Himmler and agriculture minister Walther Darré, where they rejected the proposal of at least one can-

didate on grounds of political undesirability. Scholarly literature registered these developments long ago, but Mühle, apparently, has not. The high (or low) point of Mühle’s efforts to play down Aubin’s complicity comes in the discussion of the notorious “Poland memorandum” released by the collected *Ostforscher* in 1939. Mühle concedes that Aubin commissioned the study, which supported Heinrich Himmler’s policies of ethnic cleansing, but tries to absolve him of responsibility by arguing that Aubin himself did not proofread or sign the final version.

Aubin was a candidate for professional blackmail after 1945, as a letter from his old Breslau assistant and former SD man Ernst Birke clearly demonstrates. Aubin had assisted Birke in expelling Jews from Breslau University. In the postwar period, Birke wanted Aubin to promote him in his career and Aubin did so. Unfortunately, the reader learns none of this. Instead, Mühle praises West Germany’s peaceful integration of Nazi historians. In fact, Aubin saw himself after 1945 as one of the “unbowed.” He actively opposed the Potsdam Treaty in West Germany as he had the Versailles Treaty in the Weimar Republic. To credit Aubin with a democratic “learning process,” as Mühle does, is far from accurate. In the process, the author overlooks a decisive development: the success of the Bonn Republic began with the Western Allies’ occupation of western Germany and “reeducation” of the German elites, which was continued under Konrad Adenauer’s course of Western integration. Mühle fails to highlight adequately the influences these historical caesuras exercised upon the German intellectual elites.

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JUDD STITZIEL. *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics, and Consumer Culture in East Germany*. New York: Berg, 2005. Pp. xii, 260. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$29.95.

This is the first monograph dedicated to examining the politics surrounding the production and consumption of textiles, *haute couture*, and ready-to-wear apparel in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) during the communist era. Using a rich variety of archival sources, Judd Stitzziel paints an intriguing picture of the practical implications of Marxist-Leninist ideologies on the provision of the necessities of everyday life. More importantly, the book aptly demonstrates socialism’s many inherent contradictions and how the standards of economic success were always set by the capitalist West. The evidence presented provides a stunning indictment of East German central planning and the many complications of trying to predict both consumer needs and desires for fashionable and high-quality clothing. Although the East German government attempted to create an alternative type of consumer culture more in line with socialist ideals, this book poignantly tells the tale of its ultimate failure to do so.

Each of the chapters deals with a specific problem faced by the East German central planners as they tried

to live up to their short-sighted promise of creating a socialist consumer paradise that would outshine the West following the hardships and rationing of the immediate postwar era. Stitzel deals with the question of ideological priorities. On the one hand, the communists said that they were committed to providing for citizens' basic "needs": food, shelter, and clothing. Because apparel fell into the category of basic "needs," there was initially strong state support for the creation of an East German fashion industry. On the other hand, the Soviet model of rapid industrialization with a focus on heavy industry soon dominated the attention and resources of the planners, and light industries such as textile and garment manufacturing were left to rely on outdated machinery and technologies. New technologies and raw materials for textile manufacturing often had to be imported for valuable and scarce foreign exchange, which raised the production costs of GDR apparel beyond what consumers believed was fair or acceptable. Furthermore, the planners were often well behind the fashion curve, investing millions, for instance, in machines for the production of polyester fibers long after synthetic fabrics had gone out of style.

As a result, East German apparel products were outmoded, expensive, of exceedingly poor quality, and were the cause of increasing consumer discontent. In the early years, there was a net outflow of resources from the GDR as frustrated shoppers chose to spend the East Marks in West Berlin, at least until the construction of the Berlin Wall. In a wonderful chapter on "the embarrassment of surpluses," Stitzel takes an ironic look at how the communists dealt with the masses of unwanted garments produced by domestic factories which the local population refused to buy despite the economy of consumer shortages. The book explains this seeming contradiction by bringing the reader inside the logic of central planning and the relative emphasis of quantity versus quality. The state-owned enterprises produced as many substandard garments as they could in order to meet their plan while shoppers scurried around from store to store to find the few quality products available. By explaining the motivations of different actors in the garment industry—planners, designers, traders, retailers, and consumers—the book is a valuable lens through which to study all of the problems associated with implementing a "really-existing" command economy as the communists tried to meet the needs of East German men and women without the tools of supply and demand.

Because the book relies so heavily on archival materials produced by and for central planners, in some places the prose seems to echo the language of the five-year plan. The reader is bombarded with figures, from the exact number of certain discount stores built throughout the GDR over a five-year period to the millions of square meters of cloth produced by one textile enterprise in 1971. While these numbers clearly illustrate the quantitative aspects of the problems, it might have been nice to have a few more qualitative details such as what the clothes actually looked like or who the

central planners were as people. Finally, a brief four-page epilogue deals with the question of *Ostlogie*, or the reverence East Germans now have for the very GDR manufactures that they once despised. The presence of this nostalgia for socialist wares suggests that perhaps the communists were able to create some kind of alternative consumer identity, albeit one that was only realized after it was already too late. It would have been nice if the author had given a little more space to this question, and to considering how his rich history of the garment industry could inform German identity politics today. Overall, the book is a valuable addition to the literature on everyday life under communism, and is suitable for both undergraduate and graduate courses in history, sociology, anthropology, European studies, and gender and women's studies.

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JAMES E. SHAW. *The Justice of Venice: Authorities and Liberties in the Urban Economy 1550–1700*. (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy. 2006. Pp. x, 246. \$65.00.

Justice is more than a bit player in William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. In Act IV, Shylock appears before the courts confident that the city's famed devotion to justice will deliver his suit in the form of a pound of the debtor Antonio's flesh. Despite the plot twist in which the accuser falls victim to the strictures of Venetian justice, his faith in the institution was not necessarily misplaced. As James B. Shaw demonstrates, Christians and Jews, men and women, citizens and foreigners, wealthy and working class alike benefited from a system that on some levels relied on flexibility and equity. The picture Shaw paints in this study of the *Giustizia Vecchia*, a lower-level magistracy with wide-ranging authority over the marketplace, and its clientele stresses malleability and accommodation over the centralizing tendencies of rigidity and punishment often accented in studies of early modern government and administration.

In his introduction Shaw makes the case that economic history as a necessity must also be social history, and indeed this is a great strength of his work, which shines light on the formal and informal rules and structures of the Venetian economic game, and its socially diverse players. He begins with a revealing treatment of the institution of the *Giustizia Vecchia* and its employees: impoverished and ill-motivated noble judges who clung to their rights of interpretation in the face of attempted reform, and an ever-shifting sea of poorly paid clerks, lawyers, and police whose positions were bought, sold, inherited, and rented and whose first loyalty may have been to personal survival and income rather than to abstract notions of justice. Punishment as a deterrent was not and could not be the goal of such a court, as Shaw shows. Rather, as he demonstrates in

the third chapter's detailed study of one of few extant criminal denunciation registers, the court frequently doled out light or indeed no punishment at all, and accusations tended to prompt settlement outside of the court. Here, as in subsequent chapters, Shaw teases out what he calls a "submerged economy of informal relations that escaped all institutional control" (p. 212)—undocumented relations between police and the accused, nobles and their clients, and family members who turned to the *Giustizia Vecchia* (at times) to sort out the complexities of their relationships.

Shaw turns in detail to these relationships in the final two chapters of the book, after a consideration of guild litigation in chapter four. Far from the common accusation of wasteful guild litigiousness, their lawsuits consumed only a small portion of corporate budgets, and often served to defend market space and share. If guild officers were strategic in their civic interactions with the court, so, too, were the citizens who used it for small claims, appealing for wages, the resolution of credit, and alimony (provisions for dependants, not just spouses). Various shaping their pleas in terms of honor, poverty need, and morality, litigants viewed the court as a resource not only for redress of wrongs but also to solidify existing relationships and make official agreements not previously documented. Shaw's study of the *Giustizia Vecchia* thus demonstrates the limitations of a public institution and how it functioned with private interests, illustrating the nature of early modern power relationships as a negotiation of enforcement and accommodation.

Although the *Giustizia Vecchia* was founded in 1173, Shaw largely limits his treatment of it to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period currently attracting deserved attention by Venetian scholars. Presumably this chronology is informed by sixteenth-century events that shaped the magistracy, its officers, and its constituents, such as the taxing of guilds to support various wars and the continuing struggle between elite and impoverished nobles, yet nowhere does he explicitly justify this periodization or provide context on the above events that will be less familiar to non-Venetian specialists. Nonetheless there is much in this work for a wide variety of early modern scholars, and Shaw provides helpful explanations for Venetian dates and monies and a glossary of terms for the reader's use.

Having sorted through a confusing and piecemeal archive, Shaw effectively challenges accepted wisdom on law enforcement, discipline, state-building, and the supposedly moribund guilds. His work also illustrates the strategies of the working class; this reader was particularly struck by the omnipresence of women not only as litigants and witnesses, but also as owners of court offices. Justice, too, was commonly portrayed as a woman: not Thomas Garzoni's "sweet precious girl" (p. 73) but the powerful icon seen so frequently in Venetian iconography (and on this book's dust jacket) holding not only the sword of enforcement but also the scales of equity. Shaw's valuable work confirms the suggestion of the so-called "myth of Venice" that justice may well

have contributed to the most Serene Republic's famed stability.

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FRANK J. COPPA. *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 353. \$59.95.

In his introduction to this book, Frank J. Coppa declares that his purpose is to "provide a historical account of the relationship between the papacy and the Jews in the modern age" (p.viii). In eight long, fact-filled chapters, all but one of which deal with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Coppa does exactly that. He examines in detail the Jewish policies of every individual pope since the French Revolution, clearly showing that Catholic anti-Judaism emanated not only from the lower clergy and laypersons but also from the popes themselves, the Roman Curia, and other papal advisors. Equally important, he shows that not all popes were the same in their personal attitudes and policy preferences; some were more conciliatory and well-disposed toward the Jews than others. In his discussion of individual papacies, Coppa is generally balanced and fair.

The book also shows that, from the earliest times until the present, opinions about Jewish policies among the pope and members of the Curia, within the Curia itself, and among liberal and conservative Catholic spokesmen in general were divided. At times, as during the reigns of the legendary Pius IX and, to a lesser extent, Pius XI, popes even altered their own initial policies. Vatican scholars have long been vaguely aware of these differences, especially evident in papal quests for suitable responses to the rise of Nazism in the 1930s and the destruction of European Jewry in the early 1940s, as well as at the time of Vatican II. But rarely have the differences been as well documented as they are here. Coppa ably demonstrates that the Vatican was never monolithic.

Coppa's thesis is that what he calls "clerical" or "religious" anti-Judaism dates from the earliest days of Christianity. It was based on the conviction, drawn from New Testament texts, that Jews were responsible for the arrest and execution of Jesus and that Judaism had been superseded or supplanted by Christianity. After the French Revolution, as Vatican authorities confronted the serious modernist challenges of nationalism, secularism, rationalism, democracy, and socialism, they blamed the Jews (and others) for their troubles and formulated additional grounds for denunciation. Jews were attacked for political, social, and economic reasons, as carriers of the modernist disease. Coppa is not always clear about whether these attacks should be associated with religious anti-Judaism, on the grounds that their objective was always the protection of the church, or whether they were formulations borrowed from more extreme secular antisemites. Indeed, his dis-

inction between anti-Judaism and antisemitism is sometimes hazy. But he does state clearly that religious anti-Judaism, whatever its secular borrowings, was not racial. The challenges posed by the Jews emerged not from their race but from their religion and culture. Exceptions to stereotypes should always be made, especially for converts. Furthermore, churchmen who supported religious anti-Judaism did not advocate physical persecution or violence.

In his excellent descriptions of papal policies toward the Jews, Coppa does not allow himself to get bogged down in these nuanced and elusive definitions. But there is a danger here, which he may perceive but does not emphasize sufficiently. During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, political, social, and economic denunciations of Jews had an impact among non-Jewish populations that was at least as devastating as religious and racial attacks. Non-Jews unconvinced by charges of deicide or scientific racism were often persuaded that Jews represented a calculated and coordinated economic threat, a dangerous "preponderance" in the professions, a universal capitalist conspiracy, or a socialist or Bolshevik menace. Whether churchmen including prelates at the Vatican originated or borrowed these charges, they certainly spread them. And whether we call the charges anti-Judaic or antisemitic, churchmen including prelates share a responsibility for the disastrous results.

In light of current scholarly debates, readers will probably be most interested in what Coppa has to say about Popes Pius XI and XII. The author has worked with Vatican archival documents from the papacy of Pius XI, recently made available to scholars, and is a specialist in this period. He sees Pius XI as a courageous and outspoken opponent of Nazi racism, determined to speak out and restrained with difficulty and not always successfully by his more cautious advisors, one of whom was Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, the future Pius XII. Critics may wish that Coppa had documented his case with more actual quotations from primary sources, and that he had examined the many political, social, and economic denunciations of Jews published in *L'Osservatore Romano* and *La Civiltà Cattolica* during the papacy of Pius XI as carefully as he focused on Pius XI's dislike of racial attacks. Space may well have been a constraint, and it is to be hoped that Coppa will amplify his discussion of this topic in the future.

About Pius XII, Coppa acknowledges that his diplomacy regarding the Jews was cautious, polite, and largely ineffective. One might wish that he had taken up the issue of Pius XII's involvement in Jewish rescue as well, especially since he reminds us that in the Vatican document "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah" in 1998, the pope "was commended for personally or through his representatives helping to save hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives" (p. 279). Coppa fails to examine that claim with the same critical faculty that he exercised elsewhere in this book. However, his final chapters on Vatican II and subsequent Vatican at-

tempts at reconciliation with the Jews are thorough, perceptive, and fair.

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EMANUELE BERNARDI. *La riforma agraria in Italia e gli Stati Uniti: Guerra fredda, Piano Marshall e interventi per il Mezzogiorno negli anni del centrismo degasperiano*. Foreword by PAUL GINSBURG. (Collana della SVIMEZ.) Bologna: Il Mulino. 2006. Pp.397. €28.00.

Land reforms do not make for a thrilling read, and it is to the credit of Emanuele Bernardi that his book about the making of Italy's reform (1945–1950) is nothing short of captivating. He spins a masterly tale with a worthy hero, and he places his narrative against the historical backdrop of the Marshall Plan and the emerging Cold War and within an atmosphere of acute political rivalry and insurgent peasant masses.

First and foremost, Bernardi reminds us how crucially important was the matter of agrarian reform in postwar Europe. The continent was still predominantly rural, and the overwhelming majority of its peasantry lived in conditions of indebted penury. Large tracts of the best arable soil and pastureland were in the hands of a relatively small number of wealthy landowners who were adamantly opposed to any improvement in the conditions of their land, tenants, or laborers. All the political parties that founded Italy's new democratic republic agreed that the need to find a solution to the so-called Southern Problem was one of the most pressing challenges facing the new state. Those concerns were also shared by the U.S. political and economic administration, and thus the *Mezzogiorno*, Italy's poor southern region, was to become the object of the largest Marshall Plan-funded rural development in postwar Europe.

In the second place, we are reminded how incandescent the level of political animosity was during this period. Giuseppe Dossetti, leader of the open-minded Christian Democratic (DC) Left (and political mentor of Romano Prodi), declared that the communists "can easily massacre all our provincial activists with just a few of their people." Especially after the April 1948 DC electoral takeover, the DC and the Communist Party (PCI) were prepared for an armed confrontation over who would determine the future course of Italy. In this context, agrarian reform (or land reform, a term more ideologically loaded), was seen by all the political actors involved as a strategic way of both improving the economic and social prospects of the peasant and weaning him away from the authoritarian temptation. The Left feared that desperate peasants might find fascism appealing, while the Christian Democrats believed them easy prey to communist blandishments.

The story of the Italian reform thus unfolds against a tumultuous background of world politics: the intensifying Cold War, the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia, the "loss" of China in 1949, and the end of the ruralization

of Japan and Germany. The hero of Bernardi's story is the DC Minister of Agriculture Antonio Segni, the same future right-wing president who would be involved in the 1964 aborted coup. But Bernardi shows him as a champion of a revolutionary land reform, at odds not only with the *latifondisti*, whom he blamed for speculating "on tears and blood of the laborers" (p. 100), but also with the papacy, the American ambassador, and the Italian president as well as with the majority of his own party, including its charismatic leader and prime minister Alcide De Gasperi. Segni's project, claims Bernardi, was inspired by the intrinsic values of Italy's new progressive constitution and by his own brand of democratic anticommunism (p. 86). He wanted small peasant ownership that would be based on self-sufficiency, solidarity, and social stability. The scope of his reform was huge; some 3,500,000 acres of land were to be confiscated and redistributed among 400,000 families.

The second strand of Bernardi's tale explicates American policies as they were enacted both within and without the Marshall Plan agencies. The author carefully reconstructs the tense and complex strategies and their mutations as the Cold War progresses. At the time, Segni complained that the "Americans . . . do not understand the problem," meaning his vision of a society of small peasant landowners (p. 184). In fact, most of the U.S. Marshall Plan experts were the technocratic New Dealers, advocates of irrigation, mechanization, farmers' training, and the free competitive marketplace. Many were critical of the small peasant ownership and advocated a Tennessee Valley model. To complicate the picture further, Italian American communities, lobbied by the Italian *meridionalisti*, pressured the Truman administration to take on the cause of the South. And, last, opposed to any reform was a strong conservative lobby within the Central Intelligence Agency and the U.S. State Department, fervently anticommunist and connected to the Italian aristocratic landowning interests.

All these tensions delayed implementation of the reform for a full five years. What finally tipped the balance toward real action was the insurrectional mood in the countryside, especially acute after the "events" of Melissa in Calabria, where in October 1949, the police—apparently acting on orders from the local *latifondisti*—fired on unarmed peasants engaged in a peaceful protest, wounding many and killing three, including a woman and a teenager. Unfortunately, Bernardi's otherwise colorful narrative becomes somewhat monochrome here as the world of rural protest is reduced to a faceless mass of thousands of victims of oppression and government violence. Bernardi would have done well to reference Sidney Tarrow's classic *Peasant Communism in Southern Italy* (1967), which highlights peasant leaders such as Rita Pisani and their relations with such PCI dissidents as Mario Alicata.

Many of the sources that Bernardi brings to light are new and unpublished. He skillfully weaves the internal DC documents, such as the correspondence between

Segni and De Gasperi, together with American documents on the Marshall Plan and its implementation. The latter, much of which was only recently declassified, emanated from a variety of agencies: the European Recovery Program (ERP), the ERP's Italian bureau, the European Economic Administration (ECA), the United States Secret Service, and the U.S. Embassy in Rome. Bernardi has also compiled fascinating eyewitness accounts from Italian and American protagonists in the drama. The overall result is a definitive "biography" of the reform, an excellent book that is both lively and informative.

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GLENN DYNNER. *Men of Silk: The Hasidic Conquest of Polish Jewish Society*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 384. \$65.00.

Hasidism is a well-established field of Jewish studies about which many generations of scholars have written. In his new book Glenn Dynner follows in the footsteps of David Assaf, Gershon Hundert, Ada Rapoport-Albert, and Moshe Rosman, among others, two generations of scholars who have developed a critical apparatus for the study of Hasidism. Dynner's book is a welcome original contribution to the field, based on an impressive range of multilingual sources, including official state documents, newspapers, a wide range of Hasidic texts, and the opposing Mitnagdim and Haskalah literature. It also presents material from Eastern European archives that was unavailable to scholars before 1990s.

The book offers a fresh and well-theorized view of the multifold facets of Polish Hasidic power and contextualizes the subject in broad historical and cultural perspectives. At the core of Dynner's study is the rise and spread of Hasidism as a mass movement, in the first half of the nineteenth century, on the territory of central Poland. Dynner focuses on how Hasidism became a well-organized multivalent movement, infiltrating rapidly small towns and cities, garnering vital support among the mercantile elite and, at the same time, capturing the minds and souls of the déclassé Jews.

The major achievement of the book lies in the nuanced portrayal of zaddikim, or Hasidic leaders. In this portrayal, Dynner consequently deconstructs the one-dimensional representations of zaddikim, common in older Jewish historiography, that present the zaddikim either favorably as egalitarian, democratic, and charismatic leaders or negatively as backward-looking, corrupting, and corruptible charlatans. Dynner complicates the image of the zaddikim by presenting them as effective conservative and populist leaders, innovative spiritual healers and charismatic teachers, and dynamic propagandists of their ideas in print and in oral or non-verbal media. He describes the Polish zaddikim as men with a complex web of personalities and activities who transformed themselves into a new style of mystic (p.

11). He emphasizes that their tour de force lay precisely in their ability to combine spiritual innovation with conservative populism, "a combination that proved too potent for even the most determined adversaries" (p. 228) among the traditional Jewish leadership and the Jewish Enlightenment elites. In his analysis of how the Maskilim lost their battle over the leadership to the Hasidic leaders, Dynner takes into account the external social and political conditions of the first half of the nineteenth century: the unsuccessful battle over Jewish emancipation in Polish territories. He correctly points out that the absence of emancipation was another factor that led to the overwhelming grass-roots support for Hasidism: Hasidic subculture offered the Polish Jews a sense of empowerment that the integrational model could not deliver.

The book begins with historiographic and theoretical introduction in which Dynner sets up his main goal: to recontextualize the Hasidic movement. Here he relies on the studies of the earlier-mentioned scholars. The second chapter surveys the historical origins and geographical landscape of the Hasidic movement. In the third chapter, Dynner explores the close ties between the Hasidic leaders and the Jewish mercantile elite in Warsaw and discusses how the two groups mutually benefited from those ties. This chapter represents a sharp polemic with the romanticized representation of Hasidism as primarily a demotic and folk movement, originally championed by Shimon Dubnow, and instead supports the representation of Hasidism that originated in the writings of Ignacy Schiper. Dynner demonstrates the depth of the connections between the *zaddikim* and the mercantile elite by providing evidence of forged marriages between members of the two groups. In the fourth chapter, Dynner discusses various types of *yihus* (a position of prestige) and its enduring power in Hasidic communities. Chapter five, which might be his most original, explores the ties between the *zaddikim* and the *déclassé* Jews, and the former's social and spiritual influence over the Jewish folk. The final chapter discusses the various publicizing techniques the *zaddikim* used in their quest for power. Dynner demonstrates that they did not shy away from adopting non-Jewish popular folk songs in order to maximize their popularity in their own communities.

Despite its many strengths, this book is not for everyone; its high level of detail and its structure may challenge readers who are not already well grounded in the history of Hasidism, or who favor the simple beauty of Hasidic tales. Nevertheless, Dynner's book represents an important contribution to the previously understudied historiography of nineteenth-century Hasidism. His thorough and careful archival research, combined with his nuanced analysis of important *zaddikim*, their ideology, and their social power, sets a new standard for the study of Hasidism. This is an indispensable volume for scholars and enthusiastic students

of nineteenth-century East European Jewish culture and society.

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JOANNA BEATA MICHLIC. *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 386. \$59.95.

The question of the historical relationship between Poland and its Jews is controversial and painful. Joanna Beata Michlic has made bold to explain the basis of the residual image of Poland as a rabidly antisemitic society and culture. Her thesis is that anti-Jewish idioms expressing the idea that "the Jew" is the enemy of Poland played a key role in the process of modern Polish nation building from the last third of the nineteenth century until today. In the early modern multiethnic and multicultural Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth standard Christian anti-Jewish attitudes were tempered by a pragmatic approach that made Poland seem tolerant and even hospitable toward its Jews when compared with other countries. Michlic shows how in the nineteenth century this changed as Polish integral, exclusivist ethnonationalism propagated the myth of the Jew as the "Threatening Other" to the "Authentic Pole."

Michlic contends that this myth, and the beliefs it generated about Jews, caused actions and did not just serve as a rationalization for them. She brings evidence, for example, that the massacres of Jews that occurred in northeastern Poland in 1941, including the infamous Jedwabne incident, were largely the result of the counterfactual belief in "Judeo-Bolshevism" and "Judeo-Communism" (that Jews were the chief collaborators with the Soviet invaders) and not due to some settling of economic, social, religious, or other accounts.

Especially notable is how Michlic documents and explains the conundrum of the extraordinary continuity and durability of belief in the Jew as the polluter of Poland. Beginning with the pre-World War I period and continuing between the wars, World War II, the Communist regime, and even after the establishment of democratic Poland in 1989, fascists, Christians, communists, anticommunists, and some democrats all conjured up the Jew as the main threat to Polish success. Sworn mutual enemies could at least agree on this point. Michlic sees ethnonationalism as the underlying cause. Whenever a nationalist program based on Polish ethnic solidarity was put forward, it unfailingly employed well-worn anti-Jewish idioms to sharpen its appeal. This was most surprisingly illustrated by the erstwhile leader of the struggle against communism, Lech Walesa, who when running for Polish president against the center-left candidate Tadeusz Mazowiecki tarred his opponent as being of Jewish origin.

The myth of the Jewish enemy even affected some of those not identified with integral ethno-nationalism. As recently as 2003 the Warsaw prosecutor's office could proclaim that antisemitic books published during the

interwar period were "not antisemitic but patriotic" (p. 267).

In this connection Michlic confronts the predominant school of Polish scholarship on antisemitism that claims Polish antisemitism resulted from purported "objective contextual factors" such as Jewish overpopulation, Jewish commercial practices, Jewish overrepresentation in Communist circles, or Jewish disloyalty. Michlic argues that upon close analysis the existence of such factors dissolves and that this position cannot account for the persistence of antisemitic attitudes. She charges that rather than critically examining the foundations and components of the anti-Jewish idioms, these scholars have internalized and rationalized them.

However, while impatient with apologists for Polish antisemitism, Michlic is also critical of the Jewish school that stereotypes Poles and mystifies Polish antisemitism as an ahistorical phenomenon. Polish antisemitism shared features of its parallels in other countries and its virulence waxed and waned just as it did elsewhere. Moreover she carefully points out how in every period there were factions in Poland that opposed antisemitism and scoffed at the myth. Michlic is especially concerned to differentiate between Polish antisemitism and German genocidal ideology and practice. The Holocaust was a German project.

Methodologically, Michlic set herself the difficult task of demonstrating the power of an idea. Only for the postcommunist period can she summon survey and opinion poll results. Otherwise she must rely mainly on telling citations from press materials, anecdotes, government documents and the decoding of political and religious propaganda that was crafted largely to camouflage its antisemitic appeal.

The tone of Michlic's exposition is not righteous indignation but disillusionment that Poland chose not to cultivate its multicultural, democratic traditions for so long. In the end Michlic uses the Jewish case to answer a question: what Polishness do Poles need? "[Since] in Polish history attitudes toward Jews and other minorities have constituted a litmus test of democracy . . . the deconstruction of the representation of the Jew as the harmful other constitutes one of the main features of the forward-looking secure, civic, and pluralist vision of Poland" (pp. 3, 280). Michlic's Poland would eschew antisemitism, not for the Jews' sake but for its own.

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KEVIN M. F. PLATT and DAVID BRANDENBERGER, editors.
Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature and Stalinist Propaganda. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 355. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

In their introduction to this book, Kevin M. F. Platt and David Brandenberger state directly: "[T]he Stalinist revival of great names from the Russian past was a defining feature of Soviet public life during the 1930s." This new collection of essays, mostly by American scholars but also including contributions by historians

from Russia and from Britain, acts as both a demonstration of that assertion and an illustration of how the Soviet political and cultural establishment created and employed what these scholars, following Henry Steele Commager and others, term "a usable past."

William Nickell looks at the centenary of Leo Tolstoy's birth in 1928, which was at once an opportunity for Soviet writers and apparatchiks to press their own view of the author, based on a refraction of V. I. Lenin, and the cause of anxiety lest Tolstoy's politically suspect followers also benefit. In similar vein, David Powelstock deals with the controversies surrounding the centenary of the poet Mikhail Lermontov in 1941; Stephanie Sandler addresses the much better-known, but absolutely crucial, instance of the Pushkin jubilee in 1937. Other essays in the book concern historical figures other than writers: thus, Brandenberger and Platt show how the history textbook imposed on Soviet schools from 1936 was rewritten in order to strip out discreditable information about Ivan the Terrible and to reshape his image in accordance with Joseph Stalin's own views of developing central control by the Russian state, and Platt contributes an essay on Aleksei Tolstoy's alterations to his fictional portrait of Peter I, who became progressively more rational and farsighted as the multivolume novelistic biography advanced. Other contributions (Andrew Wachtel on Nikolai Leskov as reworked by Dmitri Shostakovich in *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*, and Susan Beam Eggers on Mikhail Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar*, renamed *Ivan Susanin*) discuss the reshaping of prerevolutionary artefacts to make them suitable for the new context, and popular reception of the new hero figures (an article by Brandenberger assembles vivid reactions from nonspecialist viewers as well as critics to Sergei Eisenstein's film *Alexander Nevsky*).

Two further case studies illustrate how dangerous what was now seen as unseemly levity towards heroes of the past had become. In "Chronicle of a Poet's Downfall," A. M. Dubrovsky gives an entertaining account of the well-known episode when Dem'ian Bednyi, who had previously acted as court poet to the Soviet regime, displeased the political elite by his part in the adaptation for the stage of a comic opera about Russian folk heroes first staged in the 1860s. While the "obscure" to which Bednyi was consigned after this was relative (he not only survived to die a natural death in 1945, but also—although Dubrovsky does not mention this—published several books in the war years and moved into an apartment on Gorky Street, the ultimate prestige address, in 1943), he never again held a dominant position in Soviet letters. Maureen Perrie analyzes another case of a writer who sailed too close to the winds of change, Mikhail Bulgakov's humorous "changing places" story about Ivan the Terrible, *Ivan Vasil'evich*, which she argues was the "first casualty" of the new ideological standpoint forbidding "the depiction of major 'progressive' figures and events of the Russian past in a comedic mode." The book finishes with a useful essay by James Von Geldern discussing

how the representation of the past fitted into the Soviet "civilizing project" in a broad sense.

The editors emphasize the coherence of the collection (p. 7). Inevitably, focus has been insured at the cost of selection: cases that are not considered, but could have been, include the Muscovite princes Dmitrii Donskoi and Yurii Dolgorukii; the medieval epic *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, questioning the authenticity of which became tantamount to treason in the Stalin years; the eighteenth-century radical Aleksandr Radishchev, a rare case of an author pre-Pushkin to be given heroic treatment; and Vladimir Mayakovsky, canonised by Stalin as the "poet of the revolution," whose own mother's biography of him adjusted historical fact to make him "Soviet" before his time.

While folk heroes such as the *bogatyri* hover in the background, there is no extended discussion of the use of folklore in a positive sense: not just the "epic revisionism" that saw traditional tale-tellers "spontaneously" invent legends about Lenin and Stalin, but the preference of heroic genres to others in collecting and publishing policy. There is also scant discussion of the wider context of "hero-worship" and how it related to changes in psychology (e.g. the disappearance from public view of psychological abnormality, even in the form of conditions such as depression and stress) and to the development of elitism at every level of Soviet life. Equally, private sources, such as diaries and oral history, which might have helped to indicate the penetration (or not) of official heroes into the minds of "Soviet subjects" beyond the circle of those who participated in public debates, or wrote "amateur reviews" or letters to writers, artists, and film directors, could have been given more consideration. Within its compass, however, this book has some fascinating stories to tell, most particularly about conflict and struggle in the institution of the new ideology. Aleksei Tolstoy, who from a distance appears to be one of the most smugly secure of Soviet writers, is shown here not so much faithfully carrying out what was known as "the social command" as anticipating it, and coming in for vivid criticism. Thus, one obtains a feeling of the extent to which successful "second guessing" was essential to survival and prosperity as a member of the elite. The sense of immediacy is increased by the inclusion of contemporary documents, including the secret police reports of comments by writers and theater directors when Bednyi got into hot water; these indicate that Moscow luminaries on the whole reacted to the affair ad hominem and, in many cases, with a hefty dose of self-serving relief as well: Bednyi was an obnoxious creep who deserved to be "thrashed" and cast down, and his show was terrible and a disgrace to the Soviet arts. It would take a few years for the cultural agenda that lay behind the débâcle to be fully absorbed.

Many of the case studies here reflect material that is quite well-known to specialists already (likewise, most of the documents are already accessible to those who know Russian, though A. S. Shcherbakov's important memorandum to Stalin on the rehabilitation of Ivan the

Terrible is reproduced directly from the Russian State Archive of Political History). But the collection of essays acts as a stimulating introduction to the subject of Russian national identity in the Stalin era, a subject that has become more popular as it becomes more topical, with (as the editors point out in their introduction) the "managed democracy" of the twenty-first century retaining many of the same stereotypes. As the articles collected here show, "managing" the past in the 1930s was not simply a question of top-down manipulation: some rank-and-file members of the Soviet population were genuinely inspired by films such as *Alexander Nevsky*, and some free-thinking members of the intelligentsia used the newly unassailable status of writers such as Alexander Pushkin to their own ends. At the same time, the essays do record that the impact of the demagogic authoritarianism inherent in the return to the "great man" theory of history had catastrophic consequences for the academic world, if not necessarily for creative writers. Bednyi and Bulgakov may have had to deal with different levels of what are euphemistically known as "unpleasantnesses" (*nepriiatnosti*), but A. Ragozin was arrested and executed not long after he wrote an excoriating review in *Pravda* of a ludicrously incompetent biography of Lermontov by the well-placed hack writer S. Ivanov (in which Ivanov confidently prated about Lermontov using Alexander Afanasiev's collection of folk tales, first published eighteen years after the poet died). Though the writers wisely avoid moralizing, and write *in medias res*, as it were, the final effect of the collection is tragic-comic and above all anti-heroic: much of it details the scrabbling for precedence, through eulogistic evocations of the past, by grey-faced mediocrities, who have themselves mostly since been consigned to what Leon Trotsky called "the dustbin of history."

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

MARIO LIVERANI. *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*. Edited and with a foreword by ZAINAB BAHRANI and MARC VAN DE MIEROOP. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 214. \$75.00.

Mario Liverani has long been one of the most important minds in the field of ancient Near Eastern studies, evidenced by the fact that he has trained such important students as Frederick Mario Fales, Carlo Zaccagnini, and Lucio Milano. His pioneering works in the field of historiography have been groundbreaking (e.g. *Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 B.C.* [1990]). However, a significant portion of his work has not been translated into English; thus, Zainab Bahrani and Marc van de Mieroop are to be congratulated not only for collecting and introducing these essays but also for editing Liverani's English style. All eight were originally published in either Italian or French between 1973 and 1983. Although a generation

old (and thus arriving at conclusions perhaps not startling to the reader), the essays grapple with problems that have only recently come to the forefront of ancient Near Eastern studies, drawing on the author's vast knowledge of new intellectual trends in the fields of social anthropology, gender studies, intellectual Marxism, and the French *Annales* historical school.

The essays are organized within four geographic and cultural areas: "Mesopotamia," "Hittite Anatolia," "Syria," and "Hebrew Bible." The first essay, "Adapa, Guest of the Gods," does not appear on the surface to be a study on a historiographic subject, as it concerns a Mesopotamian myth. However, Liverani takes an anthropological approach to the story of Adapa, a Mesopotamian hero who was a guest of the gods in heaven and who was offered immortality, and then tricked into rejecting it. Liverani discusses aspects of hospitality rituals, deepening the meaning of the myth.

In the two essays on Hittite Anatolia during the late Bronze Age ("Telepinu, or: on Solidarity," and "Shunashura, or: on Reciprocity"), Liverani argues that these so-called "historical" sources were themselves reconstructions, with political, moral, and theological aims. The former is a treaty that Liverani analyzes as a formulaic literary text. Although Telepinu has legitimated his accession to the Hittite throne, he murdered his predecessor, Huzziya. The treaty is therefore not to be taken at face value as a reliable historical event. The same can be said for the Shunashura essay, where a formulaic "parity" treaty in reality shows the dominance of the Hittites over Shunashura, king of the Anatolian state of Kizzuwatna.

In the first essay in the section on Syria ("Leaving by Chariot for the Desert") Idrimi "provides" a fictional autobiographic justification of his rise to power, expressed in the literary genre of a fairy tale. The articles, "Rib-Adda, Righteous Sufferer" and "Aziru, Servant of Two Masters," explore the usage of literary devices in late Bronze Age letters to the Egyptian pharaoh in which the writer claims to be a righteous sufferer (Rib-Adda), or expresses the opposite of what he intends (Aziru).

As in the other studies, Liverani employs a deconstructive approach in the essays on the Hebrew Bible ("The Story of Joash" and "Messages, Women, and Hospitality: Inter-tribal Communication in Judges 19–21"), attempting to isolate the ideology of the texts to discern their true purpose. In the former study, Liverani argues that the purpose of the Joash narrative was to convince a skeptical base about the legitimacy of Joash as rightful king. In the latter study, Liverani brought forth gender concerns about the text (women, hospitality, and exchange) before it had become fashionable to study feminism and the Bible, drawing attention to the passive, nonverbal nature of the unnamed female victim in the story.

Liverani's essays are no easy read, but not simply because of the difficulties of translation. He attempts to give form to his reconstructions, often by means of patterns, charts, and graphs. Typical of structuralist argu-

mentation, however, his work is very dense, as he "circles" around the main theme by levels (or rules) of understanding, causing the reader to refer back to the level (i.e. grammatical, religious, social, historical, or ideological) that is being addressed. But for those who persevere, these essays provide new horizons from which to perceive the ancient world. The scholarly world will be well served if Liverani's massive *Antico Oriente: Storia, società, economia* (1988) is also translated into English.

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LAURENS E. TACOMA. *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt*. (Mnemosyne Supplements: History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity.) Boston: Brill. 2006. Pp. ix, 353. \$129.00.

Historians of Roman Egypt have often stated that the elites of the cities and towns in the third and fourth centuries faced difficult circumstances. A highly stratified society and the high costs of both liturgies and the more prestigious magistracies, it is believed, placed a crushing burden on the moderately wealthy, some of whom fled to avoid such responsibilities. The difficulties faced by these persons help to explain the decline in support for traditional religion during the third century as well as the rise of monasticism as an alternative lifestyle.

Laurens E. Tacoma's slightly revised dissertation does not address these larger social and cultural issues, but it does complicate and refine our picture of the urban elites of third-century Roman Egypt. Close study of the abundant Greek papyri from this context, along with judicious and self-conscious use of analytical models, allows Tacoma to reach a range of conclusions that will be of interest to historians of late ancient Egypt and of the later Roman empire in general. The fragility that he finds results from the combination of a strongly hierarchical social organization with an equally dynamic pattern of movement of individuals and families in and out of the elite.

The book divides into two parts. Part one, "Hierarchies," studies the larger issues of urbanization, distribution of wealth and inequality, differentiation among landholders, and composition of elites. Tacoma finds a strongly hierarchical society across all these indicators. Roman Egypt, he concludes was relatively highly urbanized, but with a very small percentage of people owning land. Even this group was highly stratified, resulting in an urban elite "that stood aloft of the rest of the population, both urban and rural" (p. 271). Tacoma supports these broad conclusions with thorough presentations of recoverable data and of the models used to generate such estimates as the populations of some capitals (pp. 54–55) and the numbers of urban landowners (pp. 92–96). Tacoma deliberately and wisely sets aside Alexandria and focuses only on the cities and towns of the Delta and southern Egypt, but his inves-

tigation reveals the extensive connections among elites in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt and the existence of numerous landowners who shuttled between Alexandria and one or more cities to the south (pp. 140–50).

Part two, “Mobility and Continuity,” describes a continuous movement of people into and out of the elite. Thanks to Egypt’s system of partible inheritance, all children, both male and female, received equal shares of inherited property. Thus, although some families managed to remain in the elite for several generations, most dropped out within one or two generations, and lesser landowners expanded their holdings to take their place. Given the fragility of such a steeply hierarchical social organization and the vulnerability of nearly all individuals within it, Tacoma professes to be less surprised that the Roman civic life of Upper Egypt eventually disintegrated than that it persisted as long as it did (p. 275).

This book presents such a wealth of information and analysis so clearly and persuasively that most historians of Roman Egypt and of the Roman Empire in general will find something of interest. For my part I found most interesting Tacoma’s documentation of the high rate of urbanization even in Middle and Upper Egypt, the phenomenon of female landownership, the existence of a “regional elite” that engaged in civic life both in Alexandria and in local cities and towns, and the fragility of elite status due to the system of partible inheritance. Tacoma is consistently candid and self-critical in his use both of the surviving evidence and of the analytical models by which he extrapolates from it. He tells the reader what we cannot or do not know as frequently as what he thinks we can and do know, and he rarely introduces terms or concepts without explaining them for readers outside the guilds of papyrology and ancient demography. The result is a highly valuable study from which all historians of Roman Egypt and of later Roman social history more generally will profit.

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JOSEF VAN ESS. *The Flowering of Muslim Theology*. Translated by JANE MARIE TODD. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 220. \$24.95.

This is the English translation of four lectures delivered by Josef van Ess at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris and published in French in 2002. The presence of the author’s monumental history of Islamic theology (*Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, 6 vols. [1991–1997]) is visible throughout: of the 207 footnotes in this short text, some 150 consist of direct references to it. Of the remaining, only a handful point to subsequent scholarship.

The short introduction connects the present to the past. In an almost oracular manner, van Ess suggests that a revival of Islamic theology, and presumably the Mu’tazili creed in particular, is the only feasible defense against the current rise of puritanism and fundamen-

talism. The conclusion, by contrast abandons all hope as the author sadly avows that reason and revelation remain as far apart today as they were in the golden age of Mu’tazili activity, when “the problem was revelation. No one would ever succeed in explaining it and replacing it with reason” (p. 190). The Mu’tazilis, who are introduced properly halfway through the first chapter, are characterized as court theologians with a deep aversion to anthropomorphism and predestination. In place of an analysis of the politics implied in the emblematic language for and against anthropomorphism or predestination, the reader is bluntly told that the theologians disapproved of the doctrines because they “hated” them (p. 31). The political and ideological explanation, as posited by H. A. R. Gibb more than half a century ago (reprinted in Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* [1982], p. 205), no matter how rudimentary, is passed over in silence.

A temporal haze envelopes the entire discourse. “Earlier,” “later,” “soon,” “at first,” “in the beginning,” and “afterward” are substituted for years and centuries. In the introduction, van Ess dates the emergence of the competition between jurists and theologians to “that time when they still had some historical options available to them, options that would become more limited later on” (p. 3). In other words, Mu’tazili theologians missed the opportunity to write the course of Islamic thought before its untimely ankylosis. Interestingly, the flowering of Muslim theology preceded its most exuberant growth period, for “the phenomenon reached its zenith very early; its most creative period did not occur after it had come of age, but well before, at a time when signs of tedium and paralysis had not yet appeared” (p. 4). This is not helpful to the reader encountering the numerous inconsistencies with dates and personages. Al-Asamm, the eighth-century Basran theologian whose contributions to Mu’tazili doctrine form a good part of the book’s narrative, is only introduced on page 134, although frequently cited on the preceding pages. Al-Ghazzali, perhaps the best known of medieval Muslim theologians, is the only one introduced with birth and death dates in both Islamic and Christian calendars (p. 39).

The chapter on heresy and division within Islam documents the development of orthodoxy in the Islamic context, demonstrating that the absence of a formal church did not prohibit an orthodoxy from arising. The rest of the chapter is devoted to the discussion of the *modus vivendi* that developed among different Muslim sects in spite of this orthodoxy. Contrary to what is implied elsewhere, therefore, Islamic notions of tolerance seem to have outlived the Mu’tazilis.

The second chapter is a history of the debate on anthropomorphism. The Mu’tazilis are conspicuously absent in this and the preceding chapter, although their struggle against anthropomorphism and their joint effort with the caliphs to impose an orthodoxy across the empire has some influence on the discussions contained in them. The third chapter discusses atomism in Muslim theology, again a field of inquiry that continued to at-

tract the attention of Muslim intellectuals, and was by no means restricted to Mu'tazilis.

The fourth chapter discusses idealized images of the Islamic past, and efforts by Muslim intellectuals to reconcile history with the idealized image. The fifth chapter, on the relationship between faith and knowledge, also serves as the book's conclusion and summarizes the development of key Mu'tazili concepts that dominated the debate on reason and revelation in Islamic thought.

The author's formidable erudition pervades all five chapters. Unfortunately, what is lacking in this roll call of intellectuals and philosophies is an analytical framework. While the bulk of the book focuses on the eighth and ninth centuries, the conclusions are often applied uncritically to historical developments in the contemporary world. This is not a foray into medieval Islamic political thought in an attempt to transform medieval expositions into windows onto a world view, à la Quentin Skinner. Nor is it a history of Muslim political theology highlighting key concepts and milestones that helped shape the development of political language and intellectual currents in Islam, the approach so well exemplified in Ernst Kantorowicz's classic study of Christian political thought, *The King's Two Bodies* (1952). The book is a terse chronicle of the slow strangulation of rationalist Islam, and what is conceived as the resultant hold of militancy on the minds and hearts of Muslims today.

NEGUIN YAVARI
The New School

AMI AYALON. *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 207. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

The study of the cultural life of the Arab population in late Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine is a contrast to the nonending study of the Arab-Jewish conflict. Ami Ayalon presents a new look at Palestinian society in pre-state Israel. The object of this fascinating and very readable book is to trace the revolutionary change of the Arab Palestinian society from nearly complete illiteracy ninety-eight percent) at the end of the nineteenth century to a drastic change in 1948, when about half of its youngsters were literate.

Ayalon's study begins with an eye-opening introduction explaining the innovative and complex study of literacy. The obvious fact is that in an illiterate society one can trace very little data concerning literacy, thus making the study of this question a very intriguing venture. The chapter titled "Literacy and Education" portrays Arab society at the end of the Ottoman period. To Raghib al-Khalidi's statement that "two forces have a grip over the Islamic community in Palestine, the force of despair and the force of poverty." (p. 16), Ayalon adds "a third force, that of illiteracy." Even the few who attended school for four years (the average period of schooling) did not necessarily achieve the ability to read fluently. A significant change was introduced by the British, who conquered Palestine in 1917–1918.

They established educational institutions for boys and girls in urban and rural Palestine using Arabic as the language of teaching. Yet, due to lack of teachers and other capacities "Only a third, or slightly more, received the minimal education of four to five years" (p. 25). One girl was schooled for every four boys. On the whole, Ayalon's conclusions are that the younger generation was much more educated than the older one, yet he estimates that only half of the young learned to read.

Education and reading rely on books and the printing process. According to Ayalon "There had been no printing press in Palestine until the last decade of the nineteenth century (with the exception of some small missionary shops)" (p. 43). This sentence is indicative of Ayalon's way of treating the "other" population living in the Holy Land. He does hint here at the missionaries who had a printing house in Jerusalem since the early 1840s, but he avoids mentioning the Jewish press that had operated in Palestine since 1841 and published hundreds of items including pamphlets, newspapers, and books. Again while describing various libraries in the country, Ayalon states that "In 1900, or shortly before, the first public library in Palestine—the Khaldiyya—was opened in Jerusalem" (p. 46). There is no mention of Jewish public libraries that were established in Jerusalem since the 1870s. Why does Ayalon not mention the relatively high cultural level of the Jewish community (almost all its men literate) that lived among the Arabs in the four holy cities (Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed)? Why does he ignore the fact that some elitist Arab families sent their children to study in Jewish schools? A very common criticism against scholars who research the life of the Jewish community in Ottoman Palestine is that they avoid mentioning the Arab community except for the riots. It seems that the same holds true as regards the Jewish community when one studies the Arab community.

This is my main criticism of a book that uncovers the hidden process by which a society moved from being illiterate to semiliterate. Ayalon describes in a very thoughtful manner how the public domain was transformed into a reading space: the emergence of street signs and shop signs, distribution of leaflets, coffee houses that supplied newspapers, and so on. He also explains very vividly the terms "orality and literacy" (p. 131) and concludes that due to local conditions "oral forms of communication [were] predominant" (p. 132). The question whether Palestine went through a cultural revolution receives a very innovative answer. Yet, a more pluralistic approach paying attention to the "others" in Palestine, including a look at Arab girls and women, would have enriched the book even further.

MARGALIT SHILO
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JAMES MCDUGALL. *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 266. \$85.00.

Anyone familiar with the official Algerian media knows the nationalist version of that country's history. It recounts the valiant struggle of the people against colonial oppression, deeply inspired by their heroic forebears, their Arab heritage, and Islamic values. James McDougall's book is an examination of how this historical narrative was developed, focusing on the role of the Association of Muslim Scholars (AMS) and one of its leading members, Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani, a prolific author of historic texts and of a three-volume autobiography, *Hayat kifah* (A Life of Struggle).

McDougall draws on the theoretical frameworks and conceptual vocabulary of academic literary studies, making use of such terms as "dialogic discursive practices" and "tropologies." This may be a symptom of how North African history, treated as marginal in Middle East Studies, has been annexed to literary studies. In style, the book is inspired by French specialists such as Jacques Berque. This comes through in convoluted phrasing and a propensity for jumping from one chronological setting to another. Unfortunately, this is an approach that does little to shed light on key questions such as the relationship between Islam and politics, or the role of intellectuals in modern Algeria.

McDougall pays little attention to the historical background of the relationship between Islam and the state in colonial Algeria, so he does not elucidate the origins of the AMS. The dynamics of its emergence can be traced to the 1905 French law on separation of religion and state, a law only reluctantly applied to Islam in Algeria. McDougall suggests as one of his conclusions that the AMS failed in the task of helping create an open, tolerant civil society. Instead, the Association, and the historic narrative it created, were appropriated by the nationalist regime.

But it can be argued that the failure was that of the French state to negotiate the transition to a democratic system (and with it, autonomy or independence) in the window of opportunity during the late 1940s and early 1950s. That failure brought the maelstrom of the revolution, and the dissolution of the AMS in 1956. At independence in 1962, the AMS had no resources of its own. The only choices for its leaders were to work with the regime or to challenge it. Madani chose cooperation, albeit a cautious cooperation that proved at times problematic.

I had the pleasure of meeting Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani at a conference in Algiers in 1982 celebrating the twentieth anniversary of independence. At an intermission he pulled me aside to a quiet corner. Since I was teaching in Nigeria, he began his comments with reflections on his experience as Algeria's ambassador in Lagos, certainly not a prestigious assignment. Then he held forth with great enthusiasm about his experience as ambassador to Turkey, when, he assured me, he spent all his time on research in the Ottoman archives rather than the drudgery of diplomacy. For Madani, his crowning achievement seemed to be the publication of an annotated version of the *Mudhakkirat*, or Memoirs, of Ahmad Sharif al-Zahhar, in 1974. His comments

conveyed several key insights: that scholars needed to keep their distance from the nasty business of politics; that the challenges facing independent Algeria were best understood by examining the late Ottoman period, the subject of Zahhar's book; and that while official discourse might toe a strict line, the sort of popular narrative on which Zahhar drew could convey devastating criticism through pungent irony and sarcasm.

McDougall seems unaware of the marginal position to which Madani was consigned at times under the regime of Houari Boumedienne (1965–1978). He makes no mention of Muhammad al-Tahar Fudala's vicious attack on Madani. His only mention of the *Mudhakkirat* of al-Zahhar comes in a citation of that book in a work by Berque.

McDougall raises the question of why Algeria has not succeeded in making the transition to the modern pluralism admired in the West. One might reply, using Madani's terminology, that it was important to avoid *fitna*, the chaotic conflict of personalities and factions. There have been periods of openness and vigorous public discussion in independent Algeria, particularly in the 1980s and since the early 2000s. If we wish to open an original and fruitful discussion of Algerian nationalism, it might be useful to think outside the academic boxes of area studies and raise the comparison with South Africa. There the Pan-Africanist historic narrative bears similarities to that of Algerian nationalism. Yet South Africa managed a transition to pluralism.

ALLAN CHRISTELOW
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SUSAN J. RASMUSSEN. *Those Who Touch: Tuareg Medicine Women in Anthropological Perspective*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 234. \$26.00.

The Tuareg are a loose alliance of clans and tribes inhabiting a vast region in the Central Sahara that encompasses Southern Algeria, southwestern Libya, most of Niger, eastern Mali, northern Burkina Faso and Nigeria. Still speaking the Berber of their ancient ancestors, the Tuareg are well-known for their knowledge of the desert and control of the trans-Saharan caravan routes. In recent decades they have been marginalized by postcolonial nation states, but they, in response, have mounted resistance movements to regain their autonomy and cross-border access to water and grazing lands. That this matrilineal society—where men wear veils—should have a prominent tradition of women healers is not surprising. Susan Rasmussen has written extensively on many facets of Tuareg life and society.

This book represents a somewhat specialized ethnographic monograph at its best, with detailed case studies combined judiciously with analytical discussions and broader context-setting formulations of history and the region. Part one, "Departures—Herbal Medicine and Local and Authoritative Systems of Thought," situates the topic within anthropology and women's studies. Rasmussen reviews and contributes to the debates on

how anthropologists should profile "the other" without exoticization. She also reviews the literature on women in healing. Part two, "Touch and Word—Learning and Transmitting Medicine," describes the substance and form of Tuareg women's herbalism and healing, its origins and "mythico-histories," how it fits into Tuareg society, and the extent of its knowledge of plants and cultural techniques. Part three, "Medicine Women and Wider Systems of Power," situates this healing tradition in relation to the other forms of healing in Tuareg and North African society. At the core of all traditions is *al baraka*, ritual benediction, spiritual power. Women healers must come to terms with spiritual Islamic healers (*marabouts*), who represent the dominant social and moral legitimacy of the region. Women healers must also negotiate the powers and dangers of spirit possession and trance, powers used in divination and social assertion. Finally, they relate to modern biomedical institutions.

In the interest of brevity, I focus on a few issues central to the book's argument. First, with regard to gender, Rasmussen rejects the idea that Tuareg women healers are socially marginal and that their modes of working separately from men represent a compensatory mechanism. Rather, they figure centrally in the maintenance of Tuareg matriliney and its kin-based institutions. Women must have been mothers to become touch healers; they also need to demonstrate intelligence, wisdom, and in some cases have *al baraka* that comes from dream-visions and trance. Thus they negotiate the boundaries between women's roles and public roles.

The second issue is put forward in chapter five, subtitled "physical and social reproduction over the life course." Social reproduction aptly describes the medicine women's importance in mediating social contradictions, encouraging women, and protecting the progeny of families so that they may survive socially. Women's healing keeps practices alive that may run counter to Islamic orthodoxy. The book could have used more comparative allusions to the persistence of older traditions that are overlaid with Islam and modern nation-state medicine and society (e.g. Pierre Bourdieu's reference to "social reproduction" inherent in cousin marriage among the Kabayle of Algeria, so central to the persistence of the transhousehold unit associated with healthy business or livestock herding).

A third area of interest is theory in medical anthropology. After critiquing medical anthropology for shortcomings, Rasmussen adopts her own set of well-reasoned conventions: "tropes" that combine natural and sociocultural elements to identify "authoritative knowledge" or "authoritative system of thought," to describe legitimacy within a healing tradition; "mythico-history" to describe the origins and stories of healing, in this case relating to spirits, places, saints, ancestors, and the traditions they represent; "medical pluralism" to characterize multiple healing modes within a single society; and "biomedicine" to characterize official state

and NGO-sponsored clinics and hospitals in the wider region inhabited by the Tuareg.

Overall this work may be highly recommended as a basic ethnographic monograph on North African healing, and as a serious seminar text in a range of disciplines. The case materials are excellently presented at the opening of chapters or as substantive elaborations of theoretical points made along the way. The focus on women healers is couched in sufficiently broad overview and historical depth of the Tuareg, that it could be used to illuminate historical inquiry in North Africa, the Sahara, and Sahel regions. This reviewer's main criticism is a technical one: the print is too small and too light. The prose is sometimes repetitious. But these are minor shortcomings in a work that is sure to become the authoritative ethnography of a unique and impressive healing tradition.

JOHN M. JANZEN
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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

RUTH GINIO. *French Colonialism Unmasked: The Vichy Years in French West Africa*. (France Overseas.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 243. \$65.00.

This first full-length book on Vichy colonialism in French West Africa will serve as a valuable contribution for scholars grappling with that challenging period of French national and imperial history. Drawing on archives from France and Senegal, Ruth Ginio's thoroughly researched study is clearly organized in four sections. These focus on the significance of the empire for the Vichy state; its administrative, ideological, and economic policies in French West Africa; its ambivalent relations with African elites, soldiers, chiefs, and Muslims; and the significance of Vichy for French colonial history generally, including its impact on decolonization.

Ginio contends that the empire was especially important to the Vichy state. Economically, overseas colonies would continue to supply the metropole with needed resources. They would also signify national sovereignty and international stature despite the occupation. Perhaps because such material and symbolic investments in the empire also characterized earlier republican colonialism, Ginio also claims that there existed a special resonance between the Vichy National Revolution and longstanding colonial practices in French West Africa. Both, she suggests, were authoritarian, antiparliamentary, and racist.

Throughout the book, Ginio identifies overriding continuities between Vichy policies in French West Africa and the republican colonialism that preceded it there. But she also seeks to establish the specificity of Vichy colonialism. Her solution is condensed, perhaps too easily, in the book's central argument that during the Vichy period French colonialism was "unmasked." No longer constrained by the need to reconcile oppres-

sive colonial practices with humane republican values, French colonialism supposedly revealed its true racist face. While this case for a concurrence between French fascism and colonialism in West Africa is plausible, Ginio's "unmasking" thesis raises additional questions.

Continuities between colonial policies during republican and Vichy regimes may have led Ginio to inquire into underlying affinities between French republicanism and colonialism (if not also Pétainism). Instead she participates in a tendency long common in French public life and American scholarship: she uses fascism as an alibi for republicanism, which is treated uncritically as a humanitarian universalism that is inherently antithetical to colonialism and to racism. The latter are purportedly masked by republican rhetoric. By concluding that fascism reveals the true face of colonialism, Ginio misses an opportunity to explore the way (Vichy) colonialism may disclose certain truths about and contradictions within republicanism itself.

Ginio's central thesis begs another question: to whom was colonialism supposedly unmasked? She claims that without the mask of republican ideology, Vichy policies allowed Africans to see the truly racist face of colonialism. Yet she also indicates that Africans always understood Vichy policies as merely an exaggerated form of earlier republican colonialism. It would indeed be difficult to maintain that African subjects required Vichy policies to apprehend colonial racism. If Vichy indeed unmasked colonialism, it likely did so for historians resistant to examining structural relations between republicanism and racism.

Manifold continuities between republican and Vichy colonialism compel us ultimately to ask: how historically significant were these three years of Vichy administration in French West Africa either for the longer-term colonial project or for the Pétainist National Revolution? Unfortunately, this book does not use the Vichy example to revise existing interpretations of French colonialism. And although it concludes with provocative assertions about the African colonies as an experimental terrain for French fascist policies, these are not adequately developed.

Ginio is more persuasive when she demonstrates how the Vichy interlude provided African critics with new leverage against postwar republican administrators concerned to distance themselves from their fascist predecessors. More generally Ginio provides a cogent account of how the division between Pétainist and Gaullist representatives of France afforded ambitious Africans greater scope for political maneuvering against an ambivalent administration anxious about maintaining their loyalty. The most interesting and subtle analyses in this book appear in sections on the complex relationship between the Vichy colonial state and African kings, soldiers, and Muslim marabouts. Ginio rightly warns against metropolitan derived interpretations that would reduce African activities to either collaboration with or resistance to Vichy authorities. But by insisting that such categories are meaningless in the colonial context, she perhaps too quickly forecloses the

possibility that such politically savvy and self-conscious Africans might also have been engaged in a transnational debate about fascism, republicanism, and colonialism.

The Vichy period of French imperial history comprises such a rich field of inquiry precisely because it challenges us to reflect on the complex relations that obtain among these domains, especially with respect to the issue of racism. Ginio's book provides rich material and a clear argument that may serve as a starting point for fruitful debate. This rigorous synthetic account will speak to a wide range of scholars concerned with French fascism, the Vichy regime, Vichy colonialism, and colonial West Africa.

GARY WILDER
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DAVID BIRMINGHAM. *Empire in Africa: Angola and Its Neighbors*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies.) Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies. 2006. Pp. x, 190. \$22.00.

This collection draws together a sequence of studies, meditations and reports written over the past decade or so by one of the most penetrating—and certainly one of most exhilarating—European historians of Angola. The eleven pieces in the book (most of which have been significantly revised since originally published) cover Angola's engagement with the colonial world from the first European irruption five centuries ago to the Alice-in-Wonderland landscape of today's oil-drunk Luanda. David Birmingham engages a set of key themes within which the Angolan past speaks to the present. Angola's location on the cusp between southern and central Africa and its relations with often unstable and fractious neighbors is one of these. Another is Portugal's self-proclaimed exceptionalism as an imperial power and the changing role of race in Angola's social and political relations. Finally, there is the vexed issue of ethnicity and region in Angola's tragic sequence of civil wars over the past three decades.

The response to the question of the uniqueness of Angola's colonial experience is suitably nuanced by Birmingham. In his scene-setting initial chapter he emphasizes the fact of Portugal's presence in Angola for some four centuries before the wider European "scramble" of the 1880s and 1890s. A sophisticated Creole-dominated culture had developed since the end of the fifteenth century, distanced from the colonial metropolis. This was no prelapsarian utopia, of course. Slavery and slave trading lay at the center of its economy. But it was grounded in a remarkably color-blind set of social relations. In some respects, Creole society in Angola had more affinities with that of Brazil than with the African world that surrounded it. Luanda's annual Carnival, to which an intriguing and entertaining chapter is devoted here, is one of the more striking remnants of this transatlantic affinity.

The late nineteenth century was a fundamental watershed for Angola, however, as Portugal sought to

"modernize" its imperialism by identifying with the new expansionist enthusiasms of its northern neighbors. Racism, now officially sanctioned, became a defining characteristic of Angolan society and deepened with the arrival of each settler ship from Portugal. With the expansion of the plantation economy at this time, colonial practices in Angola drew ever closer to those elsewhere in Africa. In a chapter comparing Angola with its northern neighbor, the Belgian Congo, Birmingham emphasizes the similarities in labor practices between the two rather than the supposed contrasts on which Portuguese imperial nostalgists tend to focus. The exploitation of indigenous workers in both territories, he argues, lay as close to slavery as made no difference.

Another common assumption about Angola's colonial experience is challenged in a chapter on "Merchants and Missionaries." The presence of an extensive network of Protestant (mainly Methodist) missionaries, unusual in the colony of a Catholic power, has often been presented as a radicalizing element in Angolan nationalism. But as Birmingham points out, these Protestant missionaries were often closer socially to the white merchants and plantation owners than were their Catholic counterparts. Catholicism in general, moreover, was viewed with suspicion by influential republican politicians in Portugal, among whom anticlerical freemasonry was common. Later, in Mozambique (Portugal's other major colony of settlement) it was Catholic missionaries rather than Protestant evangelicals who bravely protested the atrocities of the colonial state in the last days of the empire.

That the final stages of Portuguese Africa were punctuated by such atrocities is itself a testament to a certain type of luso-tropical exceptionalism, as Birmingham explores in his chapter "Race and Class in a 'Fascist' Colony." In the absence of any real political accountability, the Portuguese *Estado Novo* ("New State") under António de Salazar and later Marcello Caetano set the eccentric terms of its own imperial policy. After 1945 Britain, with characteristic pragmatism, quickly read the runes, departing almost immediately and with a minimum of sentimentality from India, the jewel in its imperial crown. France had a longer learning curve in its own imperial centerpiece, Algeria, but common sense prevailed there in 1962. For Portugal, however, the uprisings in Angola in 1961 were not taken as a warning to prepare an exit. Instead there was a redoubling of white migration and investment, and the ensuing wars (in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique as well as Angola) led thirteen years later to the collapse of the Lisbon regime and a chaotic decolonization. For Angola this was to be the prelude to decades of betrayed ideals and civil war. These processes are anatomized in searching depth in the book's later chapters. Here Birmingham's analysis rightly emphasizes the inherently Angolan character of this conflict against the view that it was a mere proxy war of larger global rivalries.

This is a fine book on a number of levels. It represents a real contribution to Angolan historiography while of-

fering a distinctive perspective on the past and present of the larger south-central African region. And, as Birmingham seems incapable of writing a dull sentence, it is a thoroughly enjoyable read.

NORRIE MACQUEEN
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PAULOS MILKIAS and GETACHEW METAFERIA, editors. *The Battle of Adwa: Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory against European Colonialism*. New York: Algora. 2005. Pp. xv, 320. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$26.95.

The victory of the Ethiopian army led by Emperor Menelik II over the Italians in the Battle of Adwa in 1896 was, and remains, a singular event in the history of colonialism in general and Africa in particular. A little more than a decade ago, several events were organized to commemorate the centennial of this event. Among the most notable of these was a conference held in Addis Abba and Adwa, the proceedings of which later (1998) appeared as a volume of almost 700 pages. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find, a decade later, another collection of essays dealing with Adwa that cites none of papers from the 1998 volume.

This book suffers from something of an identity crisis. Although it is referred to as a "monograph" (p. 3), it is in fact a collected work containing the contributions of several authors. Nor is this the only peculiarity. Although the footnotes of the separate essays are numbered consecutively throughout the entire book, they are not consistent with regard to style. Some contributors cite authors as last name, first name, while others use first name, last name. Eight of the nine chapters have titled subsections listed in the table of contents. (Chapter three is the exception.) References to the same source appear in consecutive essays as the work had not previously been cited, and in some cases the spelling of names differs from chapter to chapter. Careless mistakes abound: Harold Marcus's textbook is called *A History of Ethiopia* and not *History of Ethiopia* and was published by University of California Press, not Oxford (p. 310); his earlier book was a biography of Menelik II, not Menelik I (it appears as the latter throughout most of the citations, but as both in the bibliography). Richard Gulk (p. 43, n. 82) is presumably Richard Caulk.

I begin with these essentially minor technical points regarding the unity of the volume because they can be seen as an unintentional metaphor for a major concern of the editors and several of the contributors: Ethiopian unity amid ethnic (or some would say national) diversity. Specifically, several authors contend that the unity of national purpose, which made possible the Ethiopian victory at Adwa, has been squandered or willfully destroyed by the current Ethiopian government. It is interesting to note in this context that these authors' comments are directed not at scholars who represent differing academic perspectives, but rather at policy makers and in particular the current Ethiopian rulers. In his discussion of the impact of Adwa on the Pan-

African movement, editor Getachew Metaferia concludes that "the government is ethnocentric in its domestic policies, has gerrymandered administrative boundaries based on ethnicity (similar to what the Italians did during their occupation of Ethiopia), and pitted one ethnic group against the other. This represents an intent to destroy the Ethiopian identity, build over centuries, as it would not serve the interests of the current leaders of Ethiopia and Eritrea" (p. 214). In his own contribution, volume coeditor Paulos Milkias is concerned that the role of the Eritreans at Adwa be properly portrayed. For, he writes, "the Eritrean public and other linguistic groups there and in Tigray were not traitors during the Adwa struggle. If the reactionary elements in Ethiopia fail to debunk this dangerous idea, not only are they failing to maintain the dignity of history—their action is, to say the least, worrisome for the future of Ethiopia" (p. 80). Theodore M. Vestal, in his short introductory discussion of the significance of Adwa today, states that "One hundred plus years after the Battle of Adwa, Ethiopia faces an internal threat to its people's dignity from a government dominated by Marxist-Leninist ideology intent on dividing the nation along ethnic lines (p. 35). Numerous other examples could be cited.

While several of the essays are quite explicit with regard to the political agenda they follow, there are exceptions, particularly among some of the more senior scholars. Thus Zewde Gabra Selassie offers a solid survey of Menelik's foreign policy that serves to situate Adwa in its historical context. Marcus's essay, which appeared originally in 1971 and in a slightly revised form in the aforementioned Adwa Centennial volume, discusses racial discourse regarding Ethiopians in the period before and after Adwa. In recent years numerous authors have documented the manner in which various groups, including the Irish, Jews, and Italians "became white." Marcus's essay shows how European observers maintained their racial hierarchy by reassigning Ethiopians to the white race after their victory at Adwa. It serves as a vivid reminder of the instability of racial categories.

Finally, the ever-prolific Richard Pankhurst contributes a short essay surveying the coverage of the Battle of Adwa in the London *Times*. Although the political musings contained in the excerpts he discusses are interesting, the broader context of the material is missing, as are footnotes. In some cases the reader is not even told on what date the passage quoted appeared in the newspaper. This lack of detail presumably exempts Pankhurst and the editors from informing readers that much of the same information can be found almost verbatim in an earlier version entitled "How the News Was Received in England" published by Pankhurst almost fifty years ago in a special issue on the Battle of Adwa of the *Ethiopian Observer*. The editors were certainly aware of this, for one of them cites the volume (p. 187) in his own essay.

Taken as a whole this volume is a disappointment. It lacks discipline (in several senses), and its political

agenda overshadows the historical contribution in most of the articles. There is certainly a need for a book that, by placing Adwa firmly in the context of recent scholarship on the "Scramble for Africa," colonialism, race, Pan-Africanism, and a variety of other fields, provides a standard text for students of all of these subjects. This volume does not fill the need.

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GREGORY H. MADDOX and JAMES L. GIBLIN, editors. *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*. (Eastern African Studies.) Oxford: James Currey. 2005. Pp. xiv, 337. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.95.

No other state in Africa has an account of its national history that is more comprehensive than Tanzania's. Published in 1979, John Iliffe's *A Modern History of Tanganyika* is a massive book, 616 pages in all. Even revisionists among contemporary Tanzania's historians labor in its benevolent shade, and new researchers are sometimes disconcerted to find that the signature page of virtually every file in the Tanzania National Archives is adorned with Iliffe's careful signature. But Iliffe's vision was inevitably partial. Working at the University of Dar es Salaam in the late 1960s, he and his contemporaries documented the rise of formal political organizations in colonial Tanganyika, South Rhodesia, and elsewhere. For Iliffe, the story of Tanzanian nationalism was preeminently a modern story, in which new educational opportunities and new economic realities invited Africans to create a politics appropriate to their times. Iliffe had little to say about the interplay between new and old forms of political philosophy; nor did he cast light on the alternative forms of solidarity that Tanzanians were also creating in the mid-twentieth century. Gregory H. Maddox and James L. Giblin's edited volume does not replace Iliffe's magisterial account, but it does let us glimpse the dead ends and back alleys of Tanzania's political history. Maddox and Giblin's contributors argue that Tanzania's past did not involve a straightforward progression toward a new, national politics. They focus, by contrast, on tensions between the standardized forms of politics characteristic of modern government and the creative, idiosyncratic practice of low politics.

The book begins with Steven Feierman's provocative essay on the ritual installation of new kings in the nineteenth-century kingdom of Shambaa. Shambaa's people, argues Feierman, did not experience installation rituals as a predetermined, symbolic, comprehensive process. Individual experts performed fragments of ritual, carefully guarding their particular knowledge. The installation of a king was a negotiated action, in which experts worked together to make a king. Edward A. Alpers's essay on the mid-nineteenth-century potentate Kingalu Mwana Shaha similarly shows how precolonial rulers drew authority by coordinating disparate cultural resources. The Kingalu was a hereditary ritual leader, responsible for an important rain shrine in the Uluguru

Mountains. But Mwana Shaha was a Muslim, the first Kingalu to practice Islam. In 1870 he built a mosque downhill from the rain shrine, and forged a partnership with the Omani sultanate in Zanzibar. Mwana Shaha was interweaving disparate sources of authority. His biography illuminates precolonial leaders' social and political creativity.

The second part of the book highlights the gulf between the negotiated practice of power in precolonial eastern Africa and the standardized politics of colonial administration. As Thomas Spear's essay shows, the British authorities who ruled post-World War I Tanganyika sought to lend local government a bureaucratic precision it had never possessed. Ethnographers invented apparently antique institutions to aid the work of government; in Arusha, for example, anthropologist Hans Cory created an array of twenty-eight councils (p. 79). As British authorities cast local government in a traditional mode, African rulers likewise emphasized the longevity of their reign. In the Kilombero valley, Jamie Monson shows, the ruling Kiwanga dynasty found a voice in ethnographer A. T. Culwick, whose published work documented the justice of Kiwanga government. And in Njombe district, as Giblin's essay demonstrates, chiefs portrayed themselves as senior fathers of a Bena tribe. In ethnography, in customary law, and in order venues, native authorities emphasized their traditional prerogatives. They thereby got leverage over their subjects and claimed entitlement from British officials.

But the British and African inventors of colonial Tanganyika's neotraditional government had always to contend with the contrarian creativity of low politics. In his chapter on Chief Mazengo, Maddox argues that Gogo people's assessments of legitimate authority constrained native authorities' power. Gogo thought that good rulers should bring rain, creating the biological and social conditions for reproduction. But Mazengo, a government-appointed agent, was known to be incapable of making rain. Gogo people's criticisms of Mazengo's capabilities illuminate their skepticism about his legitimacy. James Giblin similarly argues that Bena chiefs' hierarchical model of tradition was unmade by commoners' criticisms. Where Bena chiefs represented their society as a patrilineal assemblage of clans, Bena people's daily negotiations over family life unmasked chiefs' pretences. Christian converts and other entrepreneurs built up eclectic kinship networks, expanding their family ties without regard to clan identities. Their individualized, self-improving ethos challenged chiefs' rule-governed models of social life.

The book's final section chronicles the cultural politics of nation-building in postcolonial Tanzania. Like its colonial predecessor, the postcolonial state sought to order its subjects' lives, limiting opportunities for dissent. James R. Brennan's essay on opposition party politics in Tanzania focuses on the African National Congress (ANC), an ideologically eclectic organization that, during the early 1960s, challenged Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Brennan

argues that the ANC's failure illuminates the discursive power of TANU, which monopolized patronage and marginalized its opponents. In contemporary Tanzania's secondary schools as in its politics, argues Yusuf Q. Lawi, local variety is subsumed into an overarching national narrative: pupils rarely learn local history, focusing on a standard set of national heroes. And in cultural life, argues Kelly M. Askew, government-organized musical troupes promote a socialist aesthetic by synchronizing their movements, adorning themselves in standard attire, and performing in an undifferentiated group. They thereby suppress the individual artistic talent that Tanzania's diverse peoples have long celebrated.

Writing in the 1970s, Iliffe organized Tanganyika's political history around the growth of TANU. Twenty-five years later, Giblin and Maddox's contributors are less inclined to focus on the high politics of Tanzanian nationalism. They look for alternatives to nationalism, for dissident currents in Tanzania's social, political, and cultural history. There is a whiff of romanticism about their project. Giblin, for example, argues that the "daily experience" of family life in colonial-era Njombe exposed the artificiality of chiefs' account of clan structure (p. 145). Maddox, Spear, Susan Geiger, and other contributors similarly highlight cultural and intellectual resources on which commoners draw to mount criticisms of unjust authority. But how did these criticisms matter? In what venues did dissident currents in thought and culture impinge on the exercise of colonial and postcolonial government? In challenging the liberal truisms of an earlier generation of historical scholarship, Tanzania's historians have charted a path for other scholars of African nationalism to follow. What are needed are histories that study dissidence and authority in the same frame.

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HUGH MACMILLAN. *An African Trading Empire: The Story of Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn, 1901–2005*. New York: I. B.Tauris. 2005. Pp. ix, 492. \$74.95.

Harry and Elie Susman left a small Jewish market town on the fringes of the Russian Empire a few years before the start of the twentieth century to try their luck as entrepreneurs and traders in the remote reaches of south-central Africa. Over the next several decades the Susman brothers, joined by Harry Wulfsohn and their descendants, developed an extensive network of business interests based in Zambia and Zimbabwe, but with connections throughout the entire region that stretched to Britain and eventually North America. Operating primarily as cattle traders in the early years, the family enterprise diversified to include ranching, commercial agriculture, retail outlets, logging, sawmills, butcheries, banking and even an important stake in the Woolworths department chain.

The goodwill of powerful Africans was essential to the Susman brothers' success in the formative decades,

and their relationships with prominent chiefs provide examples of the economic aspects of colonial accommodation. The construction of a commercial empire also illuminates the political and economic manoeuvring that animated frontier societies as African groups, colonial officials, and white traders established alliances and competed for advantage in what was still a fluid environment. Although Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn experienced setbacks during the colonial period, including the antisemitism of certain sectors of colonial society, entrepreneurial drive, hard-won local knowledge, and colonial policies that favored white business enabled the company to preside over an impressive network of commercial concerns by the 1950s. The directors of the company had a more difficult time adjusting to the rising tide of African nationalism. Their political conservatism, in particular their support for the Central African Federation and the maintenance of head offices in Harare after the unilateral declaration of independence, did not sit well with the new generation of nationalist politicians. In independent Zambia, the Kaunda government took steps to limit the influence of resident-expatriate businesses, and Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn began to sell off its assets. While it never entirely abandoned southern Africa—indeed, it returned to Zambia in strength through the establishment of Trans Zambezi Industries in 1993—the company acquired a more international flavor in the postcolonial period.

Hugh Macmillan's book is a sweeping narrative history, long on detail and short on analysis. In addition to the main protagonists' stories, the book contains dozens of biographical sketches describing the domestic lives, social activities, sporting exploits, legal disputes, and personality traits of employees and various colonial "characters." For example, Tim Payne, a store manager in rural Zimbabwe, had twenty-nine visitors at his house in February 1969 and we are assured that the family and guests managed some good tennis despite the poor condition of the court (p. 263).

Macmillan was invited to write this book by members of the Susman and Wulfsohn families, and it is largely a celebratory history. Fair enough, the partners' busi-

ness achievements are impressive in many respects; however, the author's treatment of racial matters pushes the boundaries of sympathy. Macmillan cites the Susmans' practice of shaking hands with African customers, in defiance of colonial convention, as evidence of their progressive nature (pp. 49–50), but in 1908, Harry Susman speared an African worker, "Muishebela," who had annoyed him by failing to move an ox in accordance with his instructions. For Macmillan the most noteworthy aspect of this episode is the unusually high fine of £20 the resident magistrate levied against Susman for the assault. The punitive amount was motivated, he claims, by the magistrate's resentment of the brothers' close relations with African notables and their failure to demand "due deference" from black customers (pp. 58–61). Elie Susman was fined £10 that same year for his role in the flogging of a "coloured" guide who led him astray on a treasure hunt. This time the magistrate's judgment is attributed to his vendetta against the Susmans and the flogging appears as an unfortunate incident in an otherwise colorful anecdote (p. 77).

Company policies and settler enterprise as a whole are spared critical scrutiny. Instead, Macmillan presents Susman Brothers & Wulfsohn as a business concern that provided essential goods and services to Africans who would otherwise have gone without. The company's purchase of 14,000 acres of ranch land in Zambia in 1927, which prompted the removal of African inhabitants to an adjacent reserve, elicits no discussion of the impact on these people or the practice of reserving massive tracts of land for settler commercial interests (p. 153). The author has little to say about discriminatory colonial policies that promoted settler businesses or the ways in which these businesses disadvantaged colonial subjects.

The Susman and Wulfsohn families, and others connected to their "trading empire" or white colonial society, will undoubtedly find much of nostalgic value in this comprehensive account of the company's fortunes. I am less sure the book will appeal to a wider audience.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MARGARET CORMACK, editor. *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 280. \$49.96.

JOHN CORRIGAN, *Saints and Pilgrims on Land and Water: French and Spanish Missionizing Strategies in Colonial North America*. GIOVANNA FIUME, *St. Benedict the Moor: From Sicily to the New World*. RODGER PAYNE, *Image and Imagination in the Cult of St. Amico*. JUAN JAVIER PESCADOR, *Seeking the Holy Child of Tierra Adentro: The Historical Origins of the Santo Niño de Atocha, 1704–1848*. ROBERT WESTERFELHAUS, *Prayers in Plaster and Plastic: Catholic Kitsch as Ritual Habit*. PATRICK J. HAYES, *Massachusetts Miracles: Controlling Cures in Catholic Boston, 1929–1930*. MICHAEL PASQUIER, *Our Lady of Prompt Succor: The Search for an American Marian Cult in New Orleans*. NICHOLAS M. BEASLEY, *Wars of Religion in the Circum-Caribbean: English Iconoclasm in Spanish America, 1570–1702*. TESSA GARTON, *The Influence of Pilgrimage on Artistic Traditions in Medieval Ireland*. ROBERT E. SCULLY, S.J., *St. Winefride's Well: The Significance and Survival of a Welsh Catholic Shrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Present Day*. MARGARET CORMACK, *Holy Wells and National Identity in Iceland*. RYAN K. SMITH, *The Fountain of Youth: History of an Errant Shrine*.

R. DREW SMITH, editor. *Freedom's Distant Shores: American Protestants and Post-Colonial Alliances with Africa*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 284. \$29.95.

MARK HULSETH, *Shifting Perspectives on Africa in Mainline Protestant Social Thought*. SANDRA J. SARKELA and PATRICK MAZZEO, *Rev. James H. Robinson and American Support for African Democracy and Nation-Building, 1950s–1970s*. LEWIS BALDWIN, *Martin Luther King, Jr., a "Coalition of Conscience," and Freedom in South Africa*. DWIGHT HOPKINS, *A Transatlantic Comparison of a Black Theology of Liberation*. STEPHEN W. ANGELL, *Quaker Women in Kenya and Human Rights Issues*. LUTINIKO LANDU MIGUEL PEDRO, *Mennonites and Peace-Building in Angola*. R. DREW SMITH, *American Evangelists and Church-State Dilemmas in Multiple African*

Contexts. MATTHEWS OJO, *American Pentecostalism and the Growth of Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements in Nigeria*. R. DREW SMITH, *U.S. Evangelicals, Racial Politics, and Social Transition in Contemporary South Africa*. MARSHA SNULLIGAN HANEY, *The Changing Nature of Christianity and the Challenge of U.S.-Africa Mission Partnerships*. NICO KOOPMAN, *Contemporary Public Theology in the U.S. and South Africa*.

ASIA

JOSEPH W. ESHERICK, PAUL G. PICKOWICZ, and ANDREW G. WALDER, editors. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History*. (Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center Series.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 382. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

JOSEPH W. ESHERICK, PAUL G. PICKOWICZ, and ANDREW G. WALDER, *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History: An Introduction*. XIAOWEI ZHENG, *Passion, Reflection and Survival: Political Choices of Red Guards at Qinghua University, June 1966–July 1968*. DAHPON DAVID HO, *To Protect and Preserve: Resisting the "Destroy the Four Olds" Campaign, 1966–1967*. YANG SU, *Mass Killings in the Cultural Revolution: A Study of Three Provinces*. JIANGSUI HE, *The Death of a Landlord: Moral Predicament in Rural China, 1968–1969*. JEREMY BROWN, *Staging Xiaojinzhuang: The City in the Countryside, 1974–1976*. SIGRID SCHMALZER, *Labor Created Humanity: Cultural Revolution Science on Its Own Terms*. JUN ZHANG, *To Be Somebody: Li Qinglin, Run-of-the-Mill Cultural Revolution Showstopper*. LIYAN QIN, *The Sublime and the Profane: A Comparative Analysis of Two Fictional Narratives about Sent-down Youth*.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

SUSAN CURRELL and CHRISTINA COGDELL, editors. *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 406. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$28.95.

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JEFFREY J. KRIPAL and GLENN W. SHUCK, editors. *On the Edge of the Future: Esalen and the Evolution of American Culture*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 323. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$21.95.

JEFFREY J. KRIPAL and GLENN W. SHUCK, Introducing Esalen. WOUTER J. HANEGRAAFF, Human Potential Before Esalen: An Experiment in Anachronism. CATHERINE L. ALBANESE, Sacred (and Secular) Self-Fashioning: Esalen and the American Transformation of Yoga. TIMOTHY MILLER, Notes on the Prehistory of the Human Potential Movement: The Vedanta Society and Gerald Heard's Trabuco College. JEFFREY J. KRIPAL, Reading Aurobindo from Stanford to Pondicherry: Michael Murphy and the Hindu Tantric Transmission (1950-1957). BARCLAY JAMES ERICKSON, The Only Way Out Is In: The Life of Richard Price. GORDON WHEELER, Spirit and Shadow: Es-

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

WILLIAM E. FRENCH and KATHERINE ELAINE BLISS, *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence*. (Jaguar Books on Latin America Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. Pp. viii, 309. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

MARGARET ATKINS and ROBIN OSBORNE, editors. *Poverty in the Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 226. \$90.00.

ROBIN OSBORNE, Roman Poverty in Context. NEVILLE MORLEY, The Poor in the City of Rome. WALTER SCHEIDEL, Stratification, Deprivation and Quality of Life. ANNELIESE PARKIN, "You do him no service": An Exploration of Pagan Almsgiving. GREG WOOLF, Writing Poverty in Rome. DOMINIC RATHBONE, Poverty and Population in Roman Egypt. SOPHIE LUNN-ROCKLIFFE, A Pragmatic Approach to Poverty and Riches: Ambrosiaster's *Quaestio* 124. RICHARD FINN, Portraying the Poor: Descriptions of Poverty in Christian Texts from the Late Roman Empire. LUCY GRIG, Throwing Parties for the Poor: Poverty and Splendour in the Late Antique Church. CAM GREY, Salvian, the Ideal Christian Community and the Fate of the Poor in Fifth-century Gaul. CAROLINE HUMFRESS, Poverty and Roman Law.

DAVID BATES, JULIA CRICK, and SARAH HAMILTON, editors. *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xiii, 262. \$105.00.

JANET L. NELSON, Did Charlemagne Have a Private Life? ROBIN FLEMING, Bones for Historians: Putting the Body back into Biography. BARBARA YORKE, "Carriers of the Truth": Writing the Biographies of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints. RICHARD ABELS, Alfred and His Biographers: Images and Imagination. SIMON KEYNES, Re-reading King Æthelred the Unready. PAULINE STAFFORD, Writing the Biography of Eleventh-Century Queens. ELISABETH VAN HOUTS, The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century. DAVID BATES, The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of His Biography. JANE MARTINDALE, Secular Propaganda and Aristocratic Values: The Autobiographies of Count Fulk le Réchin of Anjou and Count William of Poitou, Duke of Aquitaine. CHRISTOPHER HOLDSWORTH, Reading the Signs: Bernard of Clairvaux and His Miracles. LINDY GRANT, Arnulf's Mentor: Geoffrey of Lèves, Bishop of Chartres. MARJORIE CHIBNALL, The Empress Matilda as a Subject for Biography. EDMUND KING, The *Gesta Stephani*. JOHN GILLINGHAM, Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden, King's Clerk and Chronicler. DAVID CROUCH, Writing a Biography in the Thirteenth Century: The Construction and Composition of the "History of William Marshal." NICHOLAS VINCENT, The Strange Case of the Missing Biographies: The Lives of the Plantagenet Kings of England 1154–1272.

GWILYM DODD and ANTHONY MUSSON, editors. *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*. York: York Medieval Press. 2006. Pp. 244. \$80.00.

JEFFREY S. HAMILTON, The Character of Edward II: The Letters of Caernarfon Reconsidered. W. M. ORMROD, The Sexualities of Edward II. IAN MORTIMER, Sermons of Sodomy: A Reconsideration of Edward II's Sodomitical Reputation. MICHAEL C. PRESTWICH, The Court of Edward II. ALISTAIR TEBBIT, Household Knights and Military Service under the Direction of Edward II. WENDY CHILDS, England in Europe in the Reign of Edward II. PAUL DRYBURGH, The Last Refuge of a Scoundrel? Edward II and Ireland, 1321–7. ANTHONY MUSSON, Edward II: The Public and Private Faces of the Law. GWILYM DODD, Parliament and Political Legitimacy in the Reign of Edward II. ALISON MARSHALL, The Childhood and Household of Edward II's Half-Brothers, Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock. MARTYN LAWRENCE, Rise of a Royal Favourite: The Early Career of Hugh Despenser the Elder. J. R. S. PHILLIPS, The Place of the Reign of Edward II.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ERIK VAN DER VLEUTEN and ARNE KAUSSER, editors. *Networking Europe: Transnational Infrastructures and the Shaping of Europe, 1850–2000*. Sagamore Beach, Mass.: Science History Publications. 2006. Pp. vii, 335. \$47.50.

ERIK VAN DER VLEUTEN and ARNE KAUSSER, Transnational Networks and the Shaping of Contemporary Europe. ARISTOTLE TYMPAS and IRENE ANASTASIADOU, Constructing Balkan Europe: The Modern Greek Pursuit of an "Iron Egnatia." ANA PAULA SILVA and MARIA PAULA DIOGO, From Host and Hos-

tag: Portugal, Britain, and the Atlantic Telegraph Networks. JUDITH SCHEULER, Traveling Towards the "Mountain that has Borne a State": The Swiss Gotthard Railways. ALEXANDER GALL, Atlantropa: A Technological Vision of a United Europe. HELMUT MAIER, Systems Connected: IG Auschwitz, Kaprun, and the Building of European Power Grids up to 1945. PÄR BLOMKVIST, Roads for Flow—Roads for Peace: Lobbying for a European Highway System. LÉONARD LABORIE, A Missing Link? Telecommunications Networks and European Integration 1945–1970. GEERT VERBONG, Dutch Power Relations: From German Occupation to the French Connection. PER HÖGSELIUS, Connecting East and West? Electricity Systems in the Baltic Region. ERIK VAN DER VLEUTEN, Understanding Network Societies: Two Decades of Large Technical System Studies.

KENNETH FINCHAM and PETER LAKE, editors. *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 13.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 252. \$85.00.

PETER LAKE, Puritanism, Animism, and Nicholas Tyacke. KEITH THOMAS, Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England. DIARMAID MACCULLOCH, The Latitudes of the Church of England. THOMAS S. FREEMAN, Joan of Contention: The Myth of the Female Pope in Early Modern England. PETER LAKE, Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice. BRETT USHER, The Fortunes of English Puritanism: An Elizabethan Perspective. PATRICK COLLINSON, What's in a Name? Dudley Fenner and the Peculiarities of Puritan Nomenclature. PAUL SEAVER, Puritan Preachers and Their Patrons. SUSAN HARDMAN MOORE, New England's Reformation: "Wee shall be as a City upon a Hill, the Eyes of All People are upon Us." ANTHONY MILTON, "Anglicanism" by Stealth: The Career and Influence of John Overall. THOMAS COGSWELL, Destroyed for Doing my Duty: Thomas Felton and the Penal Laws under Elizabeth and James I. RICHARD CUST, Charles I and Providence. WILLIAM SHEILS, John Shawe and Edward Bowles: Civic Preachers at Peace and War. KENNETH FINCHAM, Material Evidence: The Religious Legacy of the Interregnum at St George Tombland, Norwich.

LEON LITVACK and COLIN GRAHAM, editors. *Ireland and Europe in the Nineteenth Century*. (Nineteenth-Century Ireland Series, number 10.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 224. \$55.00.

ALAN O'DAY, Ireland and Europe: Theoretical Perspectives. SIOBHÁN KILFEATHER, Ireland and Europe in 1825: Situating the Banims. ARTHUR BROOMFIELD, French Connections in Maria Edgeworth's *Ormond*. JASON KING, "Raparees" or "Refugees"? The Normative Image of Involuntary Displacement in Nineteenth-century Irish Literature. MATTHEW POTTER, William Monsell: A Roman Catholic Francophile Anglo-Irishman. PADDY LYONS, Ireland, Britain, and Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-century Europe. ANDREAS HÜTHER, A Transnational Nation-building Process: Philologists and Universities in Nineteenth-century Ireland and Germany. GARY K. PEATLING, Saxon and Celt on the Rhine? Race, Religion and Representation in Irish Reactions to the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1. LEON LITVACK, Continental Art and the "Cockneyfied Corkoinian": German and French Influences on Daniel Maclise. PATRICK MAUME, Feminism as a Global Phenomenon:

Thomas O'Malley Baines, Papal Soldier and Fenian Convict. MARY BURKE, Mad Irish Fiddlers in Paris: Music and Wandering Musicians in Irish Revival Writing. MARY S. PIERSE, European Influences and the Novels of George Moore: Reciprocal Artistic Impressions. LUCY MCDIARMID, Irish Men and French Food. ASIER ALTUNA-GARCÍA DE SALAZAR, Alicia Le Fanu's *Don Juan de las Sierras, or, El Empecinado* (1823): Appropriations of Spain in Irish Romanticism.

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AHR CONVERSATION

TO THE EDITORS:

The Conversation on Transnational History (*AHR*, December 2006, 1440–1464) was one of the more interesting features published by the *AHR* in the past few years. The interventions of the six participants were both thoughtful and thought provoking, and offered any number of directions for new and exciting research projects. Every paragraph stimulated wonderful and provocative connections—all the more disappointing that the conversation was limited to a narrow academic conceptualization of history, lacking any consideration

of what, in the terms of the late Raphael Samuel, we would call “history as activity.”

At a time when, over the past three decades, so many new and transnational connections have been forged and transnational projects have been undertaken by public historians, museum professionals, documentary filmmakers, archivists, oral historians, folklorists, and community historians, among others, it is odd to see that work passed over without commentary. This is especially the case since so much of that work revolves around areas of interest noted by your conversationalists: migration, human rights, feminism, LGTB history, and racism. To many of us who have spent a number of years trying to bring to the activities of a wide public the methodological and theoretical concerns of academically centered historians, and in turn the problems and perspectives of publicly engaged citizens to the attention of the academy, the conversation was somewhat discouraging. After so many years we have so far yet to go.

Rather than giving up the struggle, we should take this opportunity to ask those who have an interest in transnational history to think about the issues your participants so brilliantly sketched out for us in a context more meaningful for the millions of history activists beyond the academy.

RONALD J. GRELE
Columbia University

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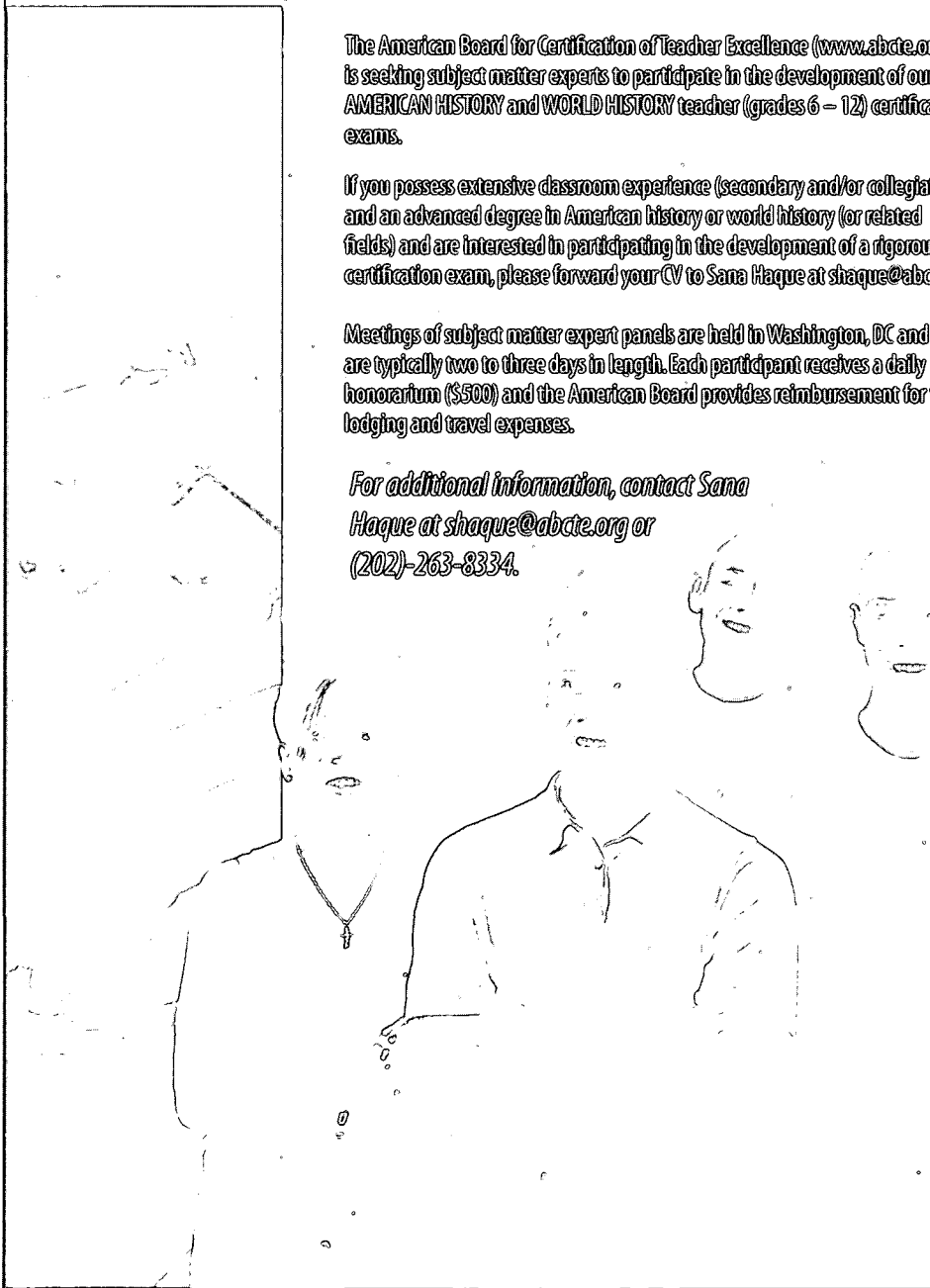
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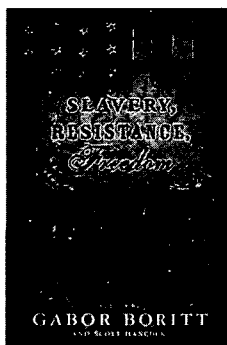
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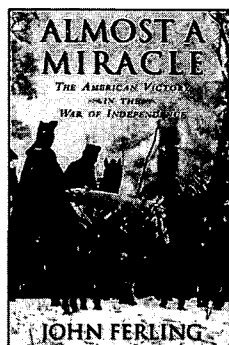


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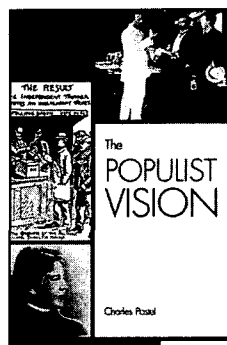
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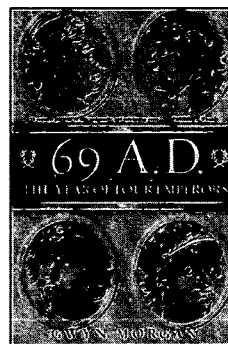
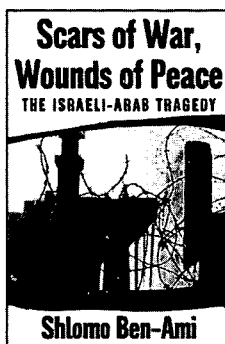
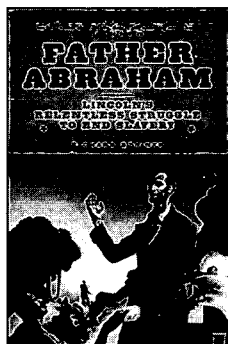
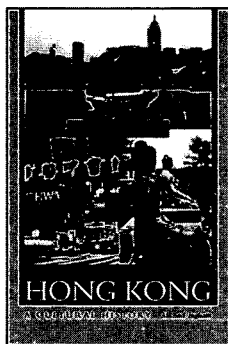
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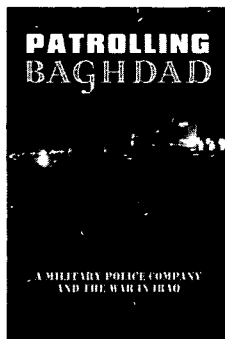
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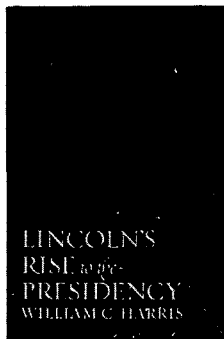
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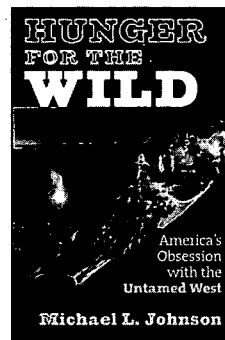
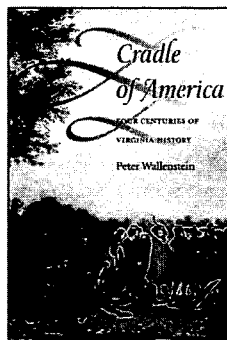
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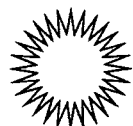
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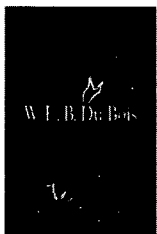
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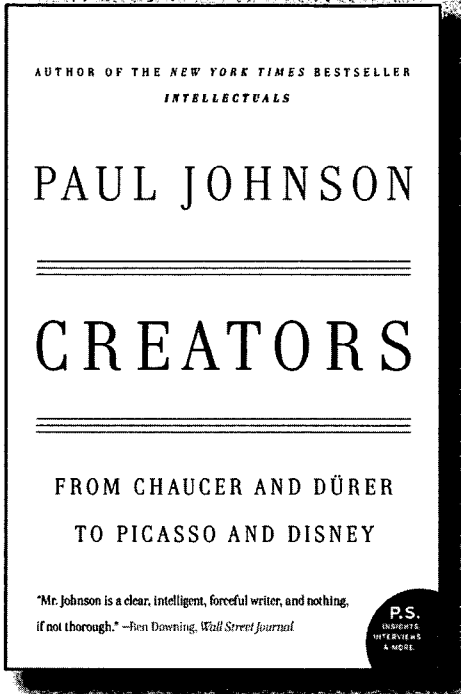
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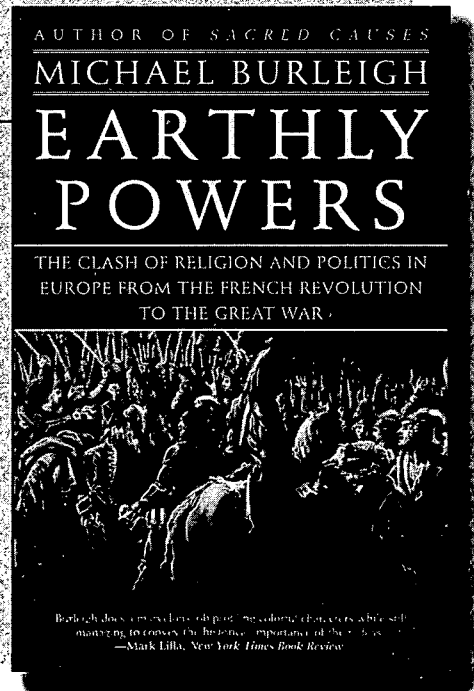
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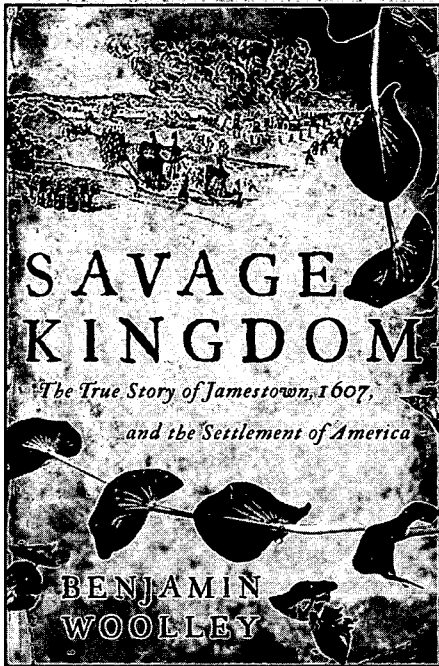
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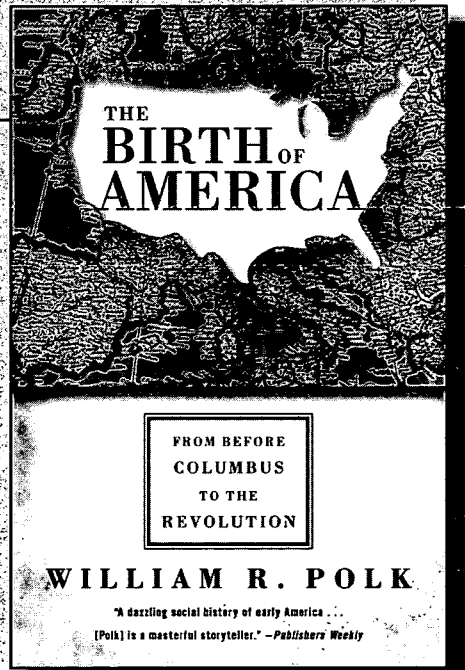
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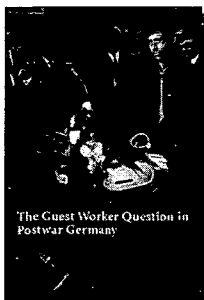
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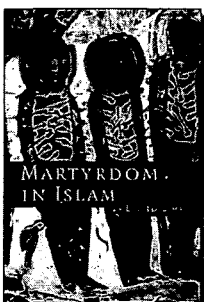
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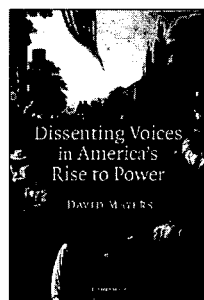
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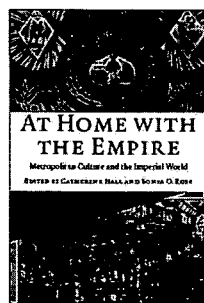
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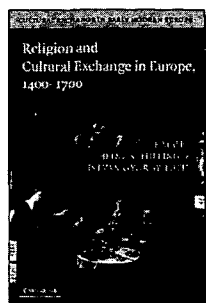
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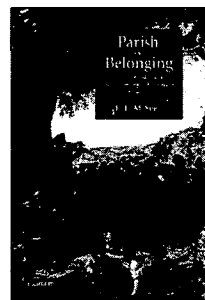
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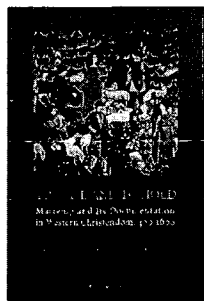
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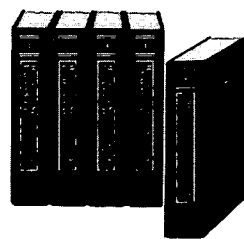
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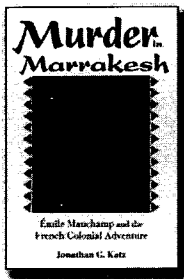
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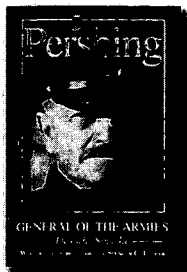
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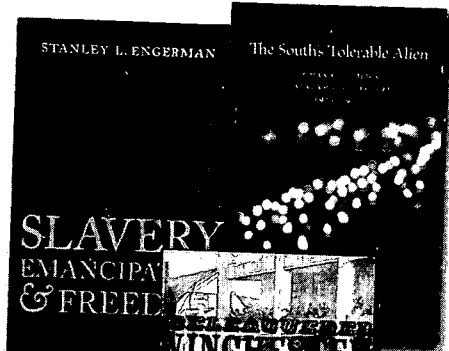
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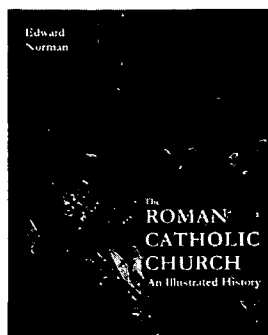
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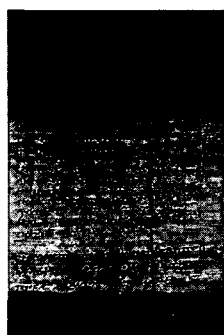
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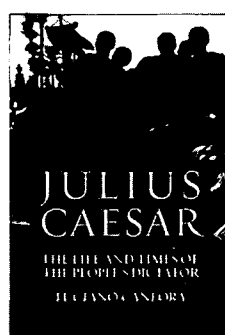
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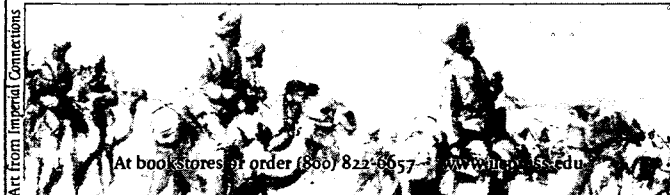
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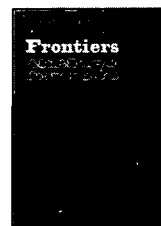
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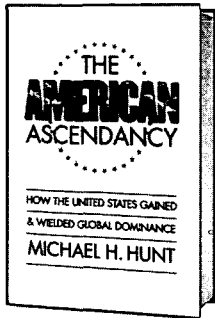
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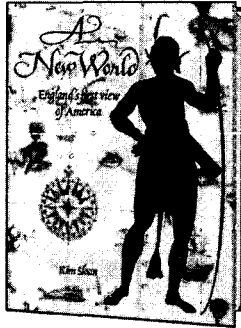
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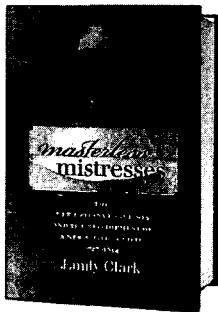
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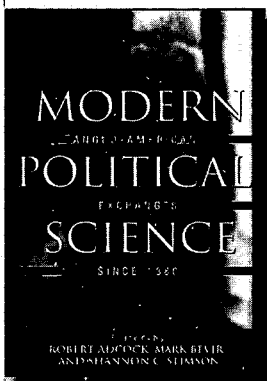
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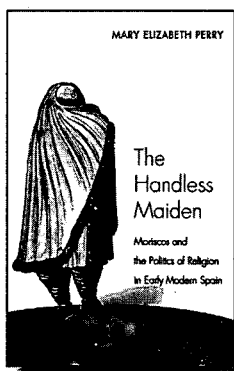
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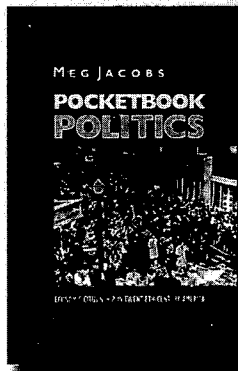
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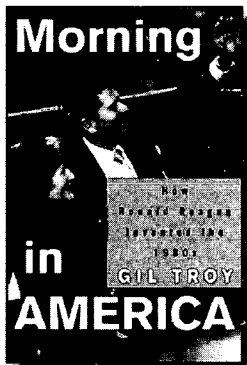
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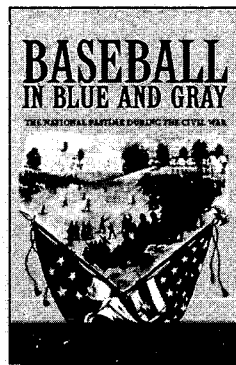
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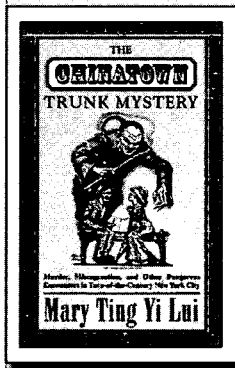
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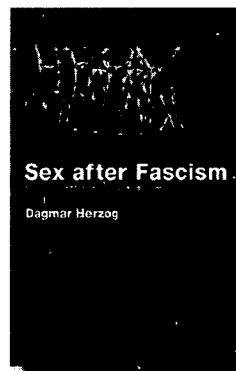
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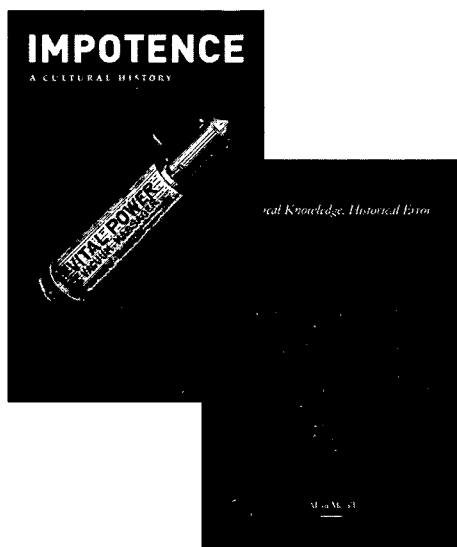
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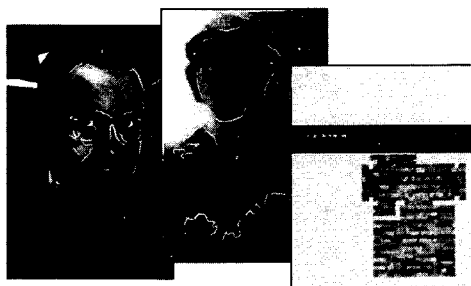
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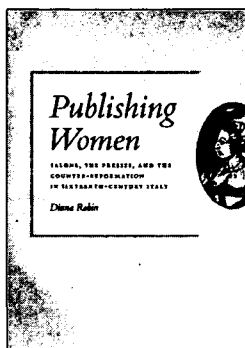
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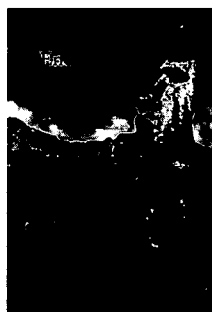
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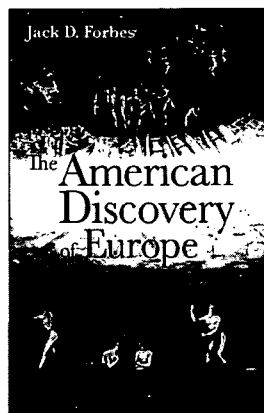
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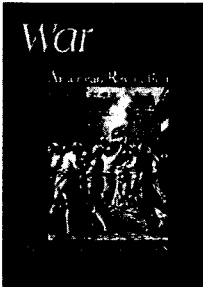
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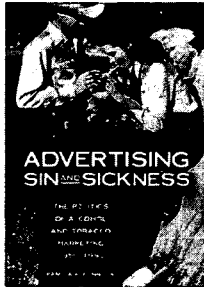
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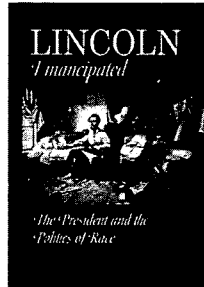
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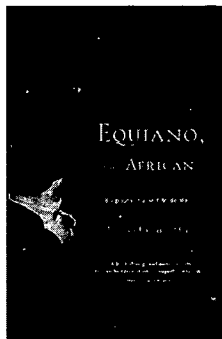


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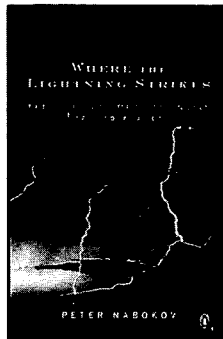
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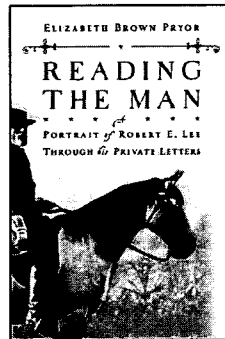
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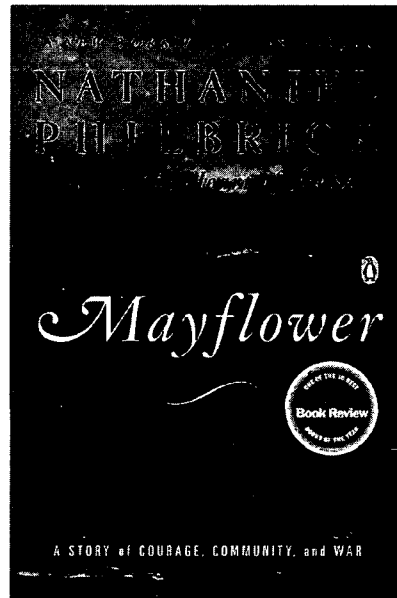
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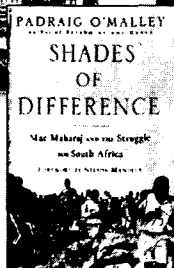
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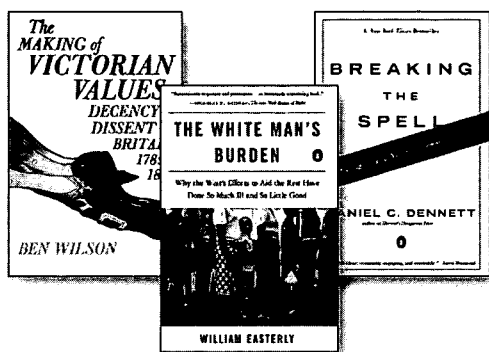
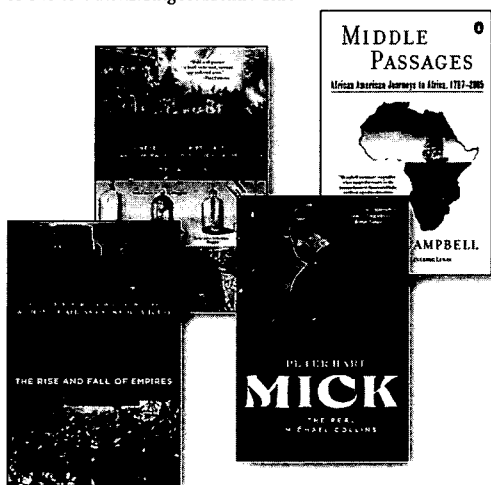
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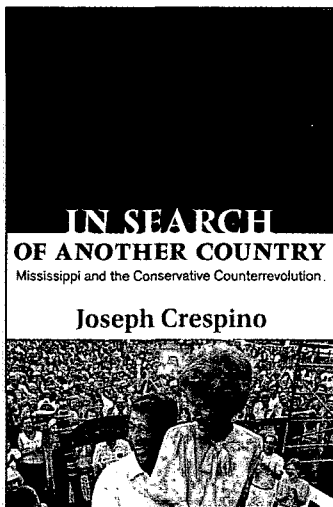
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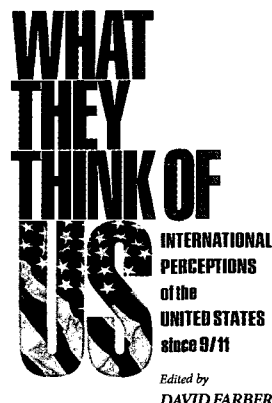
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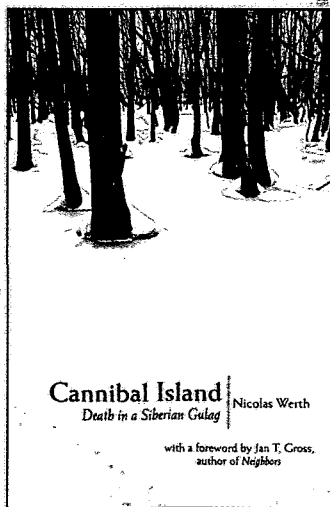
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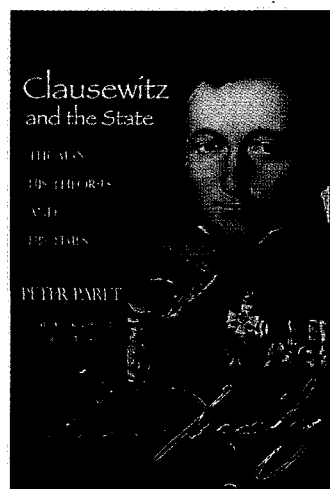
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